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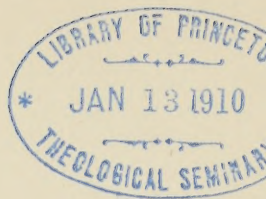
HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC STUDIES
IN LITERATURE RELATED TO THE
NEW TESTAMENT



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HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC STUDIES

IN LITERATURE RELATED TO THE
NEW TESTAMENT

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. The Virgin Birth . . . ✓	I
By ALLAN HOBEN	
II. The Kingdom of God in the Writings of the Fathers . . .	89
By HENRY MARTYN HERRICK	
III. The <i>Diatessaron</i> of Tatian and the Synoptic Problem . .	207
By A. AUGUSTUS HOBSON	
IV. The Infinitive in Polybius Compared with the Infinitive in Biblical Greek . . . ✓	289
By HAMILTON FORD ALLEN	
V. <i>Μετανοέω</i> and <i>Μεταμέλει</i> in Greek Literature until 100 A. D. .	349
By EFFIE FREEMAN THOMPSON	
VI. A Lexicographical and Historical Study of <i>Διαθήκη</i> . . .	379
By FREDERICK OWEN NORTON	
VII. The Irenaeus Testimony to the Fourth Gospel	451
By FRANK GRANT LEWIS	
VIII. The Idea of the Resurrection in the Ante-Nicene Period .	515
By CALVIN KLOPP STAUDT	

THE VIRGIN BIRTH

The Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek of the University of Chicago proposes to issue, from time to time, Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament. These Studies will be grouped in three series: I, Texts; II, Linguistic and Exegetical Studies; III, Historical Studies. The volumes in each series will be issued in parts.

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THE VIRGIN BIRTH

BY

ALLAN HOBEN, PH.D.

CHICAGO

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PREFACE.

THIS work is purely an historical essay. Taking the story of the Virgin Birth as found in the New Testament, it aims to trace the history of its interpretation and use throughout the ante-Nicene period. The bearing of the study upon the historical criticism of the New Testament and theology proper is not discussed.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	I.	PAGE
THE NEW TESTAMENT - - - - -		9
The Virgin Birth has a double attestation. The relation of the canonical story to the Gospel of James. Interpretation of the canonical accounts.		
	II.	
THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS - - - - -		17
Ignatius; Aristides; Justin Martyr; Tatian; Melito; Irenæus; Tertullian; Clement of Alexandria; Origen; Hippolytus; Cyprian; Novatian; Malchion; Archelaus; Arnobius; Lactantius; Methodius; Victorinus; Peter of Alexandria; Alexander of Alexandria; Conclusion.		
	III.	
THE NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA - - - - -		81
Differentiated from the New Testament. Their theological purpose. Old Testament models.		
INDEX - - - - -		86

THE VIRGIN BIRTH.

I. THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THIS essay aims to trace the history and use of the story of the virgin birth of Jesus in the ante-Nicene Christian literature. In doing this, special attention is paid to the patristic field, which has not hitherto been thoroughly investigated with such a purpose in view. What is here offered on the New Testament material is introductory to the main body of the essay, and, as a prerequisite to tracing the use and effects of the New Testament stories in the subsequent Christian literature, aims to determine whether these narratives in reality represent a double or only a single attestation of the virgin birth, and also to ascertain what is their exact meaning.¹

The question whether the account of the virgin birth has in the New Testament a single or a double attestation is, broadly speaking, the question of the common origin or independence of the infancy sections of Matthew and Luke. Resch² holds that Matthew and Luke used a pre-canonical child history, which had been translated from Hebrew into Greek, and that, if we had that history, it would be a harmony of the infancy stories of the first and third gospels. Conrady³ thinks that the protevangeli-um of James is that pre-canonical source which both Matthew and Luke used, and that, moreover, Luke had access to Matthew's account. Whether the infancy stories are more independent than these theories would imply can be ascertained only by a comparative examination of the material.

The genealogies, Matt. 1:1-17 and Luke 3:23-38, may be first considered in such a comparison. The generations prior to Abraham are peculiar to Luke, and, while favoring the independence of the two tables, are probably more significant as indicating Luke's understanding of the virgin birth, as will be pointed out later. Between Abraham and David the two tables, having access to the Old Testament material,

¹ The pseudonymous and fictitious material which falls within the ante-Nicene period and is usually included under the title of the New Testament apocrypha will be briefly treated in an appendix, for the purpose of supplementing the study of the ante-Nicene Fathers.

² *Kindheitsevangeli-um nach Lucas und Matthaeus.*

³ *Die Quelle der kanonischen Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu.*

are in harmony, but between David and Joseph, where one would expect them to be precise in proving the Davidic descent of Jesus, they are, with the possible exception of two names,⁴ wholly at variance. Thus the genealogical tables as a whole make against the theory of a common source.⁵ The explanation that Luke gives the genealogy of Mary is not substantiated or adequate.

Continuing this comparison, the question of the common dependence or the interdependence of the infancy sections can be better appreciated, perhaps, by a tabulation showing the material in either account.

MATTHEW.		LUKE.	
		Birth of John the Baptist	
		promised,	1 : 5-25
		Annunciation to Mary,	1 : 20-38
Annunciation to Joseph,	1 : 18-25		
		Mary's visit to Elizabeth,	1 : 39-56
		Birth of John the Baptist,	1 : 57-80
		Birth of Jesus,	2 : 1-7
		The angels and the shepherds,	2 : 8-20
		The circumcision,	2 : 21
		Presentation in the temple,	2 : 22-39
The magi,	2 : 1-12		
Flight into Egypt and return			
to Nazareth,	2 : 13-23		
Childhood at Nazareth,	2 : 23	Childhood at Nazareth,	2 : 39, 40
		Incident in the temple,	2 : 41-50
		Eighteen years at Nazareth,	2 : 51, 52

It will be seen from the foregoing that Matthew and Luke are in agreement as to the birth-place, the parents' names, a residence in Nazareth after the birth, the Davidic descent, and the virgin birth. But all of these facts, except the last, are derivable from the gospels proper, or, as in the case of the Bethlehem birth, from such information as may easily be supposed to have been common Christian tradi-

⁴ Shealtiel and Jerubbabel, Matt. 1 : 12 ; Luke 3 : 27.

⁵ In connection with Matt. 1 : 16 it should be brought to notice that, although all the Greek uncials and nearly all the minuscules have "Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ," the Curetonian Syriac, the Armenian, two Greek minuscules (346 and 556), and most of the old Latin versions have, "Joseph to whom the virgin Mary was betrothed begat Jesus who is called Christ," while the Sinaitic Syriac has, "And Joseph to whom the virgin Mary was betrothed begat Jesus Christ." The reading of the MS. recently discovered at Oxyrhynchus agrees with the Greek uncials.

tion (John 7:42).⁶ On the other hand, Matthew represents Bethlehem as the home of Joseph and Mary prior to their flight into Egypt, while Luke knows of no home for the sacred family except that of Nazareth, and is silent concerning the annunciation to Joseph, the star, the magi, the slaughter of the innocents, and the flight into Egypt. Matthew omits completely the story of John the Baptist, thus causing his gospel proper to begin with needless abruptness, were he in possession of the source used by Luke. Moreover, Matthew says nothing of the annunciation to Mary, or of Mary's visit to Elizabeth; nothing of the angels and the shepherds, the circumcision, the presentation in the temple, the incident in the temple at the age of twelve, and the youth spent in Nazareth.

Now, if we take a section from the gospel where Matthew and Luke are evidently dependent upon their common source, Mark, we can the better determine whether a similar dependence exists here. Taking the record of the second northern journey for retirement, beginning with Matt. 16:13 and Luke 9:18, the order of events is as follows:

	MATTHEW.	LUKE.
1. Peter's confession - - - -	16:13-20	9:18-21
2. Death and resurrection foretold -	21-28	22-27
3. Transfiguration - - - -	17:1-13	28-36
4. The demoniac boy - - - -	14-20 ⁷	37-43a
5. Death and resurrection again foretold -	22, 23	43b-45
6. The shekel in the fish's mouth - -	24-27 (Matthæan addition to common source)	
7. Discourse on humility and forgiveness - chap. 18		46-50

Comparing the substantial nature of this harmony of events with the comparative relation of events in the infancy sections, the evidence is against a common source in the latter case.

Having made this survey, it may be well to take up the two accounts of the virgin birth in order to ascertain whether there is evidence of a common source in this particular part of the infancy sections. This involves a comparison of Matt. 1:18-25 with Luke 1:26-38 and 2:6, 7; and, at the same time, of both with the parallel material of the gospel of James, in order to ascertain the value of the theory which makes it the common source of the canonical stories.

⁶ This passage also indicates that the Bethlehem birth was not known in the lifetime of Jesus, but that it was a commonly accepted fact in the apostolic age. On the other hand, one must admit the possibility that the information presented in John 7:42 may be derived from the infancy story itself.

⁷ Vs. 21 expunged as an interpolation.

Matthew and Luke are in harmony in their statement of the chief fact, that Mary was Joseph's betrothed, and prior to any sexual intercourse on their part conceived a son by the Spirit of God, and that such a conception was predictive of the child's future greatness. But in Luke the angel who announces this wonderful fact and names the unborn child is sent to Mary in Nazareth, while in Matthew the angel comes in a dream to Joseph, presumably in Bethlehem. The particular task of the one to be born is represented in Luke as ruling on the throne of David forever, and in Matthew as saving his people from their sins. In Luke his manner of birth warrants the epithet "God's Son," and in Matthew, "Immanuel."

The limits of the present article do not permit the insertion of the Greek text of these three accounts in such a way as to make clear all corresponding material, but from such an examination we are convinced that Conrady's thesis is untenable. The following extract from the gospel of James may be compared with the Lucan and Matthean accounts, the verbal correspondence to Luke being roughly designated by italics, that to Matthew by capitals, and that to both by spaced type :

11. And she took the pitcher and went out to fill it with water. And behold a voice saying : *Hail, thou who hast received grace ; the Lord is with thee ; blessed art thou among women* (Luke 1 : 42). And she looked around on the right hand and on the left to see whence this voice came. And she went away trembling to her house, and put down the pitcher ; and taking the purple she sat down on her seat and drew it out. *And behold, an angel of the Lord stood before her, saying : Fear not, Mary, for thou hast found favor before the Lord of all, and thou shalt conceive according to his word.* And she hearing reasoned with herself, saying : Shall I conceive by the Lord, the living God ? and shall I bring forth as every woman brings forth ? (Luke 1 : 34). *And the angel of the Lord said : Not so, Mary : for the power of the Lord shall overshadow thee : wherefore also that holy thing that shall be born of thee shall be called the son of the Most High. And thou shalt call his name Jesus, FOR HE SHALL SAVE HIS PEOPLE FROM THEIR SINS. And Mary said : Behold the servant of the Lord before his face ; let it be unto me according to thy word.*

13. And she was in her sixth month ; and behold, JOSEPH came back from his building, and entering into his house he DISCOVERED that she was big WITH CHILD. And he smote his face and threw himself upon the ground upon the sackcloth, and wept bitterly, saying : With what face shall I look upon the Lord my God, and what prayer shall I make about this maiden ? because I received her a virgin out of the temple of the Lord, and I have not watched over her. Who is it that has hunted me (her) down ?

Who has done this evil thing in my house and has defiled the virgin? Has not the history of Adam been repeated in me? For just as Adam was in the hour of his singing praise, and the serpent came and found Eve alone and completely deceived her, so it has happened to me also. And Joseph stood up from the sackcloth and called Mary and said unto her: Oh, thou who hast been cared for by God, why hast thou done this and forgotten the Lord thy God? Why hast thou brought low thy soul, thou who wast brought up in the holy of holies and that didst receive food from the hand of an angel? And she wept bitterly, saying: I am innocent, and have known no man. And Joseph said to her: Whence then is that which is in thy womb? And she said: As the Lord my God liveth, I do not know whence it is to me.

14. And Joseph was greatly afraid, and retired from her, and considered what he should do in regard to her. And Joseph said: If I conceal her sin, I find myself fighting against the law of the Lord; and if I expose her to the sons of Israel, I am afraid lest that which is in her be from an angel, and I shall be found giving up innocent blood to the doom of death. What then shall I do with her? I will put her away from me secretly. (Matt. 1:19.) And night came upon him; and BEHOLD, AN ANGEL OF THE LORD APPEARS TO HIM IN A DREAM, SAYING: BE NOT AFRAID for this maiden, FOR THAT WHICH IS IN HER IS OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, AND SHE SHALL BRING FORTH A SON, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, FOR HE SHALL SAVE HIS PEOPLE FROM THEIR SINS. AND JOSEPH AROSE FROM SLEEP and glorified the God of Israel who had given him this grace; and he kept her. . . .

19. And I said: I am seeking a Hebrew midwife. And she answered and said unto me: Art thou of Israel? And I said unto her: Yes. And she said: And who is it that is bringing forth in the cave?⁸ And I said: A woman betrothed to me. And she said to me: Is she not thy wife? And I said to her: It is Mary who was reared in the temple of the Lord, and I obtained her by lot as my wife. And yet she is not my wife, but has conceived OF THE HOLY SPIRIT. (Matt. 1:18, 25.) And the midwife said to him: Is this true? And Joseph said to her: Come and see. And the midwife went away with him. And they stood in the place of the cave, and behold, a luminous cloud overshadowed the cave. And the midwife said: My soul has been magnified this day, because mine eyes have seen strange things — because salvation has been brought forth to Israel. (Luke 1:46, 68 ff.) And immediately the cloud disappeared out of the cave and a great light shone in the cave so that the eyes could not bear it. And in a little that light gradually decreased until the infant appeared and went and took the breast from his mother Mary.⁹ And the midwife cried out and said:

⁸ The gospel of James represents this cave as being within three miles of Bethlehem.

⁹ Contrast Luke 2:6, 7.

This is a great day to me because I have seen this strange sight. And the midwife went forth out of the cave and Salome met her. And she said to her: Salome, Salome, I have a strange sight to relate to thee: A virgin has brought forth—a thing which her nature admits not of. Then said Salome: As the Lord my God liveth, unless I thrust in my finger and search the parts, I will not believe that a virgin has brought forth.

20. And the midwife went in and said to Mary: Show thyself, for no small controversy has arisen about thee. And Salome put in her finger and cried out and said: Woe is me for mine iniquity and mine unbelief, because I have tempted the living God; and behold my hand is dropping off as if burned by fire.

Anyone who is acquainted with the story-making habit, the extravagant characteristics of the apocryphal literature as a whole, or even with the tendency in New Testament interpolation, cannot hold Matthew and Luke to be deductions from this gospel of James. The gospel of James seems rather to be the fanciful working out of the canonical stories; and, while it is difficult to account for the placing of the birth in a cave near Bethlehem, this may be a creation of fancy, the better to set off the miraculous illumination at the time of birth; or the invention may have been favored by the Septuagint translation of Isa. 33: 16.¹⁰

Contrast with the above extract such samples of verbal dependence¹¹ as Matt. 3:7-10 and Luke 3:7-9, or Matt. 12:43-45 and Luke 11:24-26; or take the threefold account of Jesus' encounter with the Pharisees,¹² Matt. 21:23-27, Luke 20:1-8, derived from Mark 11:27-33, and judge whether there is sufficient ground in the canonical stories of the virgin birth for supposing them to be dependent upon each other or upon the prolix vulgarity of the gospel of James. Indeed, the instances cited, together with such passages as Mark 12:13-27, 13:5-9, and parallels, serve to indicate the true nature of verbal dependence, and, taken with the comparison of the narratives as a whole, to warrant the conclusion that where the virgin-birth story first appears it is attested by two witnesses which betray no certain sign of dependence of one upon the other or of both upon a common source.

¹⁰ See WESTCOTT, *Canon of the New Testament*, p. 102, note 7.

¹¹ See HUCK, *Synopse der drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 17, where out of the 147 words composing the two accounts 130 are identical and arranged in the same order. For the second example see HUCK, p. 54, where out of the 126 words of the two accounts 104 are identical and in the same order. Also RUSHBROOK, *Synopticon*, pp. 136, 159.

¹² See HUCK, pp. 118 ff., where of some 356 words composing the three accounts about 200 are identical and in the same order. See also RUSHBROOK, *Synopticon*, p. 81.

It is now necessary, before proceeding to trace the influence of the narratives of the virgin birth on the subsequent Christian literature, to get as clear an idea as possible of the meaning of the story in the earliest forms preserved to us. Matthew's thought seems to be that the wonder-working Spirit of God, exclusive of human agency, caused Mary to conceive; that, by reason of this fact, she was innocent of any wrong such as that the suspicion of which had troubled Joseph; and that at the same time such a birth, being in accord with the Immanuel prophecy, marked the child to be born as the Messiah, the Savior of his people, as the one spoken of in Isa., chaps. 7 and 8, to be the deliverer of his nation in the impending war. Thus the application of the prophetic and symbolic expression "Immanuel" was not for the purpose of designating the nature of the child, but rather his work, which was to be national and messianic. The result of the nation's sins was always the withdrawal of God; but the Messiah would lead them in righteousness and save them from that abandoning by God which was at the same time the result of their sins and the cause of their impotence and subjection. The term "Immanuel," then, is the prophetic and symbolic designation for Savior; but that it soon came to be used as designating the divine nature of Christ will appear from the study of the patristic literature.

The meaning of Luke's account of the virgin birth is not so clear, perhaps, but, like Matthew's, is destitute of any attempt to explain the divine nature of Jesus upon the basis that God, and not a human father, was his begetter. In reply to Mary's question (1:34), the angel says: "Holy Spirit shall come upon thee and power of Highest shall overshadow thee, therefore also the begotten thing shall be called holy, Son of God." In other words, the pure Spirit of God will cause Mary to conceive *miraculously*, and thus, in contrast to the *polluted offspring* of any human begetter, who would be a sinful descendant of Adam, the child shall be *pure* as the begetting Spirit is pure. This is one element in the angel's annunciation—the purity of the child through the action of the Holy Spirit and the breaking of the line of sinful Adam's descent. The other is that the creative power of God is to act directly in this creation, as it did in that of Adam, the first man, who because of his direct creation by God is called God's son (*cf.* 3:38, "the son of Adam, the son of God"). In like manner shall this one, whose holiness is secured by the breaking of the sinful Adamic descent, be termed Son of God because directly created by divine power.

This is undoubtedly the *basis* for the use of the term "Son of God"

in this passage; but has the term no larger content than that which applies equally to Adam? There are two other possibilities: first, that it is equivalent to "Messiah;" and, second, that it designates moral likeness to God. In support of the former contention it can be pointed out that this passage in Luke is clearly messianic, as is seen in vss. 32 and 33, and also in the psalms interspersed throughout the narrative. Moreover, the probable use of the term "Son of God" as a messianic title can be appealed to in Matt. 16:16 (but not in Mark 3:11; 5:7; 15:39; nor in Luke 3:22; 4:3, 9; 9:35). For the view that it designates moral likeness to God it can be shown that the thought is thus made parallel to the preceding thought of purity and is brought into harmony with the Jewish conception of the original purity of Adam, avoiding at the same time a use of the term "Son of God" which cannot with certainty be attributed to any part of the New Testament except its latest elements.

Adopting any one of these three possible interpretations, however, there is in the passage no explanation of the divine nature of Jesus on the basis of divine parentage, but at most only a statement and partial explanation of his purity (in Matthew more specifically an exoneration of the purity of Mary's conception, and in Luke of the purity of Jesus from the hereditary Adamic sin), and a prophecy of his greatness as the theocratic representative. Both accounts have the national messianic coloring, but in neither of them is there represented an incarnation of a pre-existent being, such as is set forth in the prologue to John's gospel. The natural deductions made from the terms "Immanuel" and "Son of God" by the subsequent Christian literature, and the embarrassing attempts to harmonize the synoptists with the prologue of the fourth gospel, will be pointed out in the next section.

Passing from the infancy sections, we find no use of them (unless possibly John 7:42) or of the virgin birth prior to Ignatius, in the second decade of the second century. The narrative of the virgin birth, if in existence, made no impression upon the exponents of Christianity prior to the formation and crystallization of the preaching gospel, or, indeed, within the period in which the New Testament books—most of them, at least—arose. There is no trace of it in Peter's preaching, as preserved to us; and Paul, though it would seem that he could have made occasional good use of the teaching,¹³ preserves a significant silence; Matthew's gospel, from 3:1 on, depending

¹³ *E. g.*, 1 Cor. 15:45 ff.; 2 Cor. 5:21; Rom. 5:12 ff.; 8:3; Phil. 2:6 ff.; *et al.*

upon Mark, is also silent; and that portion of the gospel of Luke which, as we judge from 1:2 and Acts 1:21, 22, constituted for him the gospel proper, viz., that which began, like Mark, with the public ministry of Jesus as inaugurated by John the Baptist, is likewise destitute of any trace of the virgin-birth story. The gospel of John is also silent.¹⁴ What these facts signify as to the source of the story and the time of its rise is not the task of this essay, which passes to consider the history of the thought as traceable in the patristic literature.

II. THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS.

In entering upon a study of the ante-Nicene Fathers in their treatment of the virgin birth, we are interested to know what sources they used, what was the influence of extra-canonical sources upon their views, and the time when this influence becomes discoverable. It is also desirable to ascertain what sources the so-called heretical teachers and writers used, and what various theories of the virgin birth were advanced by them; and also to determine what the Fathers understood the virgin birth to mean, and what theological purpose they made it serve. With a view to answering these questions, and conscious of the fact that in the absence of any New Testament interpretation, save the meager hints of the infancy sections themselves, the interpretation of the Fathers became and remained the interpretation of the church at large, the study of this vast and not always interesting field is undertaken.

I. IGNATIUS, second bishop of Antioch,¹⁵ martyred between 107 and 117 A.D., is the first and sole apostolic Father to leave us any material on the miraculous generation of Jesus. Not only so, but all the apostolic Fathers, save Ignatius and Aristides, in the Syriac version of his Apology, maintain a uniform and notable silence concerning the story of the birth and infancy of Jesus. In Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Barnabas, the Didaché, the Epistle to Diognetus, and the Shepherd of Hermas we look in vain for any reference either to the miraculous conception itself or to the infancy story of which the miraculous conception was the most striking feature.

It is true that in Clement, *Epistles*, 1:32, there is an obscure reference to the descent of Jesus Christ from Jacob (?) according to the

¹⁴That the *gospel* narratives are quite oblivious to the fact of the virgin birth is most obvious in such passages as Matt. 13:54-58=Mark 6:1-6; Luke 4:22; John 1:45; 6:42; 7:5, 27; while at the same time the infancy section itself does not present an apparently uniform statement, Luke 2:33, 41, 43, 48.

¹⁵EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, Books III, XXII, and XXXVI.

flesh, but the obscurity of the passage and its probable derivation from Rom. 9 : 5 leave the writings of Clement destitute of any reference to the infancy sections. Moreover, it is not as if the apostolic Fathers had no occasion to use the story of the virgin birth of Jesus; for Polycarp in his *Epistle*, chap. 7, quotes 1 John 4 : 3, "Whosoever does not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is Anti-Christ," and in chap. 12 he maintains that Jesus is the Son of God; yet in both these places, where it would be natural and in keeping with the custom of so many of the ante-Nicene writers to refer to the infancy story, he is silent.

Likewise in Barnabas, chap. 6, while there is a reference to the fact and purpose of the incarnation, a similar silence is maintained. "The Son of God therefore came in the flesh with this view, that he might bring to a head the sum of their sins who had persecuted his (their) prophets to the death." The same is true of Diognetus, chap. 7, where there is a statement of how and for what purpose God sent his Son, and in chaps. 10 and 11, where John's doctrine of the Word and mention of the only-begotten Son appear, but without reference to the infancy story. The Shepherd has no reference to Matthew's gospel prior to the Sermon on the Mount, and none to Luke's prior to the eleventh chapter. Neither has the Didaché any reference to Matthew prior to chap. 5, or to Luke prior to chap. 6. Ignatius has nothing to say about gospels, but mentions only the gospel which is an account of Jesus Christ, whom he accepts in place of all that is ancient and authoritative (*Philad.*, chap. 8), and which, with one exception (*Rom.*, chap. 7, referring to John 6 : 51), seems to coincide with the gospel as we have it in Matthew.

The Ignatian controversy,¹⁶ extending from 1495 to the present time, has succeeded in thoroughly discrediting the longer Greek recension with the eight additional epistles, including the three in Latin. It has also pointed toward the conclusion that the Syriac version of the epistles to Polycarp, Ephesians, and Romans is but an imperfect series of extracts from the shorter Greek form of the seven usually accepted epistles; and that the genuineness of this shorter Greek form itself is not in every respect beyond question. The free tampering with the text which makes against the high valuation of the later Fathers as textual evidence, necessarily discounts to some degree the patristic

¹⁶LIGHTFOOT, *The Apostolic Fathers, S. Ignatius and S. Polycarp*, Vol. I, pp. 315-414; THEODOSIUS ZAHN, *Ignatius von Antiochien*. For bibliography see SCHAFF, *History of Christian Church*, Vol. II, pp. 652, 653.

writings which deal with the supernatural birth. But to just what degree is difficult to ascertain. In the shorter Greek version, however, Ignatius awakens little or no suspicion of reflecting the thought of a later time; he rather exhibits the pre-theological naïveté natural to his time and his teaching, if he were a disciple of Paul or Peter or John. His reference to the supernatural birth of Christ is that of unquestioning and unphilosophic statement. In *Eph.*, chap. 7 (I, 52),¹⁷ he says that Jesus Christ is "of flesh and of spirit, generate and ingenerate—(son) both of Mary and of God."¹⁸ In chap. 18 (I, 57) he says: "For our God,¹⁹ Jesus the Christ, was conceived in the womb by Mary, according to a dispensation of God, of the seed of David, but also of the Holy Spirit;"²⁰ and in chap. 19 (I, 57): "And hidden from the prince of this world were the virginity of Mary and her child-bearing."²¹ In the same chapter the incarnation is regarded as "God himself being manifested in human form for the renewal of eternal life,"²² and in chap. 20 the manner of Christ's generation is taken to explain his being Son of man and Son of God.²³ In *Smyrn.*, chap. 1 (I, 86), there is perhaps as full a statement as any: "He was truly of the seed of David according to the flesh, and the Son of God according to the will and power of God. He was truly born of a virgin, was baptized by John, in order that all righteousness might be fulfilled by him."²⁴

From *Magnesians*, chap. 11, we learn that the birth, passion, and res-

¹⁷ The citations in parentheses refer to the American reprint of the Edinburgh edition of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, revised by A. C. COXE, D.D. New York: Scribner, 1899.

¹⁸ IGNATIUS, *Ephesians*, VII, 2: Εἰς ἰατρὸς ἐστὶν σαρκικός τε καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος θεὸς, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ. The longer version amplifies this, quoting, "For the Word was made flesh."

¹⁹ See also *ibid.*, 20, and *Trall.*, 9. The longer version amplifies this, quoting part of the Immanuel prophecy of Isa. 7:14.

²⁰ IGNATIUS, *Ephesians*, XVIII, 2: Ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκυφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαβὶδ, πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου.

²¹ *Ibid.*, XIX, 1: Καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθένα Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς κ. τ. λ.

²² *Ibid.*, XIX, 3: Θεοῦ ἀνθρωπίνως φανερούμενος ἐν καινότητι αἵδλου ζωῆς.

²³ *Ibid.*, XX, 2: ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῷ κατὰ σάρκα ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ, τῷ νιῷ ἀνθρώπου καὶ νιῷ θεοῦ κ. τ. λ.

²⁴ IGNATIUS, *Smyrn.*, I: ἀληθῶς ὄντα ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα, υἱὸν θεοῦ κατὰ θελημα καὶ δύναμιν θεοῦ γεγεννημένον ἀληθῶς ἐκ παρθένου, βεβαπτισμένον ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου ἵνα πληρωθῇ πᾶσα δικαιοσύνη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

urrection constitute a trio of vital items in the Christian faith ; and an odd passage in *Trall.*, chap. 9, speaks of "Jesus Christ who was from the race of David, who was the son of Mary."²⁵

From the spurious material one may learn something of the trend and extent which the more inventive Christian literature soon assumed in order to combat Doceticism, Patripassianism, and various forms of the Gnostic heresy. From the material cited and quoted above at least the outstanding features of Ignatius's belief touching the virgin birth may be ascertained. He believed (1) that Christ was conceived in the womb of Mary; (2) that part of him was composed of flesh and part of spirit; (3) the former generate, the latter ingenerate; (4) the former derived of Mary, the latter of God; (5) that he was of Davidic descent; (6) that his mother was a virgin; and (7) that the fact of her as a virgin bearing a child was, with some other essential Christian truths, hidden from the prince of this world.

It will be seen that, while this statement of the matter is unphilosophical, it is nevertheless not so simple as that contained in Matt. 1: 18-25 and Luke 1: 26-38. There the thought is that the Spirit or Power of God coming upon Mary causes her to conceive directly and apart from any agency; and, while it is true that Luke 1: 35 points out a consequent characteristic of the son to be born, it by no means goes so far as to affirm the dual nature of Christ upon the basis of the announced miraculous conception.

In concluding this study of Ignatius, it is important to point out (1) what are his sources, (2) what was his understanding of them, and (3) what increment he makes to the study; and this order of summary will be adhered to in the case of each writer with whom we have to deal.

1. In so far as Ignatius reproduces or uses the story of the virgin birth or of the infancy, he shows no knowledge of any events or facts beyond those contained in the canonical gospels. Here, as uniformly in his writings, the facts are accounted for by his use of a gospel corresponding to our Matthew, unless he also reflects, as shall be pointed out, something of the influence of the Johannine prologue. His emphasis upon the star in *Eph.*, chap. 19, is only a rhetorical adornment of what is in the Matthæan source.

2. It is very clear that Ignatius makes the dual parentage the basis of the dual nature of Jesus; and it is almost as clear that he predicates pre-existence for the divine element in the nature of Jesus. His representation of the matter is not thoroughly uniform, however, for

²⁵ IGNATIUS, *Trall.*, IX: τοῦ ἐκ γένους Δαβὶδ, τοῦ ἐκ Μαρίας.

in *Eph.*, chap. 18 (I, 57), he seems to represent the creation of a new being, as do Matthew and Luke, while over against this must be placed the thought of *Eph.*, chap. 7 (I, 52) and chap. 19 (I, 57), where the idea of the divine and increate one being manifested in human form argues some sort of a pre-existence doctrine, based possibly upon the teaching of the fourth gospel.

3. This very hint of the presence and influence of teaching similar to that of John's prologue, and Ignatius's rather artless and unstudied statement of it in a way which modifies the synoptic accounts of the virgin birth, constitute a new element in the study, and one which is no less important than his advance upon the infancy sections themselves, when he makes the dual nature of Jesus dependent upon his dual parentage. Ignatius also gives evidence of an incipient apologetic or polemic cast in such a passage as *Smyrn.*, chap. 4, where he cuts the ground from under those who would say aught against the peculiar manner of Jesus' birth and similarly vital doctrines of Christianity, by saying virtually that these matters have been hidden from Satan, and consequently from them, his followers. Also in *Trall.*, chap. 9, his emphasis upon the fact²⁶ that Jesus Christ "was *truly* born and did eat and drink" indicates the unwelcomed existence of some form of Docetic doctrine.

II. ARISTIDES (*Apology* presented to Cæsar Titus Hadrianus Antoninus, 138 A. D., or shortly thereafter). The statement in the previous section that, with the exception of Ignatius, the apostolic Fathers preserve a uniform silence regarding the virgin birth hardly needed the qualification there given. In the second chapter of the *Apology* (IX, 265) the Syriac, in defining the Christian theology or philosophy as distinct from that of the Barbarians (Egyptians), Greeks, and Jews, says: "And it is said that God came down from heaven, and from a Hebrew virgin assumed and clothed himself with flesh; and the Son of God lived in a daughter of man. This is taught in the gospel, as it is called, which a short time ago was preached among them."²⁷

²⁶ Ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐγεννήθη, ἔφαγέν τε καὶ ἔπιεν.

[illegible]

The Syriac version gives evidence of being an early and expansive paraphrase of the genuine Greek text.²⁸ Although the passage here quoted has nothing corresponding to it in the Greek, it no doubt represents an early second-century and possibly Antiochian belief. In tracing the doctrine of the virgin birth, this Syriac document is to be admitted in evidence, but the interrogation point as to exact date must be retained. Now, this Syriac interpolation states three things: (1) that God came down from heaven and took his abode in a Hebrew virgin from whom he assumed flesh; (2) that in this state he is the Son of God; and (3) that this belief is a part of the gospel recently preached among the Christians.

1. It is clear that Aristides used John and Matthew or Luke.

2. He states the pre-existence as deity of him who was born of Mary, and who, being born of Mary, is also Son of God; but he nowhere indicates how he relates these two conceptions to each other. The virgin birth is distinctly an incarnation.

3. This is a decided divergence from the two synoptic accounts, and also an advance upon, and an alteration of, the teaching of John, which sets forth an incarnation of the Word. What was dimly present in Ignatius became clearly defined in Aristides, who attempted to fuse a misinterpretation of the philosophy of John's prologue with the story of the miraculous birth in the first and third gospels. Thus Aristides denaturalized the birth beyond what is taught in the gospels or in Ignatius.

III. JUSTIN MARTYR²⁹ (about 110-66 A. D.). The extant material of Justin bearing on the virgin birth is found, with one exception, in his first *Apology* and in the *Dialogue with Trypho*. The genuineness of these works is practically beyond doubt; and the fragment on the Resurrection, from which the only other reference is taken, cannot, I think, be proved spurious. It has seemed best to deal with this rather voluminous material under five heads: (1) we shall consider those passages which state the fact of the virgin birth, and inseparably connected with these we shall find certain phrases or clauses expressing the purpose of this kind of birth; (2) we shall notice the problems with which Trypho the Jew confronts such a theory; (3) the use of Greek theology or mythology; (4) Justin's appeal to and use of prophecy; (5) we shall note some concessions granted by this eminent champion of the Christian faith.

²⁸ See *Texts and Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1.

²⁹ EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, Books IV, VIII, XII, XVI-XVIII.

1. The passages which make the simple statement that he was born of a virgin by the power of God are: *Apology*, I, 32 (I, 174), 46 (I, 178); *Dialogue*, 23 (I, 206), 105 (I, 251), 113 (I, 255), and 127 (I, 263). Those which add some expression as to the purpose of the virgin birth are: *Apol.*, I, 63 (I, 184), "for the salvation of those who believe on him;" *Dial.*, 45 (I, 217), to destroy the "serpent" and his angels, to disdain death, and to finally do away with it; and *Dial.*, 100 (I, 249), containing an explanation of the term "Son of man," because of Jesus' birth by Mary or his descent from Adam through Mary; also a statement of the purpose as follows:

He became man by the Virgin in order that the disobedience which proceeded from the serpent might receive its destruction in the same manner in which it derived its origin. For Eve, who was a virgin, and undefiled, having conceived the word of the serpent, brought forth disobedience and death. But the virgin Mary received faith and joy when the angel Gabriel announced the good tidings to her that the Spirit of the Lord would come upon her and the power of the Highest would overshadow her; wherefore the holy thing begotten of her is the Son of God; and she replied, Be it unto me according to thy word. And by her has he been born to whom we have proved so many scriptures refer, and by whom God destroys both the serpent and those angels and men who are like him; but works deliverance from death to those who repent of their wickedness and believe upon him.³⁰

This antithesis of the work of Mary to that of Eve is met with here for the first time. It is a favorite theme with the Fathers, however, and will reappear frequently in more elaborate form.³¹

2. The problems raised by Trypho are twofold: (1) the distinctively Jewish difficulty of how there can be another god besides the maker of all things, chap. 50 (I, 220), and (2) the difficulty of showing that this

³⁰JUSTIN MARTYR, *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*, C: Καὶ διὰ τῆς Παρθένου ἀνθρώπος γεγενῆναι, ἵνα καὶ δι' ἧς ὁδοῦ ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφως παρακοὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε, καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ κατάλυσιν λάβῃ. Παρθένος γὰρ οὐσα εὔσα καὶ ἀφθόρος, τὸν λόγον τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφως συλλαβοῦσα, παρακοὴν καὶ θάνατον ἔτεκε. Πίστιν δὲ καὶ χαρὰν λαβοῦσα Μαρία ἡ Παρθένος, εὐαγγελιζομένου αὐτῇ Γαβριὴλ ἀγγέλου, ὅτι Πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐπελεύσεται, καὶ δύναμις Ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει αὐτήν. διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἁγίον ἐστίν ὅτις θεοῦ, ἀπεκρίνατο. "Γένοιτό μοι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου." Καὶ διὰ ταύτης γεγέννηται οὗτος, περὶ οὗ τὰς τσαύτας Γραφὰς ἀπεδείξαμεν εἰρῆσθαι, δι' οὗ ὁ θεὸς τὸν τε ὄφιν καὶ τοὺς ὁμοιωθέντας ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀνθρώπους καταλύνει. Ἀπαλλαγὴν δὲ τοῦ θανάτου τοῖς μεταάνωσκουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν φαύλων καὶ πιστεύουσιν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐργάζεται.

³¹There is a spurious passage, "Resurrection," 3 (I, 295), which states from the ascetic standpoint the purpose of Christ's peculiar birth: "And our Lord Jesus Christ was born of a virgin, for no other reason than that he might destroy the begetting by lawless desire, and might show to the rulers that the formation of man was possible to God without human intervention."

second pre-existent God submitted to be born of a virgin, chaps. 50, 63 (I, 228), and chap. 68 (I, 252). The Jews expected that when their Christ came he would be "man born of men." In answer to these two objections, Justin makes an appeal to the prophecy purporting to relate to John the Baptist and the two advents of Christ; and, to establish his pre-existence and divinity, makes use of the account of how God (who was not God the Father) appeared to Moses and other Hebrew patriarchs, and of how the plural of the deity is used in the account of creation. Trypho is, according to Justin's account, convinced on the first point more easily than a modern reader would be, but on the second he maintains his ground in spite of the apologist's use of Isa. 53:8; Ps. 110:3, 4; and the Immanuel passage, Isa. 7:10-17. He prefers to think with the Ebionites of a thoroughly human Jesus, who, if Christ at all, was made so by the descent of the Spirit of God upon him.

3. The passages which make use of the argument from Greek mythology fall into two classes: (1) those which favor the virgin birth on the basis of the Greek parallels; and (2) those which emphasize the distinction between the Christian story and those of the Greeks, showing to advantage the chaste and exalted nature of the former. Passages of the first sort are *Apol.*, I, 21 and 22 (I, 170):

And when we say that the Word who is the first-birth (first-born) of God was produced without sexual union . . . we propound nothing different from what you believe regarding those whom you esteemed sons of Jupiter. For you know how many sons your esteemed writers ascribe to Jupiter.³² And if we assert that the Word of God was born of God in a peculiar manner, different from ordinary generation, let this, as said above, be no extraordinary thing to you, who say that Mercury is the angelic word of God. . . . And if we affirm that he was born of a virgin, accept this in common with what you accept of Perseus.

But it should be noted that in chap. 67 Trypho maintains that Justin should be ashamed of propounding a story similar to that of the mythology regarding Perseus. So that the parallel to Greek mythology is in Trypho's estimation a further condemnation of the virgin-birth story. A little farther on, *Dial.*, chap. 70 (I, 234), Justin makes a very ingenious turn of the mythological argument, asserting that these Greek stories were concocted by Satan, the simulator, on the basis of the prophecies that foretold the virgin birth. *E.g.*: "And

³² I, 21: Τῷ δὲ καὶ τὸν Λόγον, ὃ ἐστὶ πρῶτον γέννημα τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀνεκ ἐπιμιξίας φάσκειν ἡμᾶς γεγενῆσθαι. . . . οὐ παρὰ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν λεγομένους υἱοὺς τῷ Διὶ καινὸν τι φέρομεν. Πόσους γὰρ υἱοὺς φάσκουσι τοῦ Διὸς οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν τιμώμενοι συγγραφεῖς ἐπίστασθε.

when I hear, Trypho, said I, that Perseus was begotten of a virgin, I understand that the deceiving serpent counterfeited also this."³³ The outstanding passage which differentiates the Christian from the heathen stories is *Apol.*, I, 33 (I, 174):

But lest some, not understanding the prophecy now cited, should charge us with the very things we have been laying to the charge of the poets, who say that Jupiter went in to women through lust, let us try to explain the words. This, then, "Behold a virgin shall conceive," signifies that a virgin should conceive without intercourse; for if she had had intercourse with anyone whatever, she was no longer a virgin; but the Power of God having come upon the virgin, overshadowed her, and caused her while yet a virgin to conceive. And the angel of God who was sent to this same virgin at the same time brought her good news, saying, "Behold, etc. . . ." It is wrong, therefore, to understand the Spirit and the Power of God as anything else than the Word, who is also the first-born of God, as the aforesaid prophet Moses declared; and it was this which, when it came upon the virgin and overshadowed her, caused her to conceive, not by intercourse, but by power.³⁴

Certainly this passage makes for a high appreciation of Justin's insight and discretion. He draws from Luke and interprets him correctly, rigidly excluding any idea of intercourse. He repudiates Greek mythology as being in any way his own explanation of the virgin birth, although he has used it as an *argumentum ad hominem* to silence the inconsistent carpings of his gentile opponents. Moreover, the Spirit, the Power, the Word, and the Son of God are for him synonymous terms, and upon this basis he attempts an ingenious harmony of John and Luke. Justin's repudiation of the Greek mythological explanation is one of the most creditable elements in his apology touching the virgin birth. Whether the Christian conception be right or not, Justin has, in so far as he represents the early second-century thought, freed it from the grossness of similar heathen stories, and has

³³ *Dial.*: Όταν δὲ, ὦ Τρύφων, ἔφην, ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Περσεά ἀκούσω, καὶ τοῦτο μιμήσασθαι τὸν πλάον ὄφιν συνίημι.

³⁴ "Ὅπως δὲ μή τις μὴ νοήσας τὴν δεδηλωμένην προφητείαν, ἐγκαλέσῃ ἡμῖν ἅπερ ἐνεκαλέσαμεν τοῖς ποιηταῖς εἰποῦσιν ἀφροδισίων χάριν ἐληλυθέναι ἐπὶ γυναῖκας τὸν Δία, διασαφῆσαι τοὺς λόγους πειρασώμεθα. Τὸ οὖν, 'Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἔξει, σημαίνει οὐ συνουσιασθεῖσαν τὴν παρθένον συλλαβεῖν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐσυνουσιάσθη ὑπὸ ὄνου, οὐκ ἔτι ἦν παρθένος, ἀλλὰ δύναμις θεοῦ ἐπελθοῦσα τῇ παρθένῳ ἐπεσκήσεν αὐτῇ, καὶ κνοφώσῃ παρθένον οὖσαν πεποίηκε. Καὶ ὁ ἀποσταλὼς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν παρθένον κατ' ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καιροῦ ἄγγελος θεοῦ, εὐηγγέλισατο αὐτὴν εἰπών· 'Ἰδοὺ . . . Τὸ Πνεῦμα οὖν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο νοῆσαι θέμις, ἢ τὸν Λόγον, ὃς καὶ πρωτότοκος τῷ θεῷ ἐστὶ, ὡς Μωϋσῆς ὁ προδεδηλωμένος προφήτης ἐμήνυσε. Καὶ τοῦτο ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον καὶ ἐπισκιάσαν οὐ διὰ συνουσίας, ἀλλὰ διὰ δυνάμεως ἐγκύμονα κατέστησε.

preserved in his own more explicit language much of the chaste quality of the gospel narratives themselves. No part of his apology is more sane than this, unless, indeed, it be the concessions which, for the practical purpose of winning Trypho and men of his kind, he is willing to make.

4. Justin makes a large and questionable use of prophecy. As would be expected, the chief appeal is to the Immanuel passage in Isa., chap. 7, but there is also a reference to "Who shall declare his generation" (Isa., chap. 53), and a peculiar use of Gen. 49:11: "He hath washed his garments in wine and his vesture in the blood of grapes."

In *Apol.*, I, 33 (I, 174), Justin asserts that the prophecy (prediction) was made in order to strengthen the faith of those who should see its fulfilment, and insists that the term "virgin" (*παρθένος*) precludes the possibility of intercourse in the generation of the child referred to. In *Dial.*, chaps. 42 (I, 216), 66 (I, 231), 71 (I, 234), and 84 (I, 241), he recognizes and denies the Jewish contention that the prophecy refers to Hezekiah and that the term (LXX: ἡ παρθένος) used in the prophecy means simply a young woman. He takes up the more constructive part of his argument in chaps. 77 and 78 (I, 237, 238). By a somewhat minute and decidedly parabolic interpretation, he attempts to show that the prophecy refers to Christ rather than to Hezekiah. This predictive scripture called Herod king of Assyria because of his ungodly character. Christ, before he was old enough to call father or mother, received the power of Damascus through the magi who came with their gifts from Arabia; while Samaria represents the power of the demon, to whom prior to the birth of Christ the magi were in bondage. Thus in the birth of Christ alone the other specific predictions of the prophecy are notably fulfilled, and therefore strengthen the argument for the foretold virgin birth. It is pointed out, further, in *Dial.*, chap. 84 (I, 241), that it would have been no *sign* at all if the child referred to had been born by ordinary generation, and that the peculiar manner of birth is in keeping with the creative function of the Word of God, who made Eve from Adam's rib, and in the beginning created all living beings apart from parentage.

Leaving the Immanuel passage, we may get further light as to Justin's use of Scripture from the following quotations. *Dial.*, chap. 54 (I, 222):

That the Scripture mentions the blood of the grape (Gen. 49:11) has been evidently designed because Christ derives blood, not from the seed of

man, but from the power of God. For as God, and not man, has produced the blood of the vine, so also (the Scripture) has predicted that the blood of Christ would be, not of the seed of man, but of the power of God. But this prophecy, sirs, which I repeat, proves that Christ is not man of men, begotten in the ordinary course of humanity.³⁵

The passage then which Isaiah records, "Who shall declare his generation? For his life is taken from the earth," does it not appear to you to refer to one who, not having descent from man, was said to be delivered over to death by God, for the transgressions of the people? Of whose blood, Moses, when speaking in parable, said that he would wash his garments in the blood of the grape; since his blood did not spring from the seed of man, but from the will of God. And then what is said by David (Ps. 110:3): In the splendors of thy holiness have I begotten thee from the womb, before the morning star. The Lord hath sworn and will not repent. Thou art a priest forever, after the order of Melchizedek. Does this not declare to you that (he was) from of old, and that the God and Father of all things intended him to be begotten by a human womb? ³⁶

Perhaps no comment need be made upon Justin's use of Scripture. It is very evident that the New Testament narratives had not in his time obtained for themselves the standing of the Old Testament writings; therefore he felt the necessity of basing his *Apology* upon the ancient, authoritative, and "inspired" Scripture. The violence of his interpretation was not violence in those days, but rather ingenuity, ability, and "spiritual," rather than historical, insight. The final impression left upon the mind of the reader, however, is that of respect for the interpretative method of Trypho and the Jewish school, and of regret that the great Greek apologist for the Christian faith should be so far afield from a just and historical interpretation of the Old Testament.

³⁵ *Dial.*: Τὸ δὲ αἷμα τῆς σταφυλῆς εἰπεῖν τὸν λόγον, διὰ τῆς τέχνης δεδήλωκεν, ὅτι αἷμα μὲν ἔχει ὁ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου σπέρματος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως. *Ὁν γὰρ τρόπον τὸ τῆς ἀμπέλου αἷμα οὐκ ἄνθρωπος ἐγέννησεν, ἀλλὰ θεὸς, οὕτως καὶ τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αἷμα οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπείου γένους ἔσσεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ δυνάμεως, προεμήνυσεν. Ἡ δὲ προφητεία αὕτη, ᾧ ἄνδρες, ἦν ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύει ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεννηθεῖς.

³⁶ *Dialogue*, chap. 63 (I, 228, 229): "Τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται; ὅτι αἵρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἢ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ," οὐ δοκεῖ σοι λελέχθαι ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἔχοντος τὸ γένος τοῦ διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας τοῦ λαοῦ εἰς θάνατον παραδεδόσθαι εἰρημένου ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ; περὶ οὗ καὶ Μωσῆς τοῦ αἵματος, ὡς προέφη, αἵματι σταφυλῆς, ἐν παραβολῇ εἰπὼν, τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ πλύνειν ἔφη, ὡς τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρωπείου σπέρματος γεγεννημένου, ἀλλ' ἐκ θελήματος θεοῦ. Καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ Δαβὶδ εἰρημένα. "Ἐν ταῖς λαμπρότησι τῶν ἁγίων σου ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγέννησά σε. Ὡμοσε Κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμέλη θήσεται. σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδέκ," οὐ σημαίνει ὑμῖν ὅτι ἄνωθεν, καὶ διὰ γαστρὸς ἀνθρωπείας ὁ θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τῶν ὄλων γεννᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ἐμέλλε.

5. But it is not as if the scriptural argument were the whole of Justin's *Apology*, and represented the sum total of his thought regarding the virgin birth. As has been already indicated, he shows himself perhaps wiser in his concessions than in his assertions. It is true that these concessions are demanded by Trypho, chaps. 67 (I, 231) and 49 (I, 219), who tries to put Justin to shame for upholding a story similar to that of the birth of Perseus from Danaë:

And you ought to feel ashamed when you make assertions similar to theirs, and rather should say that this Jesus was born man of men. And if you prove from the Scriptures that he is the Christ, and that on account of having led a life conformed to the law and perfect, he deserved the honor of being elected to be Christ, (it is well); but do not venture to tell monstrous phenomena, lest you be convicted of talking foolishly like the Greeks.³⁷

It was probably in reply to such demands as this that Justin found it possible to separate the question of the divinity of Christ from that of the manner of his birth, and to fall back upon the character and ability of Jesus as a more tenable apologetic ground than that of his peculiar generation. *Apol.*, I, 22 (I, 170):

Moreover, the Son of God, called Jesus, even if only a man by ordinary [generation], yet on account of his wisdom is worthy to be called the Son of God; for all writers call God the Father of men and gods.³⁸

In chap. 48 (I, 219) there is another very remarkable passage of concession, and one which indicates that in Justin's time there were Christians who, if his judgment was at all representative, were in good standing among their brethren, while denying the miraculous and asserting the full natural birth of Christ:

Now assuredly, Trypho, I continued, that this man is the Christ of God does not fail, though I be unable to prove that he existed formerly as Son of the Maker of all things, being God, and was born man by the virgin. But since I have certainly proved that this man is the Christ of God, whoever he be, even if I do not prove that he pre-existed, and submitted to be born a man of like passions with us, having a body according to the Father's will; in this last matter alone it is just to say that I have erred, and not to deny that he is the Christ, though it should appear that he was born man of man,

³⁷ 67: Καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνοις λέγοντες, αἰδεῖσθαι ὀφείλετε, καὶ μάλλον ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον λέγειν τὸν Ἰησοῦν τοῦτον. καὶ ἐὰν ἀποδείκνυτε ἀπὸ τῶν Γραφῶν, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, διὰ τὸ ἐννόμως καὶ τελῶς πολιτεῦσθαι αὐτὸν, κατηξιῶσθαι τοῦ ἐκλεγῆναι εἰς Χριστόν. ἀλλὰ μὴ τερατολογεῖν τολμᾶτε, ὅπως μῆτε ὁμοίως τοῖς Ἑλλήσι μωραίνειν ἐλέγχησθε.

³⁸ 22: Τὶς δὲ θεοῦ ὁ Ἰησοῦς λεγόμενος, εἰ καὶ κοινῶς μόνον ἀνθρώπος, διὰ σοφίαν ἄγιος υἱὸς θεοῦ λέγεσθαι. πατέρα γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε πάντες συγγραφεῖς τὸν θεὸν καλοῦσιν.

and it is proved that he became Christ by election. For there are some, my friends, I said, of our race, who admit that he is Christ, while holding him to be man of men ; with whom I do not agree, nor would I, even though most of those who have the same opinions as myself should say so ; since we were enjoined by Christ himself to put no faith in human doctrines, but those proclaimed by the blessed prophets and taught by himself.³⁹

To summarize the teaching of Justin Martyr very briefly, we would say that he looked upon the virgin birth of the pre-existent Word as an important factor in securing the salvation of believers and the destruction of Satan, disobedience, and death. Justin was acquainted with the Logos doctrine of the fourth gospel, but was confused in his thought concerning the Spirit, the Power, and the Word, all of which were to him terms for the first-born of God, *Apol.*, I, 33 (I, 174) ; his idea is distinctly that of an incarnation. He regarded Mary's function for the race as in some sense the antithesis of that of the disobedient Eve. The Old Testament narrative proved the pre-existence of Christ, the Word, and clearly predicted his peculiar birth. Those who accepted Greek mythology had no right to hesitate at the Christian story of the virgin birth, since Satan foresaw this story in prophecy and counterfeited it in the Greek mythology, and since the Christian story is free from all the grossness of the Greek myths. But, after all, the belief that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, may be established by appeal to his ability, character, and his consequent election by God, as some Christians maintain, rather than upon his miraculous birth ; although Justin is by no means willing to accept this opinion for himself.

1. Justin (*Dial.*, chap. 78) is the first to give evidence of the presence and use of an extra-canonical source. The mention of the birth of Jesus in a *cave* near Bethlehem indicates Justin's knowledge of some such material as is contained in the protevangelium of

³⁹ "Ἦδη μέντοι, ὦ Τρύφων, εἶπον, οὐκ ἀπόλλυται τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐὰν ἀποδείξαι μὴ δύνωμαι ὅτι καὶ προὔπηρχεν Υἱὸς τοῦ Ποιητοῦ τῶν ὄλων, θεὸς ὢν, καὶ γεγέννηται ἄνθρωπος διὰ τῆς Παρθένου. Ἀλλὰ ἐκ παντὸς ἀποδεικνυμένου, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅστις οὗτος ἔσται, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδεικνύω ὅτι προὔπηρχε, καὶ γεννηθῆναι ἄνθρωπος ὁμοιοπαθὴς ἡμῖν, σάρκα ἔχων, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Πατρὸς βουλήν ὑπέμεινεν, ἐν τούτῳ πεπλανῆσθαι με μόνον λέγειν δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀρνεῖσθαι ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς, ἐὰν φαίνεται ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γεννηθείς, καὶ ἐκλογὴ γενόμενος εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι ἀποδεικνύεται. Καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ τινες, ὦ φίλοι, ἔλεγον, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους ὁμολογοῦντες αὐτὸν Χριστὸν εἶναι, ἄνθρωπον δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γενόμενον ἀποφαινόμενοι, οἷς οὐ συντίθεται, οὐδ' ἂν πλείστοι ταῦτά μοι δοξάσαντες εἴποιεν. ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἀνθρωπείους διδάγμασι κεκελεύσμεθα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πείθεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς διὰ τῶν μακαρίων προφητῶν κηρυχθεῖσι καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ διδαχθεῖσι.

James.⁴⁰ But the remarkable fact is that, if such a gospel were in existence and known to Justin, it should have failed to influence his view of the virgin birth and should have supplanted or colored in so small a degree his reflection of the canonical infancy stories. His use of the canonical stories is clearly evidenced in such passages as *Apol.*, I, 33 (I, 174); *Dial.*, chaps. 78 (I, 237, 238) and 100 (I, 249);⁴¹ while *Apol.*, I, 30, indicates that he had a knowledge of both Matthew and Luke. That he was acquainted with some extra-canonical source is to be granted, but, at the same time, the absence of any real or significant influence of such a source is of considerable importance.

2. Justin's idea of the virgin birth is that of the incarnation (by such a process as is described in Luke) of the Son of God, who was indeed God and who with the Father constituted a sort of ditheism⁴² in the heavenly world prior to incarnation.

3. From the foregoing it will be seen that Justin's contribution is in the direction of a schematic understanding of the virgin birth, and that his attempt is harmonistic, not only in the matter of combining, as far as possible, the Johannine and the Lucan representations, as a whole, but in identifying the "Spirit" and "Power" in Luke with the "Word" in John, and all of these with the "Son of God," whom he considers to be none other than God. His view is decidedly that of an incarnation; and in this he agrees with Aristides, but goes beyond him in the attempt to harmonize the facts with this view.

IV. TATIAN (about 110-72 A. D.). Tatian's writings have very largely perished, possibly because of the church's disapproval of his teaching. In his address to the Greeks, chap. 21 (II, 74), we have the nearest approach to a theory of the virgin birth:

We do not act as fools, O Greeks, nor utter idle tales, when we announce

⁴⁰ The statement in the same passage that the magi came from *Arabia* seems to embody a tradition more specific than the story of Matthew, or it may be Justin's interpretation of "from the East." The extant apocryphal gospels make no mention of such a fact.

⁴¹ CONRADY, *Quelle der Kindheitsgesch. Jesu*, pp. 126 ff., endeavors to magnify Justin's use of extra-canonical sources, especially his use of the gospel of James, and upon the basis of *Apol.*, I, 33, *ὡς οἱ ἀπομνημονεύσαντες πάντα τὰ περὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐδίδαξαν*, concludes that, according to his own words, Justin used more than one gospel of the childhood.

⁴² On the other hand, Justin's unequivocal statement of Jewish monotheism is seen in *Dial.*, chaps. 11, 114, 127; also in *Apol.*, I, 12, 61, and *Apol.*, II, 6.

that God was born in the form of a man. I call on you who reproach us to compare your mythical accounts with our narration.⁴³

Although this is not exactly to the point, it seems to be an echo of the familiar argument of his teacher Justin. The genealogical tables are omitted⁴⁴ from his *Diatessaron* (IX, 44, 45), but the account of the virgin birth is faithfully reproduced from Matthew and Luke.

Thus, while the evidence from Tatian is very meager, it is perhaps sufficient to warrant the conclusion that, at the time of his writing the address to the Greeks, and also at the time of the compilation of his harmony, he was in accord with the narratives in the infancy sections of the gospels, and probably shared largely in the apologetic position of Justin Martyr.

V. MELITO (bishop of Sardis, 160-77 A. D.) has four brief references to the virgin birth that are preserved to us. These assert the pre-existence of Jesus without bodily form, and that, though he was "arrayed in the nature of his Father," he was carried in the womb of the virgin and assumed a bodily form from her. *Discourse on the Cross*, chap. 3 (VIII, 756), *on Faith*, chaps. 4 and 5 (VIII, 757). The reference in the *Discourse on Faith*, chap. 4, is a striking example of the attempted harmony of the Johannine prologue with a combination of the infancy stories of Matthew and Luke. No extra-canonical influence is discernible, and the contribution of Melito is without particular significance.

VI. IRENÆUS (about 120-202 A. D.). With Irenæus we pass from the field of apologetics to that of polemics. Justin Martyr was able to get along on friendly terms with his fellow-Christians who believed in the natural generation of Jesus. This may have been due to the tolerant spirit of Justin, or to one or both of two other facts, viz., the comparative unimportance of the doctrine of the virgin birth in the church at large, and, what is quite probable, the comparative moderation of those who took occasion to deviate in some respect from the established belief. But in the time of Irenæus the doctrine had become so rigid and was thought to be freighted with so weighty theological consequences, and, moreover, its various classes of opponents had become so strong and so odious to the orthodox majority, that the

⁴³ TATIAN, *Oratio adv. Graecos*, 21: Οὐ γὰρ μωραίνομεν, ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὐ δὲ ληροῦς ἀπαγγέλλομεν, Θεὸν ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ γεγονέναι καταγγέλλοντες. Οἱ λοιδοροῦντες ἡμᾶς συγκρίνατε τοὺς μύθους ὑμῶν τοῖς ἡμετέροις διηγήμασι.

⁴⁴ This to disprove the descent of Jesus from David. See THEODORET, *Haeret. Fab.*, I, 20.

defender of Christianity was forced to direct his energies against them rather than against the outside world.⁴⁵

This Irenæus did with no sparing hand, and so diligent was he in meeting the Gnostics at every turn in their mystic and extravagant vagaries, so persistent in his appeal to the law, the prophets, and the New Testament writings, and so conscientious in emphasizing the vital deductions which he thought to rest upon the doctrine of the virgin birth, that we are indebted to him for both a large amount of material on the question and almost proportionate light.

From an inductive study this material finally falls into a threefold division, which, with the ordinary exceptions due to such a method, will best serve to present the status of the doctrine in the time of Irenæus. We shall endeavor to give, first, a statement of the various views held, including, as far as we are able to interpret it, that of the Gnostics. In the second division Irenæus's appeal to Scripture will be presented; and in the third, the more distinctively theological argument and deductions.

1. The doctrine is stated or denied in a great variety of forms, the most difficult being that of the Gnostics produced in their attempt to keep Christ utterly free from the pollution of inherently evil flesh, and also to keep God the Father from dealing directly with that which was human and therefore sinful. In *Against Heresies*, I, 7, § 2 (I, 325)⁴⁶ it is stated that the Christ was produced by the Demiurge from a psychic (*ψυχικόν*) nature, and that this Christ passed through Mary as water through a tube. Thus he was made in heaven of wholly supra-earthly substance, and suffered no pollution or alteration in his earthly advent. The continual aim of the Gnostics is thoroughly to denaturalize the conception, birth, and appearance of Jesus, in order to preserve the divinely created Christ from material contamination. In *Against Heresies*, III, 22, 2 (I, 454), Irenæus meets this theory in the following words:

Superfluous, too, in that case, is his descent into Mary; for why did he come down into her if he were to take nothing of her? Still further, if he had taken nothing of Mary, he would never have availed himself of those kinds of food which are derived from the earth by which that body which has been taken from the earth is nourished.⁴⁷

A rather elaborate statement of the mediaries used by God in the formation and earthly birth of Christ is given in I, 15, 3 (I, 339):

⁴⁵ EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, Books V, XX, XXVI.

⁴⁶ The citations in this section, unless otherwise designated, are from this work.

⁴⁷ Ἐπεὶ περισσὴ καὶ ἡ εἰς τὴν Μαρίαν αὐτοῦ κάθοδος. τί γὰρ καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν κατήει, εἰ μὴδὲν ἔμελλε λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτῆς; Ἐτι τε εἰ μὴδὲν εἰλήφει παρὰ τῆς Μαρίας, οὐκ αὐτὰς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰλημμένας προσέλετο τροφὰς, δι' ὧν τὸ ἀπὸ γῆς ληφθὲν τρέφεται σῶμα.

The angel Gabriel took the place of Logos, the Holy Spirit that of Zoe, the Power of the Highest that of Anthropos, while the Virgin pointed out the place of Ecclesia. And thus by a dispensation there was generated by Him through Mary that man whom, as he passed through the womb, the Father of all chose to obtain the knowledge of Himself by means of the Word.⁴⁸

Here, as in many of the Gnostic utterances, it is difficult to discover any clear and consistent conception running through the passage. This is due to the studied coining of terms and juggling with the same for the purpose of making the Christian system more of an awe-inspiring mystery, known only to the initiated. From the context, however, it seems that these æons of the tetrad, viz., *ἄνθρωπος*, *ἐκκλησία*, *λόγος*, and *ζωή*, produced the pre-existent Christ; and in order to have an exact parallel in God's generation of Jesus through Mary, these agencies have fitting substitutes which carry out the divine will, viz., Gabriel for *λόγος*, the Holy Spirit for *ζωή*, the Power of the Highest for *ἄνθρωπος*, and the virgin Mary for *ἐκκλησία*. There is in this scheme of substitution some show of reason. Gabriel does with some fitness fill the place of the Word or messenger of God; the Holy Spirit, the place of the imparted divine life; the Power of the Highest, the place of the natural generating agency, man; and Mary, the place of the medium, the church, through which God comes among men. The scheme is inconsistent where it introduces the Word as imparting to Jesus in his passage through the womb the knowledge of the Father.

In I, 25, 1, Carpocrates⁴⁹ and his followers "hold that Jesus was the son of Joseph and was just like other men, with the exception that he differed from them in this respect, that, inasmuch as his soul was steadfast and pure, he perfectly remembered those things which he had witnessed within the sphere of the unbegotten God."⁵⁰ Here one cannot escape the inference that Carpocrates and his followers believed in the pre-existence of the souls of all men.

Further statements are found in four or five other passages which it is necessary to incorporate in this section :

⁴⁸ Καὶ τοῦ μὲν λόγου ἀναπεπληρωκέναι τὸν τόπον τὸν ἄγγελον Γαβριὴλ, τῆς δὲ Ζωῆς τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τοῦ δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ὑψίστου, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τόπον ἢ παρθένος. οὕτως τε ὁ κατ' οἰκονομίαν διὰ τῆς Μαρίας γενεσιουργεῖται παρ' αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπος ὃν ὁ πατήρ τῶν ὄλων διελθόντα διὰ μήτρας ἐξελέξατο διὰ λόγου εἰς ἐπίγνωνσιν αὐτοῦ.

⁴⁹ EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, Books IV, VII.

⁵⁰ See John 17 : 3. IRENÆUS, *Contra Hæreses*, I, 25, 1 : "(Dicunt) Jesum autem e Joseph natum, et cum similis reliquis hominibus fuerit, distasse a reliquis secundum id, quod anima eius firma et munda cum esset. Commemorata fuerit quæ visa essent sibi in ea circumlacione quæ fuisset ingenito Deo."

I, 26, 1 (I, 352): "He [Cerinthus⁵¹] represented Jesus as having not been born of a virgin, but as being the son of Joseph and Mary according to the ordinary course of human generation, while he nevertheless was more righteous, prudent, and wise than other men."⁵² *Ibid.*, 2: "Those who are called Ebionites agree that the world was made by God; but their opinions with respect to the Lord are similar to those of Cerinthus and Carpocrates."⁵³ I, 27, 1 (I, 352): "Cerdo . . . taught that the God proclaimed by the law and the prophets was not the father of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the former was known, but the latter unknown; while the one also was righteous, but the other benevolent."⁵⁴ IV, 16, 1 (I, 440): "The Valentinians⁵⁵ again maintain that the dispensational Jesus was the same who passed through Mary, upon whom the Savior from the more exalted region descended."⁵⁶ V, 19, 2 (I, 547): "Others still despise the advent of the Lord manifest [to the senses], for they do not admit his incarnation; while others, ignoring the arrangement that he should be born of a virgin, maintain that he was begotten by Joseph."⁵⁷

The standard summary of heresies is to be found in I, 22, 31 (I, 347-58), where, beginning with Simon of Samaria, who held that God appeared among the Jews as Son, to the Samaritans as Father, and to other nations as the Holy Spirit, he passes on to mention nearly every phase of what he calls the "Lernæan hydra that was generated from the school of Valentinus." Saturninus of Antioch in Syria held that the Savior was without birth, body, or form, and was only by supposition a visible man. Basilides thought that Nous (νόος) was the first-born of the unborn Father. Νόος is called Christ, and from him was born Λόγος. Christ appeared upon earth, wrought miracles, transformed himself as he pleased, was not in any way humiliated, defiled, or cruci-

⁵¹ EUSEBIUS, *Ch. H.*, Books III, XXVIII.

⁵² "Jesum autem subjectit non ex Virgine natum (impossibile enim hoc ei visum est); fuisse autem Joseph et Mariae filium similiter ut reliqui omnes homines, et plus potuisse justitia et prudentia et sapientia ab hominibus."

⁵³ "Qui autem dicuntur Ebionaei consentiunt quidem mundum a Deo factum: ea autem, quae sunt erga Dominum, non similiter ut Cerinthus et Carpocrates opinantur."

⁵⁴ Κέρδων . . . ἐδίδαξε τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν κεκηρυγμένον θεόν, μὴ εἶναι πατέρα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν μὲν γὰρ γνωρίζεσθαι τὸν δὲ ἀγνώστα εἶναι, καὶ τὸν μὲν δίκαιον τὸν δὲ ἀγαθὸν ὑπάρχειν.

⁵⁵ EUSEBIUS, *C. H.*, Books IV, X, XI.

⁵⁶ "Qui autem a Valentino sunt, Jesum quidem, qui sit ex dispositione, ipsum esse, qui per Mariam transierit in quem illum de superiori Salvatore descendisse; quem et Christum dici."

⁵⁷ "Alii autem manifestum adventum Domini contemnunt, incarnationem eius non recipientes; alii autem rursus ignorantes Virginis dispensationem ex Joseph dicunt eum generatum."

fied. Carpocrates believed Jesus to be the son of Joseph and Mary as above stated ; and many of the followers of Basilides and Carpocrates, owing to their negation of the worth and salvability of the body and their belief in salvation and resurrection for the soul only, became degraded into licentiousness and promiscuity. Cerinthus and the Ebionites⁵⁸ agreed with Carpocrates as to the birth of Jesus. Cerdo emphasized the fact that the father of Jesus Christ was the unknown God and not he of the law and prophets. Marcion accepted only the gospel of Luke, expunging therefrom the account of the generation of Jesus and other material offensive to the Gnostic taste. He treated the epistles of Paul and prophecy in the same manner. The Encratites were a product of the teaching of Saturninus and Marcion, but represented the extremely opposite result of that teaching which, springing from the same or a similar source, culminated in licentiousness ; for the Encratites, holding to the inherent evil of flesh and of human generation, practiced the most rigorous abstinence. Of this class was Tatian after the death of Justin Martyr. The Barbeliotes held that Barbelos, the eternal æon who existed as a virgin spirit, created light and, anointing it, thus constituted the Christ. The Ophites and Sethians, while believing that Jesus was begotten of a virgin through the agency of God, and was therefore wiser, purer, and more righteous than all other men, held at the same time that Jesus was only constituted Christ by the descent of Christ united to Sophia (σοφία) into him.

A more condensed summary of the various beliefs touching the birth is found in III, 11, 3 (I, 427):

Some, however, make the assertion that this dispensational Jesus did become incarnate and suffered, whom they represent as having passed through Mary just as water through a tube ; but others allege him to be the son of the Demiurge, upon whom the dispensational Jesus descended ; while others again say that Jesus was born from Joseph and Mary and that the Christ from above descended upon him, being without flesh and impassible. But according to the opinion of no one of the heretics was the Word of God made flesh. For if anyone carefully examines the systems of them all, he will find that the Word of God is brought in by them all as not having become incarnate (*sine carne*) and impassible, as is also the Christ from above. Others consider him to have been manifested as a transfigured man, but they maintain him to have been neither born nor to have become incarnate ; whilst others hold that he did not assume human form at all, but that as a dove he did descend upon that Jesus who was born of Mary. Therefore the Lord's

⁵⁸ It may be that the Ebionites denied the virgin birth of Jesus in order to maintain his Davidic descent as Messiah.

disciple, pointing them all out as false witnesses, says, And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us.⁵⁹

In this passage five tolerably distinct views are set forth: (1) That Jesus, the pre-existent one, took a real body and became subject to suffering, but that his body was in no respect derived from Mary. This was the view of Valentinus and was elaborated by Apelles, Ptolemy, Secundus, and Heracleon. (2) That Jesus was the son of the Demiurge and that upon him descended the dispensational Jesus. (3) That Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary, and that Christ, spiritual and incapable of suffering, descended upon him as a dove at baptism. This view is twice stated, the second statement being in the sentence before the last of the reference. It was the view of Carpocrates, Cerinthus, the Ebionites, and others. (4) That Jesus was manifested as a transfigured man, that he was a semblance only, without flesh and not born. This was the view of Saturninus, Basilides, and others. And (5) the view of the fourth gospel, and of Irenæus, that the Word was made flesh.

So much for the various statements of the doctrine. The chief contribution made to the study is the appearance of Gnosticism in its attempt to entirely rid Jesus Christ of the pollution of the flesh, and this by an ignoring of the New Testament account and by a resort to philosophic theorizing upon the basis of a half-Hebraized and degenerate Greek philosophy. Otherwise the opposing contentions of the natural birth and of the birth from Mary alone by the Power of God are practically the same as in the writings previously reviewed.

2. Irenæus's appeal to Scripture is noteworthy in that with him first we meet the use of the New Testament as an authority similar to the Old. His use of prophecy is on a par with that of Justin Martyr.⁶⁰ The quotation of secs. 7 and 8 will suffice to illustrate this:

⁵⁹ IRENÆUS, *Con. Haer.*, III, 11, 3: "Incarnatum autem et passum quidam quidem eum, qui ex dispositione sit, dicunt Jesum, quem par Mariam dicunt pertransisse, quas aquam per tubum, alii vero Demiurgi filium, in quem descendisse eum Jesum, qui ex dispositione sit; alii rursum Jesum quidem ex Joseph et Maria natum dicunt, et in hunc descendisse Christum, qui de superioribus sit; sine carne et impassibilem, existentem. Secundum autem nullam sententiam haeticorum, Verbum Dei caro factum est. Si enim quis regulas ipsorum omnium perscrutetur, inveniet quoniam sine carne, et impassibilis ab omnibus illis inducitur Dei Verbum, et qui est in superioribus Christus. Alii enim putant manifestatum eum, quemadmodum hominem transfiguratum; neque autem natum, neque incarnatum dicunt illum; alii vero neque figura meum assumpsisse hominis; sed quemadmodum columbam descendisse in eum Jesum, qui natus est ex Maria. Omnes igitur illos falsos testes ostendens discipulus Domini ait: Et Verbum caro factum est, et inhabitavit in nobis."

⁶⁰ See III, 9, 2 and 3; 21, 1, especially § 6, where the Ebionite contention for

On this account also Daniel [Dan. 2:34], foreseeing his advent, said that a stone cut out without hands came into this world.⁶¹ For this is what "without hands" means, that his coming into this world was not by the operation of human hands, that is, of those men who are accustomed to stone-cutting;⁶² that is, Joseph taking no part with regard to it, but Mary only co-operating with the prearranged plan. For this stone from the earth derives existence from both the power and the wisdom of God. Wherefore also Isaiah says: "Thus saith the Lord, Behold, I deposit in the foundations of Zion a stone, precious, elect, the chief, the corner one, to be had in honor." So then we understand that his advent in human nature was not by the will of a man, but by the will of God.⁶³ (8) Wherefore also Moses, giving a type, cast his rod⁶⁴ upon the earth, in order that it by becoming flesh might expose and swallow up all the opposition of the Egyptians which was lifting itself up against the prearranged plan of God; that the Egyptians themselves might testify that it is the finger of God which works salvation for the people, and not the son of Joseph. For if he were the son of Joseph, how could he be greater than Solomon or greater than Jonah or greater than David, when he was generated from the same seed, and was a descendant of these men? And how was it that he also pronounced Peter blessed because he acknowledged him to be the son of the living God?⁶⁵

In the following section (9) Irenæus makes an appeal to prophecy *veâvus* rather than *παρθένος* in the Immanuel passage is refuted; and §5 for a pedantic treatment of *de fructu ventris, renum, lumborum*, showing that the use of *ventris* in the promise to David predicted the virgin birth.

⁶¹ See also *ibid.*, V, 25, 5 (I, 554).

⁶² An easy adaptation of the term "carpenter" (*τέκτων*) of the canonical and apocryphal gospels, so as to make it more consonant with the quotation from Daniel.

⁶³ IRENÆUS, *Con. Haer.*, III, 21, 7: "Propter hoc autem et Daniel praevidens eius adventum, lapidem sine manibus abscissum advenisse in hunc mundum (hoc enim est quod "sine manibus") significabat; quod non operantibus humanis manibus, hoc est, virorum illorum qui solent lapides caedere, in hunc mundum eius adventus erat, id est, non operante in eum Joseph, sed sola Maria cooperante dispositioni. Hic enim lapis a terra, ex virtute et arte constat Dei. Propter hoc autem et Isaïas ait: 'sic dicit Dominus: Ecce ego mitto in fundamenta Sion lapidem pretiosum, electum, summum, angularem, honorificum;' uti non ex voluntate viri, sed ex voluntate Dei, adventum eius qui secundum hominem est intelligamus."

⁶⁴ Note the play upon words in the original.

⁶⁵ IRENÆUS, *Con. Haer.*, III, 21, 8: "Propter hoc autem et Moyses ostendans typum projecit virgam in terram, ut ea incarnata omnem Aegyptiorum praevaricationem quae surgebat adversus Dei dispositionem, argueret et absorberet; et ut ipsi Aegyptii testificarentur, quoniam digitus est Dei, qui salutem operatur populo, et non Joseph filius. Si enim Joseph filius esset, quemadmodum plus poterat quam Salomon, aut plus quam Jonas habere, aut plus esse David, cum esset ex eadem seminatione generatus, et proles existens ipsorum? Ut quid autem et beatum dicebat Petrum, quod eum cognosceret esse Filium Dei vivi?"

to show that, if Jesus were the son of Joseph, he could not be "king or heir." For in Matt. 1: 12-16 it is shown that Joseph was descended from Joachim and Jechoniah, but according to Jer. 22: 24 ff. and 36: 30 ff. these men were disinherited by God.

Those therefore who say that he was begotten of Joseph, and that they have hope in him, do cause themselves to be disinherited from the kingdom, falling under the curse and rebuke directed against Jechoniah and his seed. Because for this reason have these things been spoken against Jechoniah, the Spirit foreknowing the doctrines of the evil teachers; that they may learn that from his seed—that is, from Joseph—he was not to be born, but that, according to the promise of God, from David's belly the king eternal is raised up, who sums up all things in himself and gathered into himself the ancient formation (of man).⁶⁶

The use of the New Testament centers very largely about the infancy sections.⁶⁷ First Cor. 15: 3, 4, 12 is used for emphasis of the real humanity of Christ, III, 17, 3 (I, 446). John 1: 13, "not born by the will of the flesh, or by the will of man," is used in III, 19, 2 (I, 449). But perhaps most significant of all is the use of Gal. 4: 4, 5 in III, 16, 3 (I, 441), and III, 22, 1 (I, 454), "God sent forth his Son, born of a woman." In fragments 52-4 (I, 577) the status of the gospels in this controversy is indicated. "With regard to Christ, the law, the prophets, and the *evangelists* have proclaimed that he was born of a virgin."⁶⁸

The use of the New Testament is, on the whole, very much more reasonable than that of the Old Testament; and while the references in the Pauline epistles do not, in our thinking, contribute anything beyond a confirmation of the actual humanity of Christ (a point for which Irenæus had to contend), still one can readily understand how such a passage as Gal. 4: 4 was irresistibly attractive. But now that the gospels had become authoritative, and the infancy sections especially were so effectually used by the orthodox, it only remained for those who opposed the virgin birth to repudiate these sections. Hence we read in I, 28, 2 (I, 352):

⁶⁶ IRENÆUS, *ibid.*, III, 21, 9: "Qui ergo eum dicunt ex Joseph generatum et in eo habere spem, abdicatos se faciunt a regno, sub maledictione et increpatione decedentes, quae erga Jechoniam et in semen ejus. Propter hoc enim dicta sunt haec de Jechonia, spiritu praesciente ea quae a malis doctoribus dicuntur: uti discant, quoniam ex semine eius, id est ex Joseph, non erit natus, sed secundum repromissionem Dei de ventre David suscitatur rex aeternus, qui recapitulatur omnia in se et antiquam plasmationem in se recapitulatus est."

⁶⁷ E. g., III, 2, 9, 10; 16, 2 ff.; 21, 4; IV, 23, 1.

⁶⁸ EUSEBIUS, *Ch. H.*, Books V, VIII.

Besides this he [Marcion] mutilates the gospel which is according to Luke, removing all that is written respecting the generation of the Lord, and setting aside a great deal of the teaching of the Lord, in which the Lord is recorded as most clearly confessing that the maker of this universe is his Father.⁶⁹

3. Passing now to Irenæus's more distinctively theological argument and deductions, we see that according to his thinking the virgin birth readily explained how the Son of God became the Son of man :

He therefore, the Son of God, our Lord, being the Word of the Father, and the son of man, since he had a generation as to his human nature from Mary—who was descended from mankind, and who was herself a human being—was made the son of man⁷⁰ (III, 19, 3 [I, 449]).

Moreover, the ability of Jesus and his excellence of character are not admitted as arguments for his messiahship and sonship apart from the virgin birth, as is the case in Justin Martyr, but are regarded as the consequences of such a birth (I, 30, 12 [I, 357]).

The superficial parallelism and moral antithesis between the virgin birth and the creation and fall can be best appreciated from direct quotation :

III, 21, 10 (I, 454): And as the protoplast himself, Adam, had his substance from untilled and yet virgin soil⁷¹ (for God had not yet sent rain, and man had not yet tilled the ground), and was formed by the hand of God, that is, by the Word of God, for "all things were made by him," and the Lord took dust from the earth and formed man; so did he who is the Word, recapitulating Adam in himself, rightly receive a birth enabling him to gather up Adam into himself from Mary, who was as yet a virgin. If, then, the first Adam had a man for his father, and was born of human seed, it were reasonable to say that the second Adam was begotten of Joseph. But if the former was taken from the dust, and God was his maker, it was incumbent that the latter also, making a recapitulation in himself, should be formed as man by God, to have an analogy with the former as respects his origin. Why, then, did not God take dust, but wrought so that the formation should be made of Mary? It was that there might not be another formation called into being, nor any other which should require to be saved, but that

⁶⁹IRENÆUS, *Con. Haer.*, I, 28, 2: "Et super haec id quod est secundum Lucam Evangelium circumcidens et omnia quae sunt de generatione Domini conscripta auferens, et de doctrina sermonum Domini multa auferens in quibus manifestissime conditorem huius universitatis suum Patrem confitens Dominus conscriptus est."

⁷⁰IRENÆUS, *ibid.*, III, 19, 3: "Hic igitur Filius Dei Dominus noster, existens Verbum Patris et filius hominis: quoniam ex Maria, quae ex hominibus habebat genus quae et ipsa erat homo, habuit secundum hominem generationem, factus est filius hominis."

⁷¹Also III, 17, 7.

the same formation should be summed up, the analogy having been preserved.⁷²

Here, as in several other similar passages, Irenæus shows a familiarity with Paul's parallelism between Adam and Jesus, but differs from Paul in pushing the parallelism into a region of which Paul was either wholly ignorant, or with which he was totally unconcerned.⁷³

There is a significant passage in IV, 33, 4 (I, 507):

And how shall he [man] escape from the generation subject to death, if not by means of a new generation, given in a wonderful and unexpected manner, but as a sign of salvation by God—I mean that regeneration which is from the virgin through faith?⁷⁴ Or how shall they receive adoption from God, if they remain in this kind of generation, which is naturally possessed by man in this world? And how should he [Christ] have been greater than Solomon or greater than Jonah, or have been the Lord of David, who was of the same substance as they were?⁷⁵

Such a statement, taken together with the Paulinistic elaboration in III, 19, 1, makes the foundation for Irenæus's final dogmatic assertion:

Those who assert that he was simply a mere man, begotten by Joseph remaining in the bondage of the primal disobedience, are in a state of death having been not as yet joined to the Word of God the Father, nor receiving liberty through the Son, as he does himself declare: If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed⁷⁶ (III, 19 [I, 448]).

⁷² IRENÆUS, *Con. Haer.*, III, 21, 10: "Et quemadmodum protoplastus ille Adam de rudi terra, et de adhuc virgine, (nondum enim pluerat Deus, et homo non erat operatus terram) habuit substantiam: et plasmatus est manu Dei, id est Verbo Dei (omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt) et sumpsit Dominus limum a terra, et plasmavit hominem: ita recapitulans in se Adam, ipse Verbum existens ex Maria, quae adhuc erat virgo, recte accipiebat generationem Adae recapitulationis. *εἰ τοίνυν ὁ πρῶτος Ἀδὰμ ἔσχε πατέρα ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἐξ ἀνδρὸς σπέρματος ἐγεννήθη εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ τὸν δευτέρου Ἀδὰμ λέγειν ἐξ Ἰωσήφ γεγεννησθαι· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐκ γῆς ἐλήφθη. Πλάστης δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς, ἔδει καὶ τὸν ἀνακεφαλαιούμενον εἰς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πεπλασμένον ἄνθρωπον, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνῳ τῆς γεννήσεως ἔχειν ὁμοίωτα. εἰς τί οὖν πάλιν οὐκ ἔλαβε χοῦν ὁ θεὸς, ἀλλ' ἐκ Μαρίας ἐνήργησε τὴν πλάσιν γενέσθαι; ἵνα μὴ ἄλλη πλάσις γένηται μηδὲ ἄλλο τὸ σωζόμενον ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀνακεφαλαιωθῇ τηρουμένης τῆς ὁμοιότητος."*

⁷³ See also III, 21, 4 (I, 455); V, 19, 1 (I, 547); and V, 21, 1 (I, 584).

⁷⁴ See III, 19, 1 (I, 448); IV, 33, 11 (I, 509); V, 1, 1, 2, 3 (I, 527).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 33, 4: "Quemadmodum autem relinquet mortis generationem, si non in novam generationem mire et inopinate a Deo, in signum autem salutis, datam, quae est ex virgine per fidem, regenerationem? vel quam adoptionem accipiant a Deo, permanentes in hac genesi, quae est secundum hominem in hoc mundo? Quomodo autem plus quam Salomon, et plus quam Jonas habebat, et Dominus erat David, qui eiusdem cum ipsis fuit substantiae?"

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 19, 1: "Rursus autem qui unde tantum hominem eum dicunt ex Joseph generatum, perseverantes in servitute pristinae inobedientiae moriuntur: non-

We have traced the doctrine in Irenæus, noticing its multiform statement arising from the conviction of its great importance and the menacing features of the different forms of Gnosticism. The appeal to Scripture is seen to be, in the case of prophecy at least, no more praiseworthy than that of Justin Martyr, while his appeal to the New Testament is much more straightforward, and constitutes a new feature in the study. The more distinctly theological argument is based upon a fanciful, though somewhat Pauline, analogy whose force is not felt today. The argument makes the virgin birth the basal and essential factor in constituting Jesus a fit and capable Savior for lost and polluted man, hence those who do not believe in the virgin birth are "in the bondage of the old disobedience" and "in a state of death." Of course, the other and silent premise underlying this conclusion is that right belief concerning the nature of Christ is necessary to salvation.

1. In conclusion it should be pointed out that, while Irenæus makes a copious use of the canonical infancy stories,⁷⁷ he has no reference to the apocryphal accounts, although they would very naturally have been called for in such a passage as IV, 23, § 1. Moreover, it would appear (I, 27, § 2 [I, 352]) that, in the case of the heretic Marcion at least, there existed no apocryphal source of the kind which he needed for his denial of the miraculous generation of Jesus, so that it was necessary for him so to mutilate the gospel of Luke that it might suit his purpose. Nor is there evidence that any of the heretics knew of gospels other than the canonical to which to appeal in advancing or supporting their variant views.

2. In his understanding of the virgin birth Irenæus has passed clear away from the thought of a miraculous but real birth (devoid of the slightest intimation of pre-existence), such as the accounts in Matthew and Luke teach and Ignatius and Justin clearly, though not consistently, imply, and in his adoption of the view of the fourth gospel has converted the virgin birth into an advent or an incarnation in a more rigid and uniform sense than previously prevailed; *e. g.*, *Contra Haer.*, I, 25, 1 (I, 330); III, 9, 3 (I, 423); III, 11, 3 (I, 427). But, at the same time, in his thinking the divine sonship and nature of Jesus were based upon the fact that God, and not man, was his father (III, 21, § 8 [I, 453]).

dum commisti Verbo Dei Patris, neque per Filium percipientes libertatem, quemadmodum ipse ait: 'Si Filius vos manumiserit vere liberi eritis.'

⁷⁷ *E. g.*, III, 9, 2 and 3 (I, 423 ff.); III, 16, 2, 3, and 4 (I, 440 ff.); III, 21, 4 and 5 (I, 452); IV, 23, 1 (I, 494); V, 25, 5 (I, 554).

3. Thus in Irenæus we meet what is so far the clearest statement of Jesus' derivation of divine nature from the fact that God is his father; but Irenæus's chief contribution to the study is in the theological significance which he attributed to the virgin birth; for in his thinking it was only by such a birth that Jesus could be constituted the adequate Savior of mankind—and so far as his moral worth being sufficient *per se* to constitute him Messiah and Son of God, Irenæus, making a bold advance from the position of the earliest apologists, asserted that the pre-eminence of Jesus and his unique moral worth were dependent upon the virgin birth.

VII. TERTULLIAN (about 150–240 A. D.).—There are in Tertullian nearly a score of passages in which a statement of belief regarding the virgin birth is made. The most simple of these are: *Veiling of Virgins*, IV, 3, 1 (IV, 27); *Monogamy*, 8 (IV, 65); *Against Praxeas*, 2 (III, 598), 26, 27 (III, 622 ff.); and *Patience*, 3 (III, 708). Other passages, which make some significant addition to the bare statement, are: *Apol.*, 21 (III, 34), including a repudiation of the Greek myths; *Soul*, 26 (III, 207), with a reference to the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, and the prenatal testimony of John; *Against Heretics*, 36 (III, 260), and *Against Marcion*, V, 19 (III, 471), each included in the church's statement of faith; *Resurrection*, 20 (III, 559), with emphasis upon the real humanity of Jesus; *Against Valentinus*, 27 (III, 516), stating the belief of Valentinus:

His position being one which must be decided by prepositions; in other words, he was produced *by means of* (*per*) a virgin rather than *of* (*ex*) a virgin! On the ground that, having descended into the Virgin rather in the manner of a passage through her than of a birth by her, he came into existence *through* (*per*) her, not *of* (*ex*) her—not experiencing a mother in her, but nothing more than a way. Upon this same Christ, therefore, so they say, the Savior descended in the sacrament of baptism in the likeness of a dove.⁷⁸ There are also two references to the belief of Praxeas and the Patripassionists: *Against Praxeas*, 17 (III, 617), and 1 (III, 597):

He says that the Father himself came down into the Virgin, was himself born of her, himself suffered, indeed was himself Jesus Christ.⁷⁹

⁷⁸TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Valentinianos*, XXVII: "In praepositionum quaestionibus positum, id est per virginem, non ex virgine editum, quia delatus in virginem transmeator potius quam generatoris more processerit: per ipsam, non ex ipsa; non matrem eam, sed viam passus. Super hunc itaque Christum devolasse tunc in baptismatis sacramento Sotorem per effigiem columbae."

⁷⁹TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Praxeam*, I: "Ipsum dicit Patrem descendisse in Virginem, ipsum ex ea natum, ipsum passum, denique ipsum esse Jesum Christum."

Of the statements here cited and quoted, that of Praxeas appears for the first time. The Patripassion theory undoubtedly arose from the difficulty of conceiving of a dual or triune God, and as a consistent effort to escape ditheism or tritheism.

Somewhat akin to the superficial argument about terms,⁸⁰ and yet showing Tertullian's rather scholastic reasoning in maintenance of the humanity of Christ, and, *secondarily*, of the virginity of Mary, is the passage in *Against Marcion*, IV, 10 (III, 358, 360). The argument is quite syllogistic: Christ cannot lie. He said he was the son of man. Therefore he had a human parent. But God was his father. Therefore Mary, his mother, was the human parent. But, if so, she was a virgin. Otherwise he had two fathers, a divine and a human one, the thought of which is ridiculous, like the stories of Castor and Hercules. Moreover, the prophecy of Isaiah is alone fulfilled by the exclusion of a human father and the acceptance of the virginity of Mary. If Marcion admits Christ to be the son of man through a human father, he thereby denies that he is son of God; if through a divine one also, he makes Christ the Hercules of fable; if through a human mother only, he concedes Tertullian's point; if not through a human father or a human mother, he involves Christ in a lie.⁸¹

⁸⁰ See *Veiling of Virgins*, 6 (IV, 31), and treatise on *Prayer*, 22 (III, 688).

⁸¹ TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marcionem*, IV, 10: "De filio hominis duplex est nostra praescriptio, neque mentiri posse Christum, ut se filium hominis pronuntiaret, si non vere erat; neque filium constitui, qui non sit natus ex homine, vel patre vel matre: atque ita discutiendum, cujus hominis filius accipi debeat, patris an matris. Si ex Deo patre est, utique non ex homine: si non ex homine, jam apparet quia ex virgine. Cui enim homo pater non datur, nec vir matri ejus deputabitur; porro cui vir non deputabitur, virgo est. Caeterum, duo jam patres habebuntur, Deus et homo, si non virgo sit mater. Habebit enim virum, ut virgo non sit; et habendo virum, duos patres faciet, Deum et hominem, et qui et Dei et hominis esset filius. Talem, si forte, Castori aut Herculi nativitatem tradunt fabulae.

"Si haec ita distinguuntur, id est, si ex matre filius est hominis, quia ex patre non est; ex matre autem virgine, quia non ex patre homine; his erit Christus Isaiae, quem concepturam virginem praedicat. Qua igitur ratione admittas filium hominis, Marcion, circumspicere non possum. Si patris hominis, negas Dei filium; si et Dei, Herculem de fabula facis Christum: si matris tantum hominis, meum concedis; si neque matris hominis, ergo nullius hominis, est filius, et necesse est mendacium admiserit, qui se quod non erat dixit. Unum potest angustiis tuis subvenire, si audeas aut Deum tuum patrem Christi hominem quoque cognominare, quod de Aeone fecit Valentinus; aut virginem hominem negare, quod ne Valentinus quidem fecit. . . .

"Nam in illam necesse est amentiam tendat, ut et filium hominis defendat, nec mendacem eum faciat; et ex homine neget natum, ne filium virginis concedat. . . . Si natus ex homine est, ut filius hominis, corpus ex corpore est," etc.

Such a line of reasoning has peculiar interest in that it shows how strenuously Tertullian could defend the real *humanity* of Christ—for this was Tertullian's constant task—by an appeal to the virgin birth. Of like interest is his badly stated belief that the part played by God in the generation of Jesus was such as to utterly *exclude* human fatherhood; that God, though in no gross sense, was the substitute⁸² for a human begetter; that the dual nature of Christ depends simply upon his parentage—being divine, because God, and no man, was his father; human, because Mary was his mother. The premises are that Christ is divine (this is not only admitted, but given an unwarranted emphasis by his heretical opponents); that his nature depends upon his parentage; that therefore that humanity which he, who could not lie, claimed for himself could not come from his father; it must, therefore, come from his mother; but, granting the above, it could come from her only through the virgin birth.

In *The Flesh of Christ*, chap. 23 (III, 541), there is a semi-scholastic attempt to show that the Virgin's conception and parturition are the sign spoken of by Simeon, and long before by Isaiah; and, moreover, that Mary, though a virgin, was in reality the purely human mother of the human Christ. The saying, "Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy to the Lord," is applicable solely to the Son of God, since only in the case of a virgin birth does a *child* open the womb.

There is a principle laid down in *Ad Nationes*, 3 (III, 131), which explains Tertullian's belief as to the person of Christ, and, as tributary to that, the virgin birth also:

It is a settled point that a god is born of a god, and that which lacks divinity is born of that which is not divine.⁸³

This very simple philosophy is the clue to the "Son of God—son of man" passages such as *Apol.*, 21 (III, 34, 35); *Flesh of Christ*, 5 (III, 525), and especially 18 (III, 537).

Turning to prophecy, we find Tertullian using it in much the same way as did Justin Martyr and Irenæus. In his *Answer to Jews*, 9 (III, 161), he resorts to the already familiar argument that, apart from the *virgin* birth, the promise of a sign in the Immanuel prophecy⁸⁴ is meaningless; and in *Against Marcion*, III, 12 (III, 331), he reiterates the same contention, and points out, moreover, as did Justin Martyr

⁸² As opposed to this theory, see ORIGEN, *De Principiis*, I, 2, sec. 4 (IV, 247).

⁸³ TERTULLIAN, *Ad Nationes*, II, 3c: "Scitum, deum e deo nasci, quemadmodum de non deo non deum."

⁸⁴ Also *Flesh of Christ*, 17 (III, 536).

(*Dial.*, 77 ff.), that in the coming of the magi the remainder of the prophecy, as to receiving the riches of Damascus, etc., was fulfilled.

In his *Answer to Jews*, 9 (III, 164), he demonstrates that, according to Isa. 11:1, 2, Jesus procures his Davidic descent through the virgin Mary. Chap. 21 of *The Flesh of Christ* (III, 539) makes a combined argument from the Immanuel prophecy, the annunciation to Mary, and Elizabeth's salutation to Mary, to show that she was the actual human mother of Jesus, through whom he was a descendant of David,⁸⁵ and that from her he who was the Word of God derived his flesh. Tertullian's use of "flesh" here is not synonymous with his use of "humanity" in the important reference in *Marcion*, IV, 10. Here "flesh" is used in the literal sense to designate that with which the pre-existent Word clothed himself; there the thought of pre-existence is absent, and the dual nature of Christ is explained by his generation. The virgin birth is supported by an appeal to the question in Isa., chap. 53, "Who shall declare his nativity?" from which Tertullian infers that no human being was aware of the nativity of Christ at his conception.⁸⁶ He also interprets the LXX of Ps. 110:3 (Ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐγγενήσά σε): "Before the morning star did I beget thee from the womb"—as referring both to the time of Christ's birth and to the manner. "'I have begotten thee from the womb;' that is to say, from a womb only, without a man's seed, making it a condition of a fleshly body that it should come out of a womb."

In the more distinctive use of the New Testament the chief effort is, as in the foregoing, to emphasize the real humanity and Davidic descent of Christ rather than to substantiate his virgin birth. These three subjects, however, have a natural affinity for each other, and are often found in combination in Tertullian's mind. His references⁸⁷ to Matt. 1:1; Rom. 1:3; 2 Tim. 2:8; Gal. 3:8, 16, are ordinary instances of this use of the New Testament. The twentieth chapter on *The Flesh of Christ* (III, 538) has a long dissertation to prove that Christ was born *of* (*ex*) Mary, partaking of her flesh, as does any child from any mother. The Gnostic heretics, denying the reality of his body, contended that he was begotten *in* (*in*) Mary, but not *of* (*ex*) her, using for their purpose Matt. 1:20, τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματος ἔστιν ἅγιον. In reply, Tertullian quotes the ἐξ of Matt. 1:16 and Gal. 4:4, "*made of a woman*" (γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός), to good effect, but descends to his usually poor exegesis in the use of

⁸⁵ See also *Against Marcion*, III, 20 (III, 338, 339).

⁸⁶ *Answer to Jews*, 13 (III, 171).

⁸⁷ *Flesh of Christ*, 22 (III, 540).

Ps. 22:9, 10, "Thou art he that didst draw me out of my mother's womb." Equally indefensible is his exegesis of the singular misreading⁸⁸ which he maintains in John 1:13, and tortures into denying Jesus' birth from sexual intercourse, while admitting or affirming that he was born of real flesh.

The Gnostics were also using Matt. 12:48 to support their denial of the reality of Jesus' body,⁸⁹ contending that those who announced the presence of his mother and brethren did so to test him, and to determine whether he were actually of a human family, which fact, they claimed, was practically denied by his reply. But Tertullian's readiness to interpret figurative language, however fatal in most instances, did him good service in this.

It is difficult to believe that Tertullian could have been as ignorant of the gospels as would appear from what a strict interpretation of his language implies; viz., that all four of the gospels assert the virgin birth.

Of the apostles, therefore, John and Matthew first instil faith into us; whilst of apostolic men, Luke and Mark renew it afterward. These all start with the same principles of faith, so far as relates to the one only God the Creator, and his Christ, born of the Virgin, fulfilling the law and the prophets. Now, of the authors whom he possesses, Marcion⁹⁰ seems to have singled out Luke for his mutilating process. Luke, however, was not an apostle, but only an apostolic man; not a master, but a disciple, and so inferior to a master—at least as far subsequent to him as the apostle whom he followed [Paul] was subsequent to the others.⁹¹

The possibility that the gospels of John and Mark, originally or at an early date, contained stories of the virgin birth might be entertained here, were we certain that Tertullian wrote this passage with a full consciousness of just what he was saying, and if we were, furthermore, certain of what he meant by "These all *start* with the same principles of faith . . . (how that he was) born of the Virgin." Does he mean that all four gospels make this fact the foundation of faith in

⁸⁸ *Flesh of Christ*, 19 (III, 537). Also IRENÆUS, *Against Heresies*, III, 19, 2 (I-449).

⁸⁹ *Against Marcion*, IV, 19 (III, 377, 378). Also, *Flesh of Christ*, 7 (III, 527).

⁹⁰ The gospel of Marcion began with Luke 3:1, followed immediately by 4:31-37, then 4:16, with numerous omissions.

⁹¹ TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marcionem*, IV, 2. "Denique nobis fidem, nobis fidem ex apostolis Joannes et Mattheus insinuant; ex apostolicis, Lucas et Marcus instaurant, isdem regulis exorsi, quantum ad unicum Deum attinet Creatorem, et Christum ejus, natum ex Virgine, supplementum Legis et Prophetarum. . . . Nam ex iis commentatoribus quos habemus, Lucam videtur Marcion elegisse, quem caederet. Porro Lucas non apostolus sed apostolicus; non magister, sed discipulus; utque magistro minor; certe tanto posterior, quanto posterioris apostoli sectator, Pauli sine dubio," etc.

Christ? Or does he mean that each evangelist literally begins his gospel with the account of Jesus' birth from the Virgin? The context, which is dealing with actual narratives and attempting to show their relative value, supports the literal interpretation by which we understand Tertullian to say that each of the four gospels begins by setting forth the fact that Christ was born of the Virgin.

But, since Tertullian is wholly unsupported in this respect by the Fathers or versions, we are compelled to reject his statement as being rather free and exaggerated, or, indeed, to explain it upon the basis of his teaching as elsewhere represented. This can be done, and is perhaps the true solution of the difficulty. It was seen that, according to the treatise *Against Marcion*, IV, 10, a postulation of the divinity of Jesus made the virgin birth necessary as the explanation of his humanity. To assert the former was to affirm the latter, and it was by the unique birth of Jesus that his dual nature was explained. Now, as Tertullian looks at the matter, while it is true that only Matthew and Luke give, at the beginning of their gospels, the actual narratives of the peculiar birth of Jesus, both Mark and John clearly assert the fact which is inseparable from the virgin birth, viz., that God is the father of Jesus. Thus, if Tertullian accepted the uncertain reading of *υἱὸν θεοῦ* in Mark 1:1, which reading Irenæus before him had used, and resorted, as he usually did, to the singular and erroneous interpretation of John 1:13, which makes God the begetter of Christ, or even to the assertion of the divine sonship as set forth in John 1:18—then, to all intents and purposes, and by inevitable deduction, the second and fourth gospels do, in his opinion, start with the assertion that Christ was born of a virgin.

It is interesting to notice, in passing, his comparative valuation of Mark and Luke, especially of the latter, and of Paul. His low valuation of Luke was no doubt for the purpose of weakening Marcion's position, as was also his unwarranted assertion regarding the other gospels. It was as much as saying: "Marcion may do what he likes with the gospel of Luke, but he still has the other and better gospels to reckon with, if he wishes to discard the true nativity of Christ and the virgin birth."

An interesting point noticed in the writers preceding Tertullian is that of the analogy between the virgin birth and the Genesis story of creation, between Mary and Eve. In chap. 17, on *The Flesh of Christ* (III, 536), in connection with an argument to prove the reality of the flesh of Christ, Tertullian makes an elaborate use of this analogy:

Now it will be first necessary to show what previous reason there was for the Son of God's being born of a virgin. He who was going to consecrate a new order of birth must himself be born after a novel fashion. . . . Accordingly a virgin did conceive and bear Emmanuel, God with us. This is the new nativity; a man is born in God. And in this man God was born, taking the flesh of an ancient race, without the help, however, of the ancient seed, in order that he might reform it with a new seed, that is, in a spiritual manner, and cleanse it by the removal of all its ancient stains. But the whole of this innovation was prefigured, as was the case in all instances, in ancient type, the Lord being born as man by a dispensation in which a virgin was the medium. The earth was still in a virgin state, reduced as yet by no human labor, with no seed as yet cast into its furrows, when, as we are told, God made man out of it into a living soul. As, then, the first Adam is thus taken from the ground, it is a just inference that the second Adam likewise, as the apostle has told us, was formed by God into a quickening spirit out of the ground—in other words, out of a flesh which was unstained as yet by any human generation.⁹² But that I may lose no opportunity of supporting my argument from the name of Adam, why is Christ called Adam by the apostle, unless it be that, as man, he was of that earthly origin? And even reason here maintains the same conclusion, because it was by just the contrary operation that God recovered his own image and likeness, of which he had been robbed by the devil. For it was while Eve was yet a virgin that the ensnaring word had crept into her ears which was to build the edifice of death. Into a virgin's soul, in like manner, must be introduced that word of God which was to raise the fabric of life, so that what had been reduced to ruin by this sex might, by the selfsame sex, be recovered to salvation. As Eve had believed the serpent, so Mary believed Gabriel. The delinquency which the one occasioned by believing, the other by believing effaced. But (it will be said) Eve did not at the devil's word conceive in her womb. Well, she at all events conceived; for the devil's word afterward became as seed to her that she should conceive as an outcast and bring forth in sorrow. Indeed, she gave birth to a fratricidal devil; whilst Mary, on the contrary, bare one who was one day to secure salvation to Israel, his own brother after the flesh and the murderer of himself. God, therefore, sent down into the virgin's womb his Word, as the good brother who should blot out the memory of the evil brother. Hence it was necessary that Christ should come forth for the salvation of man in that condition of flesh into which man had entered ever since his condemnation.⁹³

⁹² See also *Answer to Jews*, 12 (III, 169); *Flesh of Christ*, 16 (III, 536); *Resurrection*, 49 (III, 582).

⁹³ TERTULLIAN, *Lib. de Carne Christi*, XVII: "Ante omnia autem commendanda erit ratio quae praefuit, ut Dei filius de virgine nasceretur. Nove nasci debebat novae nativitatis dedicator, de qua signum daturus Dominus ab Isaia praedicabatur. Quod est istud signum? Ecce virgo concipiet in utero, et pariet filium (Isa. vii). Conceptit

The apparent ultimate dogmatic statement of Tertullian is found in his discourse *Against Marcion*, IV, 36 (III, 411):

Whosoever wishes to see Jesus the son of David must believe in him through the virgin's birth. He who will not believe this will not hear from him the salutation, "Thy faith hath saved thee." And so he will remain blind, falling into antithesis after antithesis which mutually destroy each other, just as the blind man leads the blind down into the ditch.⁹⁴

There is not as much, however, in this saying regarding the virgin birth as would at first sight be supposed. For the context shows that the point at issue is not the virgin birth, but rather Jesus' Davidic descent and his possession of an actual body. In support of these last two contentions Tertullian appeals to the healing of the blind man at the entrance to Jericho, Luke 18: 35-43. The man persistently cried out: "Jesus, thou *son of David*, have mercy on me!" In response to which, and thus in recognition of his Davidic descent, Jesus performed the cure.

It must be remembered also that in the writings of Tertullian the term "the virgin" is, through the passing over of what was formerly a descriptive adjective into a proper name, frequently used to designate *igitur virgo et peperit Emmanuelem, nobiscum Deum. Haec est nativitatis nova, dum homo nascitur in Deo; in quo homine Deus natus est, carne atque seminis suscepta, sine semine antiquo ut illam novo semine, id est spiritualiter reformaret exclusis antiquitatis sordibus, expiatam. Sed tota novitas ista, sicut et in omnibus, de veteri figura est, rationali per virginem dispositione Domino nascente. Virgo erat adhuc terra nondum opere compressa, nondum sementi subacta: ex ea hominem factum accepimus a Deo in animam vivam. Igitur si primus Adam de terra traditur, merito sequens, vel novissimus Adam, ut Apostolus dixit, proinde de terra, id est, carne nondum generationi resignata, in spiritum vivificantem a Deo est prolatus. Et tamen, ne mihi vacet incursus nominis Adae, unde Christus Adam ab Apostolo dictus est, si terreni non fuit census homo ejus? Sed et hic ratio defendit, quod Deus imaginem et similitudinem suam, a diabolo captam, aemula operatione recuperavit. In virginem enim adhuc Eva irrepserat verbum aedificatorium mortis; in virginem aequae introducendum erat Dei Verbum exstructorium vitae: ut quod per ejus modi sexum abierat in perditionem, per eundem sexum redigeretur in salutem. Crediderat Eva serpenti: credidit Maria Gabrieli. Quod illa credendo deliquit, haec credendo delevit. Sed Eva nihil tunc concepit in utero ex diaboli verbo. Imo concepit. Nam exinde ut abjecta pareret, et in doloribus pareret, verbum diaboli semen illi fuit. Enixa est denique diabolus fratricidam. Contra, Maria eum edidit, qui carnalem fratrem Israel, interemptorem suum, salvum quandoque praestaret. In vulvam ergo Deus Verbum suum detulit, bonum fratrem, ut memoriam mali fratris eraderet. Inde prodeundum fuit Christo ad salutem hominis, quo homo jam damnatus intraverat."*

⁹⁴ TERTULLIAN, *Adv. Marcionem*, IV, 36: "Qui vult videre Jesum, David filium, credat per Virginis censum. Qui non ita credet, non audiet ab illo: Fides tua te salvum fecit. Atque ita caecus remanebit, ruens in antithesim, ruentem et ipsam antithesim. Sic enim caecus caecum deducere solet."

Mary. This is quite similar to the more familiar transition from Jesus the Christ to Jesus Christ, and finally to Christ, as the personal proper name. Bearing in mind the context and the interchangeable use of "The Virgin" and "Mary," this passage is taken to mean that, by the analogy of what took place at the blind man's confession and request, whoever wishes to see Jesus spiritually (savingly) must believe that he was actually born into this world with real flesh, being the son of Mary, David's descendant. To deny this is to remain in spiritual blindness and to perish.

Evidently Tertullian's final word as to the condition of those who disbelieve in the *virgin* birth is not as specific and unmistakable as that of Irenæus.⁹⁵ This is due, however, to a difference in the ends sought by his polemic, and hence in his emphasis, rather than to different conviction as to the essentialness of belief in the virgin birth. For, very clearly, it is only by means of the virgin birth that he is able to give what seems to him a consistent explanation of the humanity and the divinity of Jesus.

1. A review of the material presented by Tertullian will show that for purposes of argument he uses the canonical infancy stories only—*Ans. to Jews*, 9 (III, 164); *Soul*, 26 (III, 207); *Marcion*, III, 12 (III, 331); *ibid.*, V, 9 (III, 448)—and that, in so far as the apocryphal gospels taught the perpetual virginity of Mary, he was uninfluenced by them and insisted upon a real birth (*Flesh of Christ*, 23 (III, 541)). On the other hand, Tertullian does not wholly repudiate the use of other gospels of the Lord's nativity which he recognizes as in circulation, but for himself abstains from anything but a very sparing use of them. (*Against Praxeas*, 26 [III, 632].) His reference, like that of Irenæus to the mutilation of Luke by Marcion, indicates that the heretics also recognized the canonical gospels as the basis of appeal.

2. Tertullian is divided in his own mind between the representation of pre-existence as made in the fourth gospel and the generation of a new being as given in the first and third gospels. Both thoughts are expressed by him, but not harmonized.

3. Perhaps Tertullian's increment to the study lies chiefly in the fact of his noteworthy use of the virgin birth to prove the *humanity* of Jesus, and, secondarily, in his throwing light upon the increasing extra-canonical sources; while at the same time his straight-going theory of imparted nature as in human generation keeps his argument in a rather pagan sphere.

⁹⁵ *Against Heresies*, III, 19 (I, 448, 449).

VIII. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (died about 220 A. D.)⁹⁶ seldom refers to the virgin birth. A sentence from *The Instructor*, I, 6 (II, 220), gives very clear evidence of the increasing exaltedness of Mary, however, and of her trend toward deity:

The universal Father is one, and one the universal Word; the Holy Spirit is one and the same everywhere, and one is the only virgin mother.⁹⁷

It is true that Clement immediately proceeds to liken Mary to the church, and even to identify her with it in his allegorical cast of thinking; but, nevertheless, such an utterance serves as an index of the direction in which the current of thought has set. More significant is *Stromata*, VII, 16 (II, 551):

But, as appears, many even down to our own time regard Mary, on account of the birth of her child, as having been in the puerperal state, although she was not. For some say that after she brought forth she was found, when examined, to be a virgin. Now such, to us, are the Scriptures of the Lord, which gave birth to the truth and continue virgin in the concealment of the mysteries of the truth.⁹⁸

This illustration, colored by the rather occult sentiment of the "true Gnostics," who recognize "the son of the Omnipotent, not by his flesh conceived in the womb, but by his Father's own power," serves to verify the tendency already noted, and to indicate the significant presence of apocryphal material. Its seeming conflict with the defense of physical generation made in *Stromata*, III, 17 (II, 400), is not to be wondered at in a treatise that makes no attempt at homogeneity and consistency. To the Gnostic the spiritual lesson is everything. Incidentally we get a few of the underlying facts, and from these, though scanty, we must reconstruct, as far as possible, Clement's theory of the virgin birth.

1. It is evident that he was acquainted with both the Johannine and the synoptic sources; and it is equally clear that he was influenced by some apocryphal source or sources⁹⁹ similar to the gospel of James.

2. He believed in the pre-existence—*Strom.*, VI, 15 (II, 508)—as

⁹⁶ EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, Book V, 11, and Book VI, 6, 13.

⁹⁷ εἰς μὲν ὁ τῶν ὄλων Πατήρ. εἰς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν ὄλων Λόγος· καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ πανταχοῦ. μία δὲ μὴν γὰρ μήτηρ παρθένος.

⁹⁸ CLEMENTIS ALEXANDRINI *Stromatum*, Lib. VII, cap. xvi: 'Ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικεν, τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ μέχρι νῦν δοκεῖ ἡ Μαριάμ λεχῶ εἶναι διὰ τὴν τοῦ παιδίου γέννησιν οὐκ οὔσα λεχῶν. καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τεκεῖν αὐτὴν μαιωθείσαν φασὶ τινες παρθένον εὐρεθῆναι. τοιαῦται δ' ἡμῖν αἱ κυριακαὶ Γραφαὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀποτίκτουςαι, καὶ μένουςαι παρθένου μετὰ τῆς ἐπικρύψεως τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας μυστηρίων.

⁹⁹ See mention of "Gospel according to the Hebrews," *Strom.*, II, 9.

also in the real birth of Jesus—*Strom.*, III, 17 (II, 400); but just how much of miracle the apocryphal sources had instilled into his belief, in addition to the miraculous conception of the canonical accounts, cannot be definitely decided. Judging by *Strom.*, VII, 16, he was attracted toward a belief in the miraculous *birth* as well as in the miraculous conception.

3. Clement's increment to the study is noteworthy, inasmuch as he is the first of our contributors to look with decided favor upon the apocryphal material; and, while he uses it for illustration chiefly, it is nevertheless at the church doors waiting for admission. It had not long to wait. In fact, the exaltation toward deity which with Clement begins to be attributed to Mary is undoubtedly due to the influence of the apocryphal material and the traditions embodied therein.

IX. ORIGEN¹⁰⁰ (185-254) gives frequent statements of the doctrines of the virgin birth, including the orthodox, the heretical, and what may be called the Gnostic-orthodox. In the first class are such passages as *De Prin.*, preface (IV, 240) and II, 6 (IV, 281); *Against Celsus*, I, 7 (IV, 399), and *Com. Jno.*, I, 39, and X, 23 (IX, 315, 403); and also *Against Celsus*, II, 25 (IV, 473), where the reality of the body of Jesus is emphasized in comparison with the mystic entrance of the spirit of Apollo into the priestess of the Pythian cave. In the second class is the belief of Celsus stated in *Against Celsus*, I, 59 (IV, 427); and a reference to the common belief of Jesus' contemporaries in *Com. Mt.*, X, 20, and *Jno.*, VI, 7 (IX, 427, 355). In the third class there is a passage which shows how easily the "true" Gnostic could satisfy himself in the matter of Jesus' parentage through his ready idealizing and spiritualizing faculty. It serves as an indication of the fact that, apart from precise historic reality, the semi-Gnostic was able to worship Christ as the supreme spiritual ideal, and his liability to error was never in the direction of subtracting those things which made for the divinity of Jesus.

If anyone should lend credence to the gospel according to the Hebrews, where the Savior himself says, "My mother the Holy Spirit took me just now by one of my hairs and carried me off to the great Mount Tabor," he will have to face the difficulty of explaining how the Holy Spirit can be the mother of Christ when it was itself brought into existence through the Word. But neither the passage nor this difficulty is hard to explain. For if he who does the will of the Father in heaven is Christ's brother and sister and mother, and if the name of brother of Christ may be applied, not only to the race of

¹⁰⁰ EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, VI, 2-4, 8, 16, 19, 23, 30, 32, 36.

men, but to beings of diviner rank than they, then there is nothing absurd in the Holy Spirit's being his mother, everyone being his mother who does the will of the Father in heaven.¹⁰¹ (*Com. Jno.*, II, 6 [IX, 329].)

But the statement of the theories with respect to the parentage of Jesus is incomplete without noticing the more distinctively Jewish contentions which cause Origen to pass over more perceptibly into the region of argument and refutation. A common Jewish story is represented in *Against Celsus*, I, 28 (IV, 408):

For he represents him disputing with Jesus, and confuting him, as he thinks, on many points; and in the first place he accuses him of having invented his birth from a virgin, and upbraids him with having been born in a Jewish village, of a poor woman of the country, who gained her subsistence by spinning, and who was turned out-of-doors by her husband, a carpenter by trade, because she was convicted of adultery; that after being driven away by her husband, and wandering about for a time, she disgracefully gave birth to Jesus, an illegitimate child, who, having hired himself out as a servant in Egypt, on account of his poverty, and having there acquired some miraculous powers, on which the Egyptians greatly pride themselves, returned to his own country, highly elated on account of them, and by means of these proclaimed himself a god.¹⁰²

An elaboration of this story and its refutation are found in chaps. 32 and 33:

But let us now return to where the Jew is introduced, speaking of the mother of Jesus and saying that when she was pregnant she was turned out-of-doors by the carpenter, to whom she had been betrothed, as having been guilty of adultery, and that she bore a child to a certain soldier named Pan-

¹⁰¹ ORIGENIS *Comment. in Joan.*, II, 6: 'Εὰν δὲ προσέταλ τις τὸ καθ' Ἑβραίοις Εὐαγγέλιον, ἔνθα αὐτὸς ὁ Ζωτὴρ φησιν. Ἄρτι ἔλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐν μία τῶν τριχῶν μου, καὶ ἀπένεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα θαβώρ. ἐπαπορήσει πῶς μήτηρ Χριστοῦ τὸ διὰ τοῦ Λόγου γεγεννημένον Πνεῦμα ἅγιον εἶναι δύναται. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τοῦτο οὐ Χαλεπὸν ἐρμηνεύσαι. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ ποιῶν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἀδελφὸς καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ φθάνει τὸ ἀδελφὸς Χριστοῦ ὄνομα οὐ μόνον ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τούτου θεϊότερα. οὐδὲν ἄτοπον ἔσται μάλλον πάσης χρηματισούσης μητρὸς Χριστοῦ διὰ τὸ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς Πατρὸς, τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εἶναι μητέρα.

¹⁰² ORIGENIS *Contra Celsum*, I, 28: μετὰ ταῦτα προσωποποιεῖ Ἰουδαῖον αὐτῷ διαλεγόμενον, τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ ἐλέγχοντα αὐτὸν περὶ πολλῶν μὲν, ὡς οἰεῖται, πρῶτον δὲ, ὡς πλασμένου αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γένεσιν. ὀνειδίζει δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκ κώμης αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι Ἰουδαϊκῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἐγχωρίου καὶ πενιχρᾶς, καὶ χερνήτιδος φησι δ' αὐτὴν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ γήμαντος, τέκοντος τὴν τέχνην ὄντος, ἐξεῶσθαι, ἐλεγχεῖσθαι ὡς μεμιχευμένην. εἰτα λέχει, ὡς ἐκβληθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, καὶ πλανώμενη ἀτίμως σκότιον ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰησοῦν. Καὶ ὅτι οὗτος διὰ περὶαν εἰς Αἰγύπτου μισθαρνήσας κάκεϊ δυνάμεων τινων πειραθεῖς, ἐφ' αἷς Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνύνονται, ἐπανήλθεν ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσι μέγα φρονῶν, καὶ δι' αὐτὰς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε.

thera;¹⁰³ and let us see whether those who have blindly concocted these fables about the adultery of the Virgin with Panthera and her rejection by the carpenter did not invent these stories to overturn his miraculous conception by the Holy Ghost: for they could have falsified the history in a different manner, on account of its extremely miraculous character, and not have admitted, as it were against their will, that Jesus was born of no ordinary human marriage. It was to be expected, indeed, that those who would not believe the miraculous birth of Jesus would invent some falsehood. And their not doing this in a credible manner, but their preserving the fact that it was not by Joseph that the Virgin conceived Jesus, rendered the falsehood very palpable to those who can understand and detect such inventions. Is it at all agreeable to reason that he who dared to do so much for the human race in order that, as far as in him lay, all the Greeks and barbarians who were looking for divine condemnation might depart from evil and regulate their entire conduct in a manner pleasing to the Creator of the world, should not have had a miraculous birth, but one the vilest and most disgraceful of all? And I will ask of them as Greeks, and particularly of Celsus, who either holds or not the sentiments of Plato, and at any rate quotes them, whether he who sends souls down into the bodies of men, degraded him who was to dare such mighty acts, and to teach so many men, and to reform so many from the mass of wickedness in the world, to a birth more disgraceful than any other, and did not rather introduce him into the world through a lawful marriage. Or, is it not more in conformity with reason that every soul, for certain mysterious reasons (I speak now according to the opinions of Pythagoras and Plato and Empedocles, whom Celsus frequently names), is introduced into a body and introduced according to its deserts and former actions? It is probable, therefore, that this soul also which conferred more benefit by its residence in the flesh than that of many men (to avoid prejudice I do not say "all"), stood in need of a body not only superior to others, but invested with all excellent qualities? (33) By act of adultery between Panthera and the Virgin? Why, from such unhallowed intercourse there must rather have been brought some fool to do injury to mankind—a teacher of licentiousness and wickedness and other evils, and not of temperance and righteousness and the other virtues!¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Celsus's statement of the infidelity of Mary, affirming that the father of Jesus was a soldier, by name Panthera, appears also in the Talmud, where the name is transliterated into Pandera. J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON (*Text and Studies*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 25) thinks that this name is simply a Greek anagram on the word *παρθένος*, similar to "the literary tricks of that time." "Everything that we know of the dogmatics of the second century agrees with the belief that at that period the virginity of Mary was a part of the formulated Christian belief. Nor need we hesitate, in view of the antiquity of the Panthera fable, to give the doctrine a place in the creed of Aristides."

¹⁰⁴ ORIGENIS *Contra Celsum*, I, 32: Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπανέλθωμεν εἰς τὴν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου προσωποποιῶν, ἐν ᾗ ἀναγράφεται ἡ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ μήτηρ ὡς ἐξωσθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ μνηστευσα-

Origen's polemic tactics in this passage are as good as his information and defense are imperfect in the following : *Against Celsus*, I, 37 (IV, 412):

But as a further answer to the Greeks, who do not believe in the birth of Jesus from a virgin, we have to say that the Creator has shown by the generation of several kinds of animals that what he has done in the existence of one animal he could do if it pleased him in that of others, and also of man himself. For it is ascertained that there is a certain female animal which has no intercourse with a male, as writers on animals say is the case with vultures, and that this animal without sexual intercourse preserves the succession of race. What incredibility is there, therefore, in supposing that, if God wished to send a divine teacher to the human race, he caused him to be born in some manner different from the common way? Nay, according to the Greeks themselves, all men were not born of a man and woman. For, if the world has been created, as many even of the Greeks are pleased to admit, then the first men must have been produced, not from sexual intercourse, but from the earth, in which spermatie elements existed; which, however, I consider more incredible than that Jesus was born like other men so far as regards the half of his birth. And there is no absurdity in employing Grecian his-

μένου αὐτὴν τέκοντος, ἐλεγχθεῖσα ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ καὶ τίκτουσα ἀπὸ τινος στριώτου Πανθήρα τοῦνομα· καὶ ἴδωμεν εἰ μὴ τυφλῶς οἱ μυθοποιήσαντες τὴν μοιχείαν τῆς παρθένου καὶ τοῦ Πανθήρα καὶ τὸν τέκοντα ἐξωσάμενον αὐτὴν ταῦτα πάντα ἀνέπλασαν ἐπὶ καθαίρειν τῆς παραδόξου ἀπὸ ἁγίου πνεύματος συλλήψεως. ἐδύνατο γὰρ ἄλλως ψευδοποιῆσαι διὰ τὸ σφόδρα παράδοξον τὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ μὴ ὥσπερ ἐλπίσας συγκαταθέσθαι ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ συνήθων ἀνθρώποις γάμων ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐγεννήθη. καὶ ἀκούουθον γε ἦν τοὺς μὴ συγκαταθεμένους τῇ παραδόξῳ γενέσει τοῦ Ἰησοῦ πλάσαι τι ψεῦδος· τὸ δὲ μὴ πιθανῶς αὐτοὺς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ τηρῆσαι ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ παρθένος συνέλαβε τὸν Ἰησοῦν, τοῖς ἀκοῦειν καὶ ἐλέγχειν ἀναπλάσματα δυναμένοις ἐναργεῶς ἢ ψεῦδος. ἄρα γὰρ εὐλογον τὸν τοσαῦτα ὑπὲρ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων τολμήσαντα, ἵνα τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ πάντες Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι κρίσιν θέλαν προσδοκήσαντες ἀποστῶσι μὲν τῆς κακίας πάντα δὲ πράττωσιν ἀρεσκόντως τῷ τῶν ὅλων δημιουργῷ, παράδοξον μὲν μὴ ἐσχηκέναι γένεσιν πασῶν δὲ γενέσεων παρανομωτάτην καὶ αἰσχίστην; ἐρῶ δὲ ὡς πρὸς Ἕλληνας καὶ μάλιστα Κέλσον, εἴτε φρονοῦντα εἴτε μὴ, πλὴν παρατιθέμενον τὰ Πλάτωνος· ἄρα ὁ καταπέμπων ψυχὰς εἰς ἀνθρώπων σώματα τὸν τοσαῦτα τολμήσοντα καὶ τοσοῦτους διδάξοντα καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χύσεως τῆς κατὰ τὴν κακίαν μεταστῆσοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τὴν πασῶν αἰσχροτέραν γένεσιν ὥθει, μὴ δὲ διὰ γάμων γνησίῳ αὐτὸν εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον; ἢ εὐλογώτερον ἐκάστην ψυχὴν κατὰ τινὰ ἀπορρήτους λόγους (λέγω δὲ ταῦτα νῦν κατὰ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα, οὓς πολλὰκις ὠνόμασεν ὁ Κέλσος), εἰσκρινομένην σώματι κατ' ἀξίαν εἰσκρίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὰ πρότερα ἦθι; εἰκὸς οὖν καὶ ταύτην τὴν ψυχὴν, πολλῶν (ἵνα μὴ συναρπάξιν δοκῶ, λέγων πάντων) ἀνθρώπων ὠφελιμωτέραν τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπίδημῶσαν, δεδεσθῆναι σώματος, οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ σώματι διαφέροντος ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πάντων κρείττονος.—33: ἀπὸ Πανθήρα μοιχεύσαντος καὶ παρθένου μοιχευθείσης; Ἐκ γὰρ τοιοῦτων ἀνάγκων μίξεων ἔδει μᾶλλον ἀνόητόν τινα, καὶ ἐπιβλαβὴ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διδάσκαλον ἀκολασίας καὶ ἀδικίας καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν κακῶν γενέσθαι οὐχὶ δὲ σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρετῶν.

tories to answer Greeks with a view to showing that we are not the only persons who have recourse to miraculous narratives of this kind. For some have thought fit, not in regard to ancient and heroic narratives, but in regard to events of very recent occurrence, to relate as a possible thing that Plato¹⁰⁵ was the son of Amphictione, Ariston being prevented from having marital intercourse with his wife until she had given birth to him with whom she was pregnant by Apollo. And yet these are veritable fables, which have led to the invention of such stories concerning a man whom they regarded as possessing greater wisdom and power than the multitude, and as having received the beginning of his corporeal substance from better and diviner elements than others, because they thought that this was appropriate to persons who were too great to be human beings. And since Celsus has introduced the Jew disputing with Jesus and tearing in pieces, as he imagines, the fiction of his birth from a virgin, comparing the Greek fables about Danae,¹⁰⁶ and Melanippe,¹⁰⁷ and Auge,¹⁰⁸ and Antiope,¹⁰⁹ our answer is that such language becomes a buffoon, and not one who is writing in a serious tone.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ 427-347 B. C. ¹⁰⁶ Made pregnant by Jupiter by means of a golden shower.

¹⁰⁷ Made pregnant by Hippotes, and gave birth to Æolus, metamorphosed into a mare and placed among the stars.

¹⁰⁸ Daughter of Aleus of Tegea, and mother of Telephus by Hercules.

¹⁰⁹ The mother of Anthion by Jupiter.

¹¹⁰ ORIGENIS *Contra Celsum*, I, 37: "Ἐτι δὲ πρὸς Ἑλληνας λεκτέον, ἀπειθοῦντας τῇ ἐκ παρθένου γενέσει τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ὁ δημιουργὸς ἐν τῇ τῶν ποικίλων ζῶων γενέσει ἔδειξεν ὅτι ἢν αὐτῷ βουλευθέντι δυνατόν ποιῆσαι ὅπερ ἐφ' ἐνὸς ζώου καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. εὐρίσκεται δὲ τίνα τῶν ζώων θήλεα, μὴ ἔχοντα ἀρρενος κοινωνίαν, ὡς οἱ περὶ ζώων ἀναγράψαντες λέγουσι περὶ γυνῶν· καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον χωρὶς μίξεως σφίξει τὴν διαδοχὴν τῶν γενῶν. τί οὖν παράδοξον, εἰ βουλευθείς ὁ θεὸς θεῖον τίνα διδάσκαλον πέμψαι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων πεποίηκεν ἀντὶ σπερματικοῦ λόγου, τοῦ ἐκ μίξεως τῶν ἀρρένων ταῖς γυναιξί, [ποιῆσαι] ἄλλω τρόπῳ γενέσθαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ τεχνησομένου; καὶ κατ' αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνας οὐ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἐξ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐγένοντο. εἰ γὰρ γενητός ἐστιν ὁ κόσμος, ὡς καὶ πολλοὶς Ἑλλήνων ἤρεσεν, ἀνάγκη τοὺς πρώτους μὴ ἐκ συνουσίας γεγενῆσθαι ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γῆς, σπερματικῶν λόγων συστάντων ἐν τῇ γῇ· ὅπερ οἶμαι παραδοξότερον εἶναι τοῦ ἐξ ἡμίσεως ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι τὸν Ἰησοῦν. οὐδὲν δ' ἄτοπον πρὸς Ἑλληνας καὶ Ἑλληνικαῖς ἱστορίαις χρήσασθαι, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶμεν μόνον τῇ παραδοξῇ ἱστορίᾳ ταύτῃ κεκρήσθαι. Ἐδοξε γάρ τισιν οὐ περὶ ἀρχαίων τινῶν ἱστοριῶν καὶ ἡρωϊκῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τινων χθὲς καὶ πρώην γενομένων ἀναγράψαι ὡς δυνατόν ὅτι καὶ Πλάτων ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀμφικτιόνης γέγονε, κωλυθέντος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος αὐτῇ συνελθεῖν, ἕως ἀποκυῆσαι τὸν ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος σπαρέντα. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἀληθῶς μῦθοι, κινήσαντες εἰς τὸ ἀναπλάσαι τοιοῦτό τι περὶ ἀνδρὸς, ὃν ἐνόμιζον μείζονα τῶν πολλῶν ἔχοντα σοφίαν καὶ δύναμιν καὶ ἀπὸ κρείττωνων καὶ θεοτέρων σπερμάτων τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς συστάσεως τοῦ σώματος ἐληφέναι, ὡς τοῦθ' ἀρμόδιον τοῖς μείζουσιν ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ὁ Κέλσος εἰσήγαγε διαλεγόμενον τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ διασύροντα τὴν, ὡς οἶται, προσποίησιν τῆς ἐκ παρθένου γενέσεως αὐτοῦ, φέροντα τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς μύθους περὶ Δανάης καὶ Μελανίππης καὶ Αὐγῆς καὶ Ἀντιόπης λεκτέον ὅτι ταῦτα βωμολόχῳ ἔπρεπε τὰ ῥήματα καὶ οὐ σπουδάζοντι ἐν τῇ ἀπαγγελίᾳ.

In *Against Celsus*, I, 39 (IV, 413), mention is made of the sarcastic inquiry of Celsus as to just why God decided to have intercourse with this particular woman, but in the opinion of Origen such an irreverent question merits no reply. There is an argument in *Against Celsus*, II, 69 (IV, 459), based upon the burial of Jesus in the new tomb, to show that by analogy it was fitting for him to be conceived, not by ordinary generation, but of a virgin.

As would be expected, Origen's argument in defense of the virgin birth causes him to make the ordinary appeal to prophecy, which he regards as being minutely predictive.¹¹¹ The Immanuel passage is used in *Against Celsus*, I, 34, 35 (IV, 410 ff.), where from his linguistic studies Origen decides that עִלְמָנִי, which the Septuagint translates παρθένος, means technically a virgin, as is substantiated, in his opinion, by Deut. 22:23, 24. But by referring to Prov. 30:19 and Cant. 6:8 we are led to believe that his deduction was made upon too narrow a basis. Probably the best translation for Isa. 7:14 is "the young spouse."

The distinctive use of the New Testament is found in the relics which we have of Origen's commentaries on Matthew and John. In the former, Books VI, 7, and X, 17 (IX, 357, 424), treating of the opinion of Jesus' contemporaries as expressed in Matt. 13:55 ff., where Mary and the carpenter and his brothers are mentioned by name and his sisters referred to, he says:

But some say, basing it on a tradition in the gospel according to Peter, as it is entitled, or the book of James, that the brethren of Jesus were sons of Joseph by a former wife, whom he married before Mary. Now those who say so wish to preserve the honor of Mary in virginity to the end, so that that body of hers which was appointed to minister to the Word which said: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, etc.," might not know intercourse with man after that the Holy Ghost came into her, and the power from on high overshadowed her. And I think it in harmony with reason that Jesus was the first fruit among men of the purity which consists in chastity, and Mary among women; for it were not pious to ascribe to any other than to her the first fruit of virginity.¹¹²

¹¹¹ E. g., *Against Celsus*, I, 37 (IV, 412).

¹¹² ORIGENIS *Com. Matt.*, X, 17: φασί τινες εἶναι ἐκ παραδόσεως ὁρῶμενοι τοῦ ἐκγεγραμμένου κατὰ Πέτρον Εὐαγγελίου ἡ τῆς βίβλου Ἰακώβου, υἱοὺς Ἰωσήφ ἐκ προτέρας γυναικὸς, συνψηκνύας αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς Μαρίας. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντες τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Μαρίας ἐν παρθενίᾳ τηρεῖν μέχρι τέλους βούλονται, ἵνα μὴ τὸ κριθὲν ἐκείνῳ σῶμα διακορησασθαι τῷ εἰπόντι Λόγῳ. Πνεῦμα ἅγιον κ. τ. λ. γυνὴ κοίτην ἀνδρὸς μετὰ τὸ ἐπελθεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ. Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ τὴν ἐπισκιακὺν αὐτῇ δύναμιν ἐξ ὕψους. καὶ οἶμαι λόγον ἔχειν, ἀνδρῶν μὲν καθαρότητος τῆς ἐν ἀγνεΐᾳ ἀπαρχὴν γεγονέναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν, γυναικῶν δὲ τὴν Μαρίαν. Οὐ γὰρ εὐφημον, ἄλλην παρ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῆς παρθενίας ἐπιγάψασθαι.

In this passage Origen clearly accepts as agreeable with his own thinking the tradition of the perpetual virginity of Mary given in the gospel of James, while he differs from those who by their questions recorded in Matt. 13 : 55 evidently thought Jesus to be the son of Joseph. But just what does Origen mean by Jesus' being the first fruit among men of the purity which consists in chastity, and Mary's being the same among women? With regard to Jesus he seems to express it as a reasonable opinion that he was the first man born in purity, *i. e.*, whose conception and birth were chaste. Impurity and unchastity entered into the generation of all others. In the case of Jesus this purity was the result of the miraculous conception by the spirit of God, and his miraculous birth as related in the gospel of James, for the birth there described is free from pollution such as attended every other birth, and the virginity of Mary is preserved intact. But does Origen assert a like birth for Mary herself? It is more probable that he intends to give Mary only a somewhat *similar* place of purity among women, not asserting a virgin birth for her, but, in accord with the gospel upon whose representation he has already commented, ascribing to her superior chastity in her birth and upbringing. This is the impression given by the protevangelium, where the most remarkable child Mary is born to the aged Joachim and Anna, not of lust, but as the child of prayer, and is carefully shielded from all impurity. Similar births of male children are recorded in the Old Testament, but Mary is the first *woman* of whom we have such a record. Thus the influence of the protevangelium of James or of some similar tradition is very evident in shaping the thought and expression of Origen in this passage.

There is a reference to John 2 : 21 in *Com.*, X, 23 (IX, 403), where the query is raised as to whether "the temple of his body" means "the body which he received from the Virgin, or that body of Christ which the church is said to be." And the leaping of the Baptist in the womb of Elizabeth is taken to attest "his divine conception and birth."

Having dealt with the statements of the virgin birth and Origen's appeal to Scripture, especially prophecy and the gospels, we come to the ultimate theological position of Origen on the question. *De Principiis*, I, 2, 4 (IV, 247) :

For those children of men which appear among us, or those descendants of other living beings, correspond to the seed of those by whom they were begotten, or derived from those mothers in whose wombs they are formed and nourished, whatever that is which they bring into this life and carry

with them when they are born. But it is monstrous and unlawful to compare God the Father, in the generation of his only begotten Son, and in the substance of the same, to any man or other living thing engaged in such an act; for we must of necessity hold that there is something exceptional and worthy of God which does not admit of any comparison at all, not merely in things, but which cannot even be conceived by thought or discovered by perception, so that a human mind should be able to apprehend how the unbegotten God is made the father of the only begotten Son. Because his generation is as eternal and everlasting as the brilliancy which is produced from the sun. For it is not by receiving the breath of life that he is made a son, not by any outward act, but by his own nature.¹¹³

Although Origen is not here dealing directly with the virgin birth as such, but rather with the problem of the creation of the pre-existent Son of God, still what he has to say has a double bearing upon the virgin birth; first, in that it flatly repudiates the thesis of Tertullian and others of the Fathers, that a god is born of a god, and that the laws which hold in the matter of human generation and offspring must be normative in the sphere of the divine. On the contrary, Origen, in a very laudable way, lifts the whole matter out of the realm of human parallel and says that, as when the sun first existed its rays went forth, so when God first existed (if such a time can be conceived) then inevitably the Son existed also. This idea has its bearing upon the virgin birth in freeing it from any thought of a nature imparted to Jesus, and in the second place makes the virgin birth an incarnation purely.¹¹⁴

The material of Origen is valuable for this study of the virgin birth in that it indicates what were the counter-stories in vogue among the Jews; that the Greek myths and the story regarding the virgin birth of Plato were widely discarded, while the virgin birth of Jesus was still

¹¹³ ORIGENIS *De Principiis*, I, ii, 4: "Quoniam hi qui videntur apud nos hominum filii, vel caeterorum animalium, semini eorum a quibus seminati sunt respondent, vel earum quarum in utero formantur ac nutriuntur, habent ex his quicquid illud est quod in lucem hanc assumunt ac deferunt processuri. Infandum autem est et illicitum, Deum patrem in generatione unigeniti filii sui atque in subsistentia ejus exaequare alicui vel hominum vel aliorum animantium generanti: sed necesse est aliquid exceptum esse Deoque dignum cui nulla prorsus comparatio non in rebus solum, sed ne in cogitatione quidem, vel sensu invenire potest, ut humana cogitatio possit apprehendere quomodo ingenitus Deus pater efficitur unigeniti filii. Est namque ita aeterna ac sempiterna generatio sicut splendor generatur ex luce. Non enim per adoptionem spiritus filius fit extrinsecus, sed natura filius est."

¹¹⁴ For the Gnostic refinement of the incarnation see *De Principiis*, II, 6 (IV, 282), where the union of the pre-existent Son with $\psi\upsilon\chi\acute{\eta}$ prior to the latter's assumption of a body lessens the difficulty of God's mingling with matter.

generally maintained ; that the resort to prophecy was similar to that of former apologists, but with a show of more scholarship; that the mystic and spiritual import of the fact was, as would be natural from the Gnostic standpoint, of relatively the greatest importance ; and that this same spiritual sense freed the concept from some of its former grossness, and placed it beyond the realm of explanation ; while at the same time the virgin birth was an important witness to the true nature of him who, being pre-existent as the Son of God, nevertheless submitted to this wonderful incarnation. " His birth from the Virgin and his life so admirably lived showed him to be more than a man " (*Com. in Ioannem*, I, 34, [IX, 315]).

1. In the matter of the sources for the virgin-birth story Origen shows that there was no extra-canonical account to which the Jews in their bitter calumny could appeal, and that therefore they were forced to apply their inventive and spiteful genius to the canonical sources. All of the apocryphal sources were a heightening rather than a toning down or denial of the miraculous in the canonical accounts. That the heretics made use of these apocryphal elaborations is made quite probable from *Against Celsus*, I, 28 (IV, 408). In this passage there seems to be a heretical use of some gospel or gospels that narrated the miraculous doings of Jesus while in Egypt. (See, *e. g.*, Pseudo-Matthew, chaps. 19-24.) As for Origen himself, his chief appeal is to the canonical stories, but at the same time his references to the Gospel of the Hebrews and of Peter and of James, and his rather glad acceptance of the material which they afford, indicate the growing favor which the apocryphal gospels were receiving.

2. Origen's belief in the pre-existence of Christ as the Word is clearly stated, as is also the humiliation of the advent as taught by Paul. He believed in the miraculous conception and in the virgin birth as a real birth, and yet he exalted the whole matter above the rightful field for man's investigation and understanding, making it a more profound fact by far than the straight-going logic of Tertullian had assumed. Origen held to a combination, but hardly a harmonization, of the Johannine Logos philosophy and the simple account of the infancy sections of Matthew and Luke ; and in this combination the Logos philosophy was the predominant factor.

3. The item of chief importance contributed by Origen is his indication of the growing acceptance of the apocryphal view of the chastity of Mary as emphasized in the teaching of her perpetual virginity. This gradual advance upon the position of Clement of Alexandria is

what would be expected in the case of so severe an ascetic as Origen, and we should therefore be guarded against crediting the apocryphal sources with too wide an influence among Christians who were unaffected by the Gnostic philosophy.

X. HIPPOLYTUS (flourished 198-239).¹¹⁵ The extant writings of Hippolytus state the theories of the virgin birth with great frequency and variety. Most of the views, however, are those that have already been noticed in other apologists and polemicists.¹¹⁶ Among the less familiar views is that of the Sethians :

The Son . . . in the shape of a serpent entered into a womb in order that he might be able to recover that Mind which is the scintillation from the light.¹¹⁷

The Sethians had formed a threefold philosophy based upon light, spirit, and darkness, as the three fundamental elements. Light is that which is superior and above, darkness is its opposite, and spirit is between the two. Jesus came into human life to redeem the mind, which is light, encircled in the darkness of flesh. The Greek sophist Monoimus says :

The Son of Man . . . has been generated from the perfect man, whom no one knew; every creature who is ignorant of the Son, however, forms an idea of him as the offspring of a woman (*Refutation of All Heresies*, VIII, 6 [V, 121]).

Noetus expresses the Patripassian theory which found favor with the contemporary Roman bishops and served to make them odious to Hippolytus. The longer statement of this theory is in IX, 5 (V, 127), but the shorter one in X, 23 (V, 148) gives the gist of the matter :

And this heretic also alleges that the Father is unbegotten when he is not generated, but begotten when he is born of a virgin.

There is an interesting belief recorded in IX, 9 and 25 (V, 132, 148), showing how the Pythagorean influence had determined the theory of a certain heretic Elchasai, who

¹¹⁵ EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, Book VI, 22.

¹¹⁶ Orthodox statement = *Refutation of All Heresies*, VIII, 10; X, 29 (V, 123, 152); *Com. on Dan.*, III, 6 and 93 (V, 179, 188); *Homilies*, VI (V, 239); *Against Noetus*, IV (V, 225); and *Com. Prov.* (V, 174). Especially emphasizing the reality of Jesus' birth, *Refutation of All Heresies*, VI, 4 (V, 75); Valentinian and Gnostic views = *Ref. All Her.*, VI, 30, 31; VIII, 2 (V, 88, 90, 118); Carpocrates = VII, 20 (V, 113); Cerinthus = VII, 21; X, 17 (V, 114, 147); Ebionites = VII, 22 (V, 114); Theodotus = VII, 23; X, 19 (V, 114, 147); Apelles = VII, 26; X, 16 (V, 115, 147); Marcus = VI, 46 (V, 97); Docetic = VIII, 3 (V, 120).

¹¹⁷ *Refutation of All Heresies*, V, 14; X, 7 (V, 66, 143).

asserts that Christ was born a man in the same way as common to all, and that Christ was not for the first time on earth when born of a virgin, but that both previously and that frequently again he had been born and would be born. Christ would thus appear and exist among us from time to time, undergoing alterations of birth, and having his soul transferred from body to body.

Then finally there is the Jewish belief

that his generation will be from the stock of David, but not from a virgin and the Holy Spirit, but from a woman and a man, according as it is a rule for all to be procreated from seed (*Refutation of All Heresies*, IX, 25 [V, 138]).

From the material above cited and quoted we may learn with what variety and in connection with what professedly philosophic vagaries the doctrine of the virgin birth was set forth. Had more of the writings of Hippolytus been preserved, we should undoubtedly be even more impressed with this fact, which means that the theological valuation of the doctrine steadily increased from what was in apostolic times a negligible quantity to what was now conceived to be of the most serious theological import. In the formulation of the church's belief, whether that most commonly accepted or that peculiar to the heretical sects, this doctrine, in some form or other, negative or positive, was sure to appear.

In examining the support which Hippolytus adduces from the Scriptures for the orthodox theory of the virgin birth we must, because of the fragmentary character of his writings, be satisfied with a more superficial defense than was offered by his great predecessors. No use is made of the Immanuel prophecy; but Daniel, Proverbs, and Psalms are the chief Old Testament authorities to which appeal is made. Prov. 9:1, "Wisdom hath builded her house," is taken to mean that Christ, the wisdom and power of God, took his covering of flesh from the Virgin. A fanciful comment is given on Cant. 4:16, "Awake, O northwind; and come thou, south. Blow upon my garden that the spices thereof may flow out":

As Joseph was delighted with these spices, he is designated the king's son by God; as the virgin Mary was anointed with them, she conceived the Word^{117a} (V, 176).

In the comment on Dan. 3:26 there is a statement of the pre-existence

^{117a} HIPPOLYTUS, *In Canticum Canticorum*, 4:16: "His aromatibus cum oblectatus esset Joseph, filius Regis a Deo designatur. His Virgo Maria cum uncta esset, in ventre suo concepit Verbum."

and activity of Christ before the virgin birth. There is also an obscure remark in the *Commentary on the Psalms* (V, 170):

But the Lord was without sin, made of imperishable wood as regards his humanity; that is, of the Virgin and the Holy Ghost inwardly, and outwardly of the Word of God, like an ark overlaid with purest gold.¹¹⁸

The main object here seems to be to show the purity of Jesus' conception. But what can be meant by Jesus' being made of the Virgin and the Holy Ghost *inwardly* and of the Word of God *outwardly*? The reverse statement would have been more easy of apprehension. Whether there is any serious theological concept at the basis of this similitude of Jesus to the ark, or whether the similitude is carried out for its own sake and on this account, the Word, as being the more precious and corresponding to the gold of the ark, is given an external place in the ontography of Jesus, is difficult to say, because at most the passage is only a fragmentary and fanciful comment on a Hebrew poem. If, however, the passage be taken at all seriously, it will be seen to teach that the Spirit and the Virgin produced the humanity of Jesus (*i. e.*, the Spirit is the cause of the conception of Jesus the human being, but does not impart divinity to his nature), and the Word is the divine element existing in union with this humanity. But it should be borne in mind that the primary emphasis of the passage is upon the purity and sinlessness of Jesus.¹¹⁹

The theological deductions from the virgin birth are clear and uniform. It took place in order that God might create anew the first-formed Adam: *Dan.*, VII, § 14 (V, 189); *Refutation of All Heresies*, X, 29 (V, 152); *Prov.* 30:29 (V, 175). In order to do this, the first-born God must be manifested in union with a first-born man: *Com. Luke*, 2:7 (V, 194); *Homilies*, IV, § 2 (V, 234), and VII, § 1 (V, 239); *Com. Psalm.*, 109, 110 (V, 170), "that by uniting his own power with our mortal body, and by mixing the incorruptible with the corruptible and the strong with the weak, he might save perishing man."¹²⁰ *Antichrist*, 4 (V, 205), and *Against Noetus*, 17 (V, 230). But the most compre-

¹¹⁸ HIPPOLYTUS, *In Psalmum XXII*: 'Ο δὲ Κύριος ἀναμάρτητος ἦν, ἐκ τῶν ἀσέπτων ξύλων τὸ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐκ τῆς Παρθένου καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐσωθεθὲν, καὶ ἐξωθεθὲν τοῦ λόγου τοῦ θεοῦ, οἷα καθαρωτάτῳ χρυσίῳ περικεκαλυμμένος. (These comments are gathered from quotations by THEODORET in his *First and Second Dialogue*.)

¹¹⁹ See also comments on Pss. 109, 110 (V, 170), and *Prov.* 30:29 ff., treating of the first and second Adam; and meager New Testament references (V, 213, 236).

¹²⁰ HIPPOLYTUS, *De Christo et Antichristo*, IV: "Ὅπως συγκεράσας τὸ θνητὸν ἡμῶν σῶμα τῇ ἐαυτοῦ δυνάμει, καὶ μίξας τῷ ἀφθάρτῳ τὸ φθαρτὸν καὶ τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῷ ἰσχυρῷ, σῶσῃ τὸν ἀπολλύμενον ἄνθρωπον.

hensive single statement is given in Fragment 8 of the *Treatise against Beron and Helix* (V, 234):

But the pious confession of the believer is that, with a view to our salvation and in order to connect the universe with unchangeableness, the Creator of all things incorporated with himself a rational soul and a sensible body from the all-holy Mary, ever virgin by an undefiled conception, without change, and was made man in nature, but separate from wickedness; the same was perfect God and the same was perfect man; the same was in nature at once perfect God and man.¹²¹

In Hippolytus, then, we find the greatest variety of theories of the virgin birth, a superficial resort to scriptural attestation, and a clear conviction that such a birth was necessary for the restoration to God of fallen and corrupt man. Mary is "all-holy" as well as "ever virgin," and her importance in the divine economy may be judged from the importance and greatness of the redemptive work undertaken by God through her sacred instrumentality.

1. In addition to the canonical accounts Hippolytus used some such apocryphal sources as the gospel of James or the gospel of Thomas.¹²² This is evidenced by his expressions of "ever virgin" and "all-holy," and in general by the exaltedness ascribed to Mary.

2. In the passages which bear upon the virgin birth Hippolytus asserts the pre-existence of Jesus more than a dozen times. He goes even beyond the philosophy of John when he says that "the Creator of all things incorporated with himself a rational soul and a sensible body from the all-holy Mary, ever virgin," etc. Thus, as so often, the idea expressed in the prologue of John, because better calculated to support the divinity of Jesus, becomes the controlling factor in the representation of the advent of Christ. It will be seen that, while Hippolytus accepts Origen's trichotomous description of Jesus, he holds that both soul and body were assumed from Mary, whereas Origen held the soul was supplied as a medium whereby to reduce the harshness of the incarnation of God, the divine spirit.

¹²¹ HIPPOLYTUS, *Contra Beronem et Heliconem*, VIII: 'ΑΛΛ' εὐσεβῶς ὁμολογεῖ πιστεῦων, ὅτι διὰ τὴν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν, καὶ τὸ δῆσαι πρὸς ἀτρεσίαν τὸ πᾶν, ὃ τῶν ὄλων δημιουργὸς ἐκ τῆς παναγίας ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, κατὰ σύλληψιν ἄχραντον, δίχα τροπῆς, ἐνουσιώσας ἑαυτῷ ψυχὴν νοερὰν μετὰ αἰσθητικοῦ σώματος, γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος φύσει κακίας ἀλλότριος. ὅλος θεὸς ὁ αὐτός, καὶ ὅλος ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτός. ὅλος θεὸς ὁμοῦ φύσει καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὁ αὐτός.

¹²² That Hippolytus used the gospel of Thomas see *Philos.*, V, 7: 'Εν τῇ κατὰ Θωμᾶν ἐπιγραφομένῳ εὐαγγελίῳ παραδίδασι λέγοντες οὕτως. Ἐμεῖ ὁ ζητῶν εὕρησα ἐν παιδίοις ἀπὸ ἐτών ἑπτὰ ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἰδ' αἰῶνι κρυβόμενος φανεροῦμαι.

3. Hippolytus is of significance chiefly in showing how the apocryphal literature which, in its exaltation of Mary, served Clement as attractive illustration, and appealed to Origen as being in accord with reason, found unquestioned acceptance and unhesitating use.

XI. CYPRIAN¹²³ (bishop of Carthage, martyred 258) makes frequent quotation of prophecy and also of the gospel story, but all that he comments on or uses in any significant way is confined to three references. Two of these, *Epistles*, 72, § 5 (V, 380), and *Treatises*, 6, § 11 (V, 468), contain merely the statement of the virgin birth involving the pre-existence of Christ, as the Word and Son of God, who by the co-operation of the Holy Spirit entered a virgin and mingled with man in the birth, thus becoming a perfect mediator. The third reference, *Treatises*, Book II, 9 (V, 515), contains an echo of the Immanuel argument: "That this should be the sign of his nativity that he should be born of a virgin—man and God—son of man and of God."

1. The material of Cyprian is altogether too meager to warrant any broad deductions, but such material as we have reflects (1) a use of canonical sources only; (2) that he believed in the pre-existence and at the same time accepted the virgin birth, probably seeing in it, as did Tertullian his predecessor in Carthage, a consistent explanation of the humanity of the divine Christ.

XII. NOVATIAN, a Roman presbyter, in his work *De Trinitate*, chap. 24 (V, 635), written perhaps shortly after 256, makes a reference to the annunciation story in Luke, making especial use of the implicative force of *διὸ καὶ* in 1:35*b*. The heretics had not preserved the distinction between the "Son of God" and "Son of man" elements in Jesus. By the use of Luke 1:35 they had maintained that "man himself and that bodily flesh, that which is called holy, is itself the son of God." In reply, Novatian points out that the Scripture does not say, "Therefore the holy thing that shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God," but it says, "Therefore *also*," and thereby implies that the Son of God is in the first place the Word of God which came into Mary by the Holy Spirit's operation and which sanctified the substances taken from her body for the formation of Jesus, permitting them to be called "holy" and in a consequential and merely secondary sense the "Son of God."

1. These passages from Novatian reveal his appeal to the infancy sections of Luke as "the divine Scriptures" and also verify the fact, before noted, that the heretics seem to have been shut up to the

¹²³ EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, Books III, VI, VII, XXXI.

canonical accounts as their only source of appeal in altering the generally accepted teaching of the virgin birth.

2. Novatian's theory is decidedly that of an incarnation, the indwelling of the pre-existent Christ, the Word, within Mary, and his taking from her and hallowing those physical elements necessary to his human self-revelation. The doctrine as stated by Novatian gets a natural setting in trinitarian theory. God's Son, the Word, is imparted to Mary by the Holy Spirit and from Mary is given to the world clothed in flesh, being still the Son of God, but, because of the human nature which he assumed, also Son of man.

3. Perhaps Novatian's chief contribution to the study is in his serious and hitherto unsurpassed attempt to harmonize John and Luke, and almost equally in his clear definition of the incarnation in trinitarian terms.

XIII. MALCHION (flourished about 270) seems to present a new view of the incarnation in a fragment of the epistle of the Antiochian synod (VI, 171):

He was formed in the first instance as man in the womb, and in the second instance (*κατὰ δεύτερον λόγον*) the God also was in the womb, united essentially with the human (*συνουσιωμένος τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ*), that is to say, his substance being wedded with the man.¹²⁴

This statement, however, does not exactly touch the matter of the virgin birth, but leaves the way open for a theory of the generation of the body of Jesus either naturally or by miracle, and subsequent to the beginning of that process an infusion of a divine element or the Word. Thus the incoming of the Word would not be the cause of the generation, but, the generation being already under way by miraculous or natural initiative, the deifying element enters and differentiates Christ from all other men. But it would be very unsafe to more than admit the *possibility* of such a theory from an isolated fragment such as this; and, at any rate, the theory would collapse should "in the first instance" and "in the second instance" be shown to be logical rather than chronological, which is indeed probable.

What Malchion seems to be contending for is the actual union of the divine and the human in Christ, as distinct from the mere indwelling of the divine as a spirit inhabiting the body.

1. Nothing significant can be determined as to the sources used.

¹²⁴ MALCHION, *Epistola contra Paulum Samosatam*: "Formatus est principaliter ut homo in ventre; et secundario Deus erat in ventre *συνουσιωμένος τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ*, id est, copulata substantia ejus cum homine."

2. Malchion seems to be contending for an actual incarnation and a vital union of the divine with the human.

3. There is no significant increment to the study at this point.

XIV. ARCHELAUS (flourished about 277). In the *Disputation with Manes*, which is no doubt for the most part genuine, the objections raised against the virgin birth by the Gnostic dualism of the Manichæans are clearly set forth, and are seen to be objections not so much against the *virgin* birth as against any birth whatsoever. Since matter is inherently evil, how could the Son of God submit to be born of a woman? § 5 (VI, 182). Could the Son of God, he who could change himself into any semblance, and did change himself into the semblance of the sun, be under the necessity of having mother, brethren, or father, as is involved when Archelaus makes Joseph, his father, and Christ to descend upon him at the baptism? To adopt this belief would be to make him the Son of God by increase (*per profectum*), and not because of his essential nature. Then, too, if he were a real material man, is it not also necessary to consider the dove that descended as material; and how could it dwell within him? § 50 (VI, 226, 227). Moreover, if Jesus were the son of Mary, it was possible for him to have brethren either begotten by the same Holy Spirit, and hence like himself, or perchance the undefiled Virgin had subsequent intercourse with Joseph—all of which is unthinkable. The rebuke administered by Christ to the intruder who announced the approach of his mother and brethren (Matt. 12:47), together with his approval of Peter's confession (Matt. 16:16), go to show that Jesus was born of no human parentage whatever; § 47 (VI, 223).

In reply Archelaus points out the various uses of the term "father," showing that it may be used of the begetter or of the guardian of a child, or it may signify a certain privilege or revered standing because of age and position. In the first of these senses, God was the father of Jesus; in the second, Joseph could be called his father; and in the third, the title was applicable to David; ¹²⁵ § 34 (VI, 207). Another

¹²⁵ ARCHELAUS, *Cum Manele Haeresiarcha*, § 34: "Ignorare vos non arbitror, quoniam *pater* unum quidem sit nomen, diversos tamen habet intellectus: alius enim pater dicitur eorum, quos naturaliter genuerit filiorum; alius vero eorum, quos tantummodo enutrierit; nonnulli vero temporis atque aetatis privilegio: unde et Dominus noster Jesus plurimos patres habere dicitur; nam et David pater ejus appellatus est, et Joseph ejus pater putatus est, cum nullus horum pater ejus fuerit veritate naturae. Nam David pater ejus dicitur aetatis ac temporis privilegio, Joseph vero lege nutriendi; solus autem Deus Pater ejus natura est, qui omnia per Verbum suum velociter nobis manifestare dignatus est."

argument is advanced from the fact that, the judgment being dependent upon the resurrection, and this upon the passion, and the passion in turn upon the birth from Mary, the whole Christian system would be undermined by the denial of such a birth; § 49 (VI, 225). Archelaus appeals to Phil. 2:7 to show how Jesus voluntarily humbled himself and took the form of a servant. He asserts, moreover, that the descending Spirit was only *like* a dove, and that Jesus' body made of Mary was the only tabernacle that had ever been equal to sustaining the Spirit which descended from God; § 50 (VI, 226).

There is also in the *Disputation* a noteworthy story of the doings of an impostor Terebinthus,¹²⁶ the disciple of one of Scythianus. This Terebinthus made great claims for himself in Babylonia, alleging, among other things, "that he was the son of a certain virgin." He was, however, cast down from a housetop by a spirit, and so perished. The incident indicates how this man of great pretensions simulated a birth like that ascribed to Jesus, but, unlike him, made such a birth a basis of appeal for establishing his own claims.

1. The material of Archelaus betrays no use of extra-canonical sources, and the Manichæans seem to have made no pretense at having biblical sources for their teaching, but to have evolved their doctrine chiefly from an extreme Gnostic philosophy. Their abhorrence of the thought that Mary could ever have become actually married to Joseph reveals the influence of apocryphal gospels, or of such material as is embodied in them.

2. Archelaus believed that Jesus was the Son of God (*i. e.*, God) and that he chose to be made man of Mary, the mother of God, and that upon the man thus born the Spirit or the Christ descended at baptism, reconstituting the willingly humiliated one, Christ and divine.

3. One contribution of Archelaus to the study is a clear definition of the uses of the term "father." His reference to Mary the mother of God (if not the touch of a later Latin hand) is an inevitable result of the dominant rigid trinitarianism stimulated by the increasing tendency to exalt Mary. A third increment to the study is the idea of the complete humanizing of God in the incarnation, necessitating a restitution by the descent of the Spirit at baptism. In this way it seems that Archelaus is the first of the Fathers to make an actual har-

¹²⁶ ARCHELAUS, *Cum Manete Haeresiarcha*, § 52: "Quo cum venisset, talem de se famam pervulgavit ipse Terebinthus, dicens omni se sapientia Aegyptiorum repletum, et vocari non jam Terebinthum, sed alium Buddam nomine, sibi que hoc nomen impositum; ex quadam autem virgine natum esse, simul et ab angelo in montibus enutritum."

monization of John and Luke by representing the complete change of deity into humanity and the birth as that of a human being not possessed of a dual nature.

XV. ARNOBIUS (flourished 290-310) says:

We worship one who is born of man . . . but if, while you know that they (the Greek gods) were born in the womb and that they lived on the produce of the earth, you nevertheless upbraid us with the worship of one born like ourselves, you act with great injustice. . . . You worship, says my opponent, one who was born a mere human being. Even if that were true, as has been already said in former passages, yet, in consideration of the many liberal gifts which he has bestowed on us, he ought to be called and be addressed as God (VI, 422).¹²⁷

This very fairly represents the practical sort of defense that could be produced from the limited information of Arnobius, and in view of the immediate issue which confronted him in the gross heathen idolatry from which he had so recently been converted. The statements that Jesus "was born a man," "born a mere human being," point (in view of the reference to Greek myth and the implication of "even if that were true," § 37), not to the conclusion that Arnobius was ignorant of the virgin birth or, though informed on the theory, did not deem it worthy of mention or timely in the apology under consideration, but rather to the fact that his apology was of so primary a nature as to forbid emphasis upon the distasteful elements of Christianity or upon anything but the barest fundamentals of faith.

1. The material in our possession indicates an acquaintance with the virgin-birth story of Matthew or Luke, but not the slightest influence of the Johannine philosophy, and an entire absence of apocryphal elements.

2. These two references do not indicate that Arnobius made any theological deductions from the virgin birth (assuming that he was acquainted with the accounts of Matthew and Luke), but that, on the contrary and for his immediate practical purpose, based the claim of divinity upon the benefits which Jesus bestowed upon mankind.

3. He is of interest in the course of the study as representing a reversion to the virgin birth unaffected by the Logos doctrine.

¹²⁷ ARNOBIUS, *Adversus Gentes*, I, 37: "Natum hominem colimus. . . . Sin autem scientes uteris esse gestatus, et frugibus eos vicitasse terrenis, nihilominus tamen nati nobis hominis abjectatis cultum: res agitis satis injustas. . . ." 42: "Natum hominem colitis. Etiam si esset id verum, locis ut superioribus dictum est, tamen pro multis, et tam liberalibus donis, quae ac eo profecta in nobis sunt, Deus dici appellari-que deberet."

XVI. LACTANTIUS (about 250-330) regards the virgin birth from a decidedly theological point of view. The Son of God, the Word, was first *spiritually* created by God; *Institutes*, IV, 8 (VII, 106). This was his first birth and in it no mother participated. His second birth was *physical*, of the Virgin's womb, and in it no father participated. By these two births he was constituted a "middle substance" between God and man, and was eminently fitted to be man's Savior. He was "the Son of God through the Spirit and the son of man through the flesh, that is, both God and man;" IV, 13 (VII, 112).¹²⁸

1. The material of Lactantius reflects but slightly the influence of any sources save the canonical accounts¹²⁹ of the virgin birth and the Johannine Logos doctrine, but it is possible that apocryphal influence accounts for the epithet "holy" as applied to Mary.

2. His understanding of the virgin birth is schematic; and indeed he offers a partial rationale of John's Logos doctrine in pointing out that, while other spiritual beings were merely the breath of God, he who was subsequently born of Mary was pre-eminent among the angels in that he was the *articulate* breath of God, *i. e.*, the Word. But Lactantius does not differentiate the Word from "the Holy Spirit of God who descending from heaven chose the holy Virgin that he might enter into her womb." The virgin birth assured the human nature of the divine Christ, and constituted him a fit mediator for the lost human race.

3. The contribution of Lactantius to the history of the thought is of little interest except to show how the doctrine of the virgin birth as dominated by the Johannine philosophy was finding its place in the gradually hardening cast of a systematic theology.

XVII. METHODIUS (martyred about 311) has but one certain¹³⁰ reference to the subject in hand:

¹²⁸ LACTANTIUS, *Divin. Instit.*, IV, 13: "In prima enim nativitate spiritali ἀμήτωρ fuit, quia sine officio matris a solo Deo Patre generatus est. In secunda vero carnali ἀπάτωρ fuit, quoniam sine patris officio virginali utero procreatus est, ut mediam inter Deum et hominem substantiam gerens, nostram hanc fragilem imbecillemque naturam quasi manu ad immortalitatem posset educere. Factus est et Dei filius per spiritum, et hominis per carnem; id est, et Deus, et homo." See also chap. 25 and *Epitome*, 43 (VII, 126, 239).

¹²⁹ For use of a spurious quotation accredited to Solomon, but being probably a marginal interpolation of the Book of Wisdom, see *Institutes*, IV, 12, and *Epitome*, 44 (VII, 110, 239).

¹³⁰ His purported *Oration re Simeon and Anna*, which contains material germane to the virgin birth, is undoubtedly spurious and of much later date. The system of church festivals assumed in the work was not in existence at the time of Methodius; and the work gives evidence of being subsequent to the Nestorian controversy.

And thus, when renovating those things which were from the beginning and forming them again of the Virgin and the Spirit, he frames the same just as at the beginning. When the earth was still virgin and untilled, God, taking mold, formed the reasonable creature from it without seed. . . . (Chap. 5.) For when Adam, having been formed out of clay, was still soft and moist, and not yet like a tile made hard and incorruptible, sin ruined him, flowing and dropping down upon him like water, and therefore God, moistening him afresh, and forming anew the same clay to his honor, having first hardened and fixed it in the Virgin's womb, and united and mixed it with the Word, brought it forth into life, no longer soft and broken.¹³¹ (Discourse III, chaps. 4 and 5 [VI, 318].)

1. Methodius seems to be informed and influenced by the canonical sources only.

2. His understanding of the virgin birth is that in it is an explanation of the dual nature upon the basis of a union of the Word with an impeccable human being, and also the assurance of the restoration of man to his primal purity.

3. The material of Methodius serves to verify in some degree the existence of the theologizing tendency reflected in Lactantius; and perhaps chiefly to recall again to our minds by a very striking example the dominant theological *method* of the entire ante-Nicene period.

XVIII. VICTORINUS (martyred about 311), in commenting on Rev. 1:16 (VII, 345 ff.), as illumined by Isa. 4:1, refers to Christ as "not born of seed;" and in elaborating 4:7 (VII, 348) says:

And in the figure of a man Matthew strives to declare to us the genealogy of Mary, from whom Christ took flesh. Therefore, in enumerating from Abraham to David and thence to Joseph, he spoke of him as if of a man. This conscious effort at representing God as human, which is ascribed to Matthew, is as far wide of the truth as the assertion that he gave the genealogy of *Mary*. A rather fanciful passage is found in the discourse on the *Creation of the World* (VII, 343), where he makes the day of the annunciation to Mary coincident with that on which Eve was deceived, and the day when "the Holy Spirit overflowed the virgin

¹³¹ METHODIUS, *Convivium Decem Virginum*, III, 4: Ταύτη γὰρ ἀναζωγραφῶν τὰ ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς, καὶ ἀναπλάσσειν αὐτὴς ἐκ Παρθένου καὶ Πνεύματος, τεκταίνεται τὸν αὐτὸν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ κατ' ἀρχάς, οὕσης Παρθένου γῆς ἔτι καὶ ἀνθρώπου, λαβὼν χοῦν, τὸ λογικώτατον ἐπλάσατο ζῶον ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁ θεὸς ἀνευ σπορᾶς. . . . Ἐτι γὰρ πληρουρούμενον τὸν Ἀδὰμ, ὡς ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, καὶ τηκτὸν ὄντα καὶ ὑδαρῇ, καὶ μηδέπω φθάσαντα, δίκην ὀστράκου, τῇ ἀφθαρσίᾳ κραταιωθῆναι, ὕδωρ ὥσπερ καταλειβομένη καὶ καταστάξουσα, διέλυσεν αὐτὸν ἢ ἁμαρτία. Διὸ δὴ πάλιν ἄνωθεν ἀναδεῦν καὶ πληροπαστῶν τὸν αὐτὸν εἰς τιμὴν ὁ θεὸς, ἐν τῇ παρθενικῇ κρατειώσας πρῶτον καὶ πῆξας μήτρα, καὶ συνενώσας καὶ συγκεράσας τῷ Λόγῳ, ἀτηκτον καὶ ἄθραυστον ἐξήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον.

Mary" coincident with that on which God made light. Other more important passages are found in a work *Against All Heresies* (III, 649-54), which is inserted in the text of Tertullian, but which in all probability comes from the pen of Victorinus. The treatise is a hasty review of the chief heretics from Simon Magus to Praxeas, and deals specifically with "*those who have chosen to make the gospel the starting-point of their heresies.*" Among these are Saturninus (prior to Irenæus and probably to Justin), who stated that the innascible (*innascibilem* probably an adaptation of *innoscibilem* = ἄγνωστος) God abides in the highest regions, and that Christ did not exist in a bodily substance, but in phantasmal form; and Basilides (about 120), asserting that Christ came to this world in a phantasm and was destitute of the substance of flesh; and the Ophites (second century prior to Irenæus) or Serpentarians, also asserting that Christ did not exist in the substance of flesh; and Carpocrates (about 130), denying that Christ was born of a virgin and maintaining that he was a mere human being born of the seed of Joseph, but superior to all men in the practice of righteousness and in integrity of life, hence only his soul was received into heaven, and there is no resurrection of the body. Cerinthus (about 100) also maintained that Christ was born of the seed of Joseph, while Valentinus (about 140) asserted that Christ was sent by the First-Father, Bythus, was not of the substance of our flesh, but, bringing down from heaven some sort of spiritual body, took nothing from Mary, but only passed through her as water through a pipe. Ptolemy (about 170), and Secundus (about 170), and Heracleon (about 170) held the same view as that of Valentinus. Marcus (about 150) and Colarbasus (second century prior to Irenæus) also asserted that Christ was not in the substance of flesh, but descended upon the natural Jesus—and there is no bodily resurrection.

Then the author mentions Cerdo (about 135), who believed in two gods, a superior and an inferior one, and that the Son of the superior God was not flesh, was not born of a virgin, was not born at all, but was a mere phantasm. Cerdo denied any bodily resurrection, and received only the gospel of Luke, and that in part. His disciple Marcion of Pontus agreed with him, as did Lucan, Marcion's disciple. Apelles, another disciple of Marcion, specified more particularly as to the body of Christ, saying that it was composed of a starry ethereal sort of flesh, which Christ gathered in his descent from the upper world, and the elements of which he restored to space after his resurrection and during his ascension. As for Tatian (about 140), "he wholly

savors of Valentinus." The followers of Æschines affirm Christ to be himself Son and Father. Theodotus, the Byzantine (prior to Hippolytus), admitted that Christ was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin, but held that he had no pre-eminence over other men except in righteousness; while a second Theodotus held a somewhat similar doctrine, asserting that Christ was inferior to Melchizedek, inasmuch as the latter was a mediator between God and *angels*, and surpassed Christ likewise in being, not only *ἀπάτωρ*, but also *ἀμήτωρ* and *ἀγενεαλογητός*. The heresy of Praxeas (about 200?) consisted in his belief that Christ was God the Father Almighty.

Of the above-stated beliefs that of Theodotus of Byzantium is perhaps the most striking, in that, while it admits the virgin birth, it denies the deductions commonly made therefrom, attributing to Christ only pre-eminent righteousness, and that not necessarily because of his unique birth. Theodotus had as a personal and determinative reason for holding this striking theory the fact that under persecution he had denied Christ, and it was a palliative to his conscience to maintain that after all he had not denied God, but man only.¹³²

1. From the first three references of Victorinus it is clear that his own thought is controlled chiefly by the canonical infancy sections, while at the same time there is probably a hint of the influence of the fourth gospel in the expression that Christ took flesh from Mary. The other references, although not beyond a doubt those of Victorinus, give some idea of the widespread influence of Gnosticism in its various phases, and indicate that Gnosticism had no authoritative evangelical sources of its own to set over against the canonical gospels, but rather, so far as scriptural sanction was needed, fell back upon the canonical sources, resorting to whatever change or curtailment was found necessary.

2. Victorinus's understanding of the virgin birth is not clearly stated, but it is a practically safe deduction to credit him with the orthodox doctrine of an incarnation of God, the Word or Spirit.

3. The contribution given by Victorinus consists chiefly in the exhaustive survey of the heresies touching the virgin birth and in a clear verification of the fact that the heretics were always destitute of any authoritative starting-point save the canonical Scriptures.

XIX. PETER (bishop of Alexandria, martyred about 311) says :

Now God the Word in the absence of a man, by the will of God, who easily effects everything, was made flesh in the womb of the virgin, not

¹³² See context and SCHAFF, *History of Christian Church*, Vol. II, p. 574.

requiring the operation of the presence of a man. For more efficacious than a man was the power of God overshadowing the Virgin, together with the Holy Ghost, who came upon her.¹³³ (Fragment on *The Godhead* [VI, 280, 283].) The extravagant nature of two remaining references makes somewhat against their genuineness. Such expressions as "the most blessed mother of God and ever-virgin Mary"¹³⁴ (*Genuine* [Acts VI, 267]) and "Our Lord and God Jesus Christ being in the end of the age born according to the flesh of our *holy and glorious lady*, mother of God and ever virgin, and of a truth of Mary the mother of God"¹³⁵ (Fragment 5 [VI, 282]) sound somewhat anachronistic, and of a piece with post-Nicene Mariolatry. But, after all, they are only a summary of the extravagant titles already applied to Mary, with the addition of "glorious lady."

1. Peter has as sources (Matthew), Luke, and John, but at the same time he shows the most marked influence of the apocryphal literature.

2. According to Peter, God the pre-existent Word was made flesh in the womb of Mary by the power of God overshadowing her and the Holy Spirit coming upon her. Probably the thought of Peter resembles that of Novatian in regarding the Spirit (or power) as imparting to Mary the Word, who thus became incarnate. As usual, the virgin birth is described in terms of an incarnation.

3. The very pronounced influence of the apocryphal literature is perhaps the chief increment which Peter of Alexandria makes to the study.

XX. ALEXANDER OF ALEXANDRIA (died about 326) states how that God, the Son, whose creation was beyond the power of the human mind to grasp, and who reigned with the Father in heaven, descended to earth and became incarnate in the Virgin's womb, assuming from her, who was thus constituted the mother of God, an actual body.¹³⁶

1. Alexander shows the influence of the sources which have by this

¹³³ PETER OF ALEXANDRIA, *In Deitate*: 'Ο δὲ θεὸς Λόγος παρὰ τὴν ἀνδρὸς ἀπουσίαν, κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ πάντα δυναμένου κατεργάσασθαι θεοῦ, γέγονεν ἐν μήτρῃ τῆς Παρθένου σάρξ, μήτε δεηθεὶς τῆς ἀνδρὸς ἐνεργείας ἢ παρουσίας. 'Ενεργέστερον γὰρ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐνεποίησεν ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμις, ἐπισκιάσασα τῇ Παρθένῳ σὺν τῷ ἐπεληλυθῶτι ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι.

¹³⁴ PETER OF ALEXANDRIA, *Acta Sincera*: "Venerunt in ecclesiam beatissimae Dei Genetricis semperque virginis Mariae."

¹³⁵ PETER OF ALEXANDRIA, *Fragments*, V, § 7: ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν, καὶ θεὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς, ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων κατὰ σάρκα τεχθεὶς ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας ἐνδόξου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν θεοτόκου καὶ Ἀειπαρθένου, καὶ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν θεοτόκου Μαρίας.

¹³⁶ An addition in the codex, VI (VI, 302), gives also the reason for the virgin birth: "To raise erect lost man, re-collecting his scattered members."

time become common to all the writers contributing to the study, viz., the canonical infancy stories, the Logos teaching of the fourth gospel, and the apocryphal literature.

2. As is clearly the case subsequent to the time of Ignatius, and with the exception of Arnobius, Alexander's thought of the virgin birth is controlled by the Logos doctrine, becoming on that account an incarnation in a sense that would never be suggested by the infancy sections alone.

3. Alexander's contribution, standing, as he does, the last of these twenty ante-Nicene Fathers to contribute to the study, is that of an inheritor of the good and evil of his predecessors, in apology, in polemic, and in constructive theology. His representation is a product of the whole period, during which the child born in Bethlehem gained his title to messiahship and divinity and pre-existence, carrying up with him from her obscurity the humble mother who from "virgin" became "ever virgin," and from "ever virgin" "all-holy," and from "all-holy" to what was inevitable in the trinitarian thought—"mother of God."

XXI. *Conclusion.*—In making a recapitulation of this survey of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, we shall endeavor (1) to gather up the facts which throw light upon the sources used by the defenders and the opponents of the virgin birth; (2) to exhibit what theories the successive Fathers held as to the origin of him who was born of the virgin; (3) to point out the theological and apologetic use made of the doctrine; and (4) to indicate the bearing of the facts adduced upon the relation existing between the doctrine of Scripture and that which became the doctrine of the church, and to show the consequent need of a historical and untraditional interpretation of the canonical accounts of the virgin birth.

1. From the first post-apostolic reference to the virgin birth to the close of the ante-Nicene period, the modifying influence of the doctrine of the pre-existence is clearly traceable. Nowhere does the representation of Matthew and Luke get a distinctly separate and independent treatment or interpretation. It is true that the influence of the Johannine source is not as unmistakably present in Ignatius as in all the other Fathers (Arnobius excepted), but it is nevertheless present in sufficient power to give an interpretation which cannot upon any other basis be thought to spring from the Matthæan and Lucan material. If it is objected that Arnobius stands as an exception to this general statement, in that his interpretation of the virgin birth is uninfluenced by the Johannine material, the objection loses its

force from the fact that Arnobius gives absolutely no interpretation of the virgin birth, but only a few words of elementary apologetic. In one or two passages Justin Martyr (*Apol.*, I, 21) and possibly Tertullian (*Answer to Jews*, 13, and *Against Marcion*, IV, 10) betray the survival of the representation in the infancy sections; yet they show almost uniformly the influence of the doctrine of the pre-existence; while none of the other Fathers reflect the thought of the mere birth of a being generated in the womb of Mary; so that the Johannine source is dominant from the beginning of the second century to the Council of Nicæa.¹³⁷

As early as Justin there is evidence of extra-canonical tradition concerning the infancy, but this tradition in no wise influences his argument. Tertullian plainly mentions the existence of other gospels of the nativity, but does not accept any such teaching as that of the perpetual virginity of Mary, thus showing that the teaching of such a gospel as that of James (the existence of which explains the reference of Justin, and also those of subsequent Fathers) did not commend itself to the defenders of the humanity of Christ. But the apocryphal material was more attractive to Clement of Alexandria, who used the teaching mentioned above for purposes of illustration merely, while his successor Origen went so far as to commend the reasonableness of it, and Hippolytus accepted it outright. Thus a third source entered to influence the church's interpretation of the virgin birth; and this source (in all probability the gospel of James) remained as a potent factor at the close of the period. The remarkable fact concerning the almost numberless heretical attempts to discredit the virgin birth—on the one hand, by a thorough naturalizing of it, and, on the other, by a thorough Docetic treatment—is that the heretics of either sort are shut up to a use of the canonical sources as the authoritative point of departure and the only recognized basis of appeal. There is some evidence¹³⁸ that the Jewish heretics were influenced by the infancy stories of Pseudo-Matthew, and that the Manichæans were influenced by the gospel of James, but, on the whole, the defenders of the Catholic faith were more subject to the infusion of apocryphal thought than were the heretics; while both fell back upon the canonical writings alone as the standard of authority.

¹³⁷ The Nicene Creed reads: "We believe . . . in one Lord Jesus Christ . . . who for us men and for our salvation came down and was incarnate and was made man."

¹³⁸ ORIGEN, *Against Celsus*, I, 28 (IV, 408).

2. What has been said about the sources has, of course, its direct bearing upon the theories that were entertained as to the origin of him who was born of Mary; and, with one barely possible exception (that of Arnobius), the theories are uniformly dominated by the doctrine of the pre-existence. Justin and Tertullian may break away from the incarnation theory for a moment,¹³⁹ but never in such a way as to renounce it, even though its retention necessitates an inconsistency in their thinking. Predominantly, their theory is that of the incarnation of the Word, the Son, or the Spirit of God. With Tertullian and some of the subsequent Fathers, such as Novatian and Peter of Alexandria, there is an attempt to harmonize the theories of the pre-existence and the virgin birth by representing the Spirit or power of God as bearing to Mary at the time of her conception the Word who dwelt within her and from her assumed flesh; while Archelaus goes still farther in his harmonization by making the pre-existent Son of God become utterly devoid of his divinity in the virgin birth, and to be, apart from the miraculous conception, born as other men, being consequently thoroughly human prior to the descent of the Spirit upon him at baptism.

But even in the most elaborate attempt at harmonizing the two ideas, that of the prologue of John was still the dominant theory, and in the record of the post-apostolic thought placed the virgin birth in a light which it could not possibly have assumed to any reader unacquainted with the Johannine philosophy. There were then two theories present, but the one (that of the begetting of a new being by the miraculous exercise of divine power upon Mary causing her to conceive apart from intercourse with man) always subservient to the other (that of the incarnation of the inconceivably begotten and eternally pre-existent Word, Spirit, or Son of God).

3. Whenever the virgin birth frees itself for a moment from the doctrine of a pre-existence and an incarnation, it invariably appears as explaining the dual nature of Jesus. This is true in Ignatius and Irenæus, where the divine nature is thus explained, and in Tertullian especially, and Cyprian, Lactantius, Methodius, and Victorinus (probably), where the humanity of the divine Christ is made dependent upon the virgin birth. The doctrine of the virgin birth was from the first only one factor in the evolving theology, and it was natural at the beginning, in so far as it could at all be kept distinct, that it should lend its influence to a substantiation of the divinity of Jesus; and this

¹³⁹ JUSTIN MARTYR, *Apol.*, I, 21; TERTULLIAN, *Answer to Jews*, 13.

it did. But another and more potent factor was very early present to accomplish the same result, and so effectual was the Logos doctrine in securing this end that as early as the time of Tertullian it became necessary to use the virgin birth for the distinctly opposite purpose—that of insuring the real humanity of Jesus.

Several forces were militating against all that was natural and human in Christ. The profound conviction of his deity, the high estimate of asceticism, and the prevalence of various forms of Gnostic belief, which ever widened the impassable gulf between God and man, were not only relegating Jesus into a sphere beyond the reach of the church, but at the same time constituting the demand for perfect purity on the part of his mother, and such purity as in the minds of the orthodox themselves could be met only by perpetual virginity. Thus it is probable that the apocryphal inventions which reflected back upon Mary the purity and exaltedness of the Savior were only devout, though superficial, attempts to meet the need which a dominant trinitarianism and a profound belief in the sinfulness of human generation had awakened in the consciousness of the church.

It has been pointed out that the church began, not with one, but with two, opinions concerning the beginning of the earthly life of Jesus, and these two opinions such as were not easy of harmonization. Hence the confusion, and sometimes absurdity, into which those inevitably fell who endeavored to be faithful to the irreconcilable and early accepted interpretations of the two accounts, and the heresy which became the portion of those who, taking one or the other conception, pushed to the extreme limit the tendency therein represented. On the one hand were the Gnostics and the Docetics, true to the philosophic spirit out of which the Logos doctrine took its rise, but ignoring the all-important link which John welded in vs. 14 of his prologue, and consequently holding to an advent that was unaffected by humanity, or, in the more extreme and Docetic type of thought, was nothing more than a semblance or an apparition. On the other hand were Carpocrates, Cerinthus, the Ebionites, and others, who, taking the infancy sections, gladly accepted all that would contribute to the real humanity of Jesus, but denied the miraculous conception because used by others to prove the divinity of his nature. Between these limits were the great company of the orthodox who accepted literally the infancy sections and the prologue of John; and almost uniformly adhered to the virgin birth as the explanation of the dual nature of Jesus, first (and most nearly in accord with pagan thought) as an

explanation of his divinity, and afterward (for safeguarding the reality of his body) as an explanation of his humanity. As has already been implied, the *chief* theological use to which the ante-Nicene Fathers put the doctrine of the virgin birth, was that of substantiating the doctrine of the dual nature of Jesus; and such a use is an explanation of the relatively great importance attaching to the theory of the virgin birth throughout that early period. The fact of this cardinal use of the virgin birth cannot be overemphasized, and should be amplified by a further definition of the important corollaries which the Fathers deemed deducible from such an understanding and use of the doctrine.

In the first place, the virgin birth, being the currently accepted proof of the dual nature of Jesus, was used to prove consequently his complete fitness as a mediator between God and man. His ability to mediate was based neither upon his knowledge nor his character as such, but upon his dual nature as secured by a virgin birth. In the second place, the virgin birth served as an explanation of the sinlessness of the human nature of Jesus. All human beings from Adam down had been conceived and brought forth in sin. Not only did the taint of inherited sin rest upon them, but human procreation was in itself evil. By the virgin birth, however, Jesus was wholly freed from the latter, for he was not "stained by human generation;" while as to the former, the sin that might be inherited through Mary, that the early church blinked at until the devout and well-meaning apocryphal writers invented for her birth and upbringing such stories as would most effectually minimize the possibility of lust or impurity (as they conceived them) in the inception and entire course of her life. These stories the Fathers came to receive, and, with a miraculous conception and a birth that did not impair the virginity of Mary (who was chaste born of very aged and devout parents, and during her whole¹⁴⁰ life free from all knowledge of men), the purity of the human nature of Jesus was for all practical purposes, and in what seemed to them a practical way, thoroughly assured. In the third place, the fact that the virgin birth constituted him a perfect mediator and insured the sinless perfection of his human nature, made him the only savior of lost humanity. He was the new Adam, the first of a new race, and this antithesis is the constant and pertinent refrain throughout the entire patristic literature.

4. In concluding the study of the ante-Nicene Fathers, and in

¹⁴⁰ TERTULLIAN, *Monogamy*, 8 (IV, 65), *contra*.

pointing out the significance of the investigation offered in the foregoing pages, it is desirable to emphasize the distinction, referred to at the outset, viz., the distinction between the historical criticism of the Scripture narratives of the virgin birth and the use made of these narratives by the ante-Nicene Fathers. It is with the latter investigation only that this essay has to do, and for the present purpose questions as to the historicity or invention of the infancy sections are waived, for it is our present concern to interpret and to trace the history of the interpretation of these accounts, which, whatever their origin, very early came to be important sources for Christian theology. Whether the church feels bound to abide by the interpretation which the Fathers placed upon the virgin birth will, in the long run, depend upon its confidence in their ability and method as interpreters. From them alone has the church received its interpretation of the virgin birth. Nowhere outside of the infancy sections do the Scriptures contain any reference to it, either predictive or argumentative. If the method and culture out of which the accepted interpretation sprang have not been improved upon, if the allegorical method still suffices and a scientific culture which believed that certain animals, such as the vulture,¹⁴¹ conceived without intercourse, or that others conceived by the wind,¹⁴² and that the Son of God could enter the womb in the form of a serpent¹⁴³—if these suffice for a time when there is at least some knowledge of the inevitable sequences of nature and of the value of historical interpretation, then the understanding and doctrinal import which the Fathers attached to the virgin birth need no revision.

But if, on the other hand, the Fathers were by the very nature of things incapable of interpreting correctly either the infancy sections themselves or the philosophic preface of the fourth gospel, it follows, not only as the privilege, but as the duty, of the interpreter to view independently and with the most and best light available those portions of the New Testament which by tradition alone have been made to carry what they did not originally contain. It is of some value to the theologian to know the history of the beliefs which are put into his hands for arrangement and ultimate verification. If this history of the interpretation of the virgin birth has succeeded in revealing the source

¹⁴¹ ORIGEN, *Against Celsus*, I, 37 (IV, 412).

¹⁴² LACTANTIUS, *Divine Institutes*, IV, 12 (VII, 110).

¹⁴³ HIPPOLYTUS, *Refutation of All Heresies*, X, 7 (V, 143). This conception, not of the orthodox, but of the Sethians, is nevertheless of value in indicating the scientific culture of the time.

and character of that interpretation, it may well leave its results, though meager, in the hands of the theologian to whose task this effort is but tributary.

III. THE NEW TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA.

The New Testament apocrypha in their treatment of the virgin birth differentiate themselves very clearly from the canonical and the patristic writings. The canonical accounts are chaste, brief, and unphilosophical; the patristic productions are more theological and inferential because of apologetic and polemic necessity; but the apocryphal writings are gross and prolix in the invention of details and the fabrication of a more exhaustive story. Just how impoverished and palpable these inventions are will best appear from an examination of those false gospels which in their original form at least belong to the period under consideration. Such an examination of the Gospel of James will suffice to give a correct idea of the more important apocryphal gospels in their relation to the virgin birth, for the Pseudo-Matthew and the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary are but recasts of the tradition earlier embodied in the Gospel of James, while the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy comes from the same source, augmented perhaps by some elements from the Gospel of Thomas.

The Gospel of James.—To ascertain exact dates for the New Testament apocrypha is next to impossible. Comparative and relative dates must suffice. We have proof of the presence of some such story as the Gospel of James in Justin's *Dial.*, 78, and, while this would not be conclusive for the existence and influence of the whole gospel in its present form, it would suffice to show that some of the elements of such a gospel existed prior to 166. Tischendorf places the original of the Gospel of James in the first half of the second century. The gospel as we have it has in all probability been worked over, but that the story in its present form is essentially the Jewish Christian work attributed to James and extant in the time of Justin is more than probable. An expression in Justin's *Dial.*, 101, is thought to be a quotation of the original of the Gospel of James: *καὶ χαρὰν λαβοῦσα Μαρία ἡ παρθένος*. Protevangel.: *χαρὰν δὲ λαβοῦσα Μαρία*.

But these gospels seem to have been for a long time in a more or less nebulous state, seldom condensing into a rigid form, often reappearing in modified, abbreviated, or lengthened forms, but never securing sufficient recognition or esteem by the church to make Christians jealous of their exactness or preservation. So that the Gospel of James as we have it probably dates not prior to the latter part of the third century. Harnack¹⁴⁴ thinks that it is

¹⁴⁴ HARNACK, *Gesch. altchrist. Litt.*, II, 1, p. 725. "Das Protevangelium des Jacobus hat erst nach Origenes und vor der Mitte des 4. Jahrh. seine jetzige Gestalt

a compilation of three stories¹⁴⁵ and that it assumed its present form after the time of Origen and before the middle of the fourth century; but that the part treating of the birth of Jesus belongs perhaps to the second century, and the childhood history of Mary shortly before the time of Origen.

The substance of the gospel is as follows: Joachim, a rich Jew, possessed of a generosity similar to that of Tobit, wished to offer a double portion in the temple, but was rebuked because he was the father of no children. Having retired to the desert, he fasted and prayed for forty days, while his wife Anna mourned over her supposed widowhood and bitter childlessness. But as she sat in a garden lamenting, an angel came to her and announced¹⁴⁶ that she should conceive. About the same time an angel announced to Joachim the same fact, and two other angels came to tell Anna that Joachim was returning. In due time Anna brought forth a girl, and said, "'My soul has been magnified this day.' And she laid her down. And the days having been fulfilled Anna was purified and gave the breast to the child and called her name Mary."

When Mary was six months old she walked seven steps. Her mother made a little sanctuary for her in her own bedchamber and "allowed nothing common or unclean to pass through her." When she was a year old her father made a feast and invited "the priests and the scribes and the elders and all the people of Israel." The priests blessed the child. At the age of three her parents took her to the temple to be brought up, "and the priest received her and kissed her and blessed her, saying 'The Lord has magnified thy name in all generations. In thee, on the last of the days, the Lord will manifest his redemption to the sons of Israel.'" "And Mary was in the temple of the Lord as if she were a dove that dwelt there, and she received food from the hand of an angel." When she was twelve years old an angel directed Zacharias to assemble the widowers of the people, and to whomsoever the Lord should show a sign, his wife should Mary be. The lot fell to the aged Joseph, out of whose rod there came a dove. And the priest said to Joseph, "Thou hast been chosen by lot to take into thy keeping the virgin of the Lord." Joseph went away to build a house for his new charge, and

erhalten; der Abschnitt über die Geburt Jesu (Joseph-Apocryphum) gehört vielleicht dem 2. Jahrh., der Abschnitt über die Jugendgeschichte der Maria (der Hauptabschnitt des Buches) kann erst kurz vor Origenes entstanden sein; der Zachariasabschnitt hat seine jetzige Form wohl erst nach des Zeit der Origenes erhalten."

¹⁴⁵(1) The history of the conception, birth, and life of Mary up to the period covered by the canonical stories; (2) the story of the birth of Jesus narrated by Joseph and therefore in an apocryphum of Joseph; and (3) an apocryphum of Zacharias.

¹⁴⁶In the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary nearly all of the subsequent history of the child to be born is made known to the mother in the annunciation, and the sinlessness of Mary's manner of conception is strongly emphasized. Chap. 3 of the Gospel of the Nativity throws considerable light upon the objective and subjective sources out of which these apocryphal traditions took their rise.

when he returned found that Mary was six months with child. He was greatly distressed, fearing that his guardianship had been criminally lax. Mary asserted her innocence, and in Joseph's perplexity as to what he should do an angel appeared to him with substantially the same message as that recorded in Matthew. The priests discovered Mary's condition, and both Joseph and Mary were brought up for trial and acquitted by their own protestations of innocence and the test of Numb. 5:11 ff. "And there was an order from the emperor Augustus that all in Bethlehem of Judea should be enrolled." Before reaching Bethlehem Mary's time was fulfilled. Attended by Joseph's sons she entered a cave; Joseph went in search of a midwife and fell into a sort of trance in which he saw all the creatures of the earth awestricken. A midwife coming down from the hill-country met him, and after Mary had given birth to her son testified to Salome that Mary was a virgin.¹⁴⁷ Salome, disbelieving, examined Mary and found it to be so, whereupon her hand was stricken with a deadly disease, but by the instruction of an angel she placed her hand upon the child, who immediately healed it. Then follows the story of the magi, the rage of Herod, Mary's concealment of Jesus in an ox-stall, the earth's opening to protect Elizabeth and John, Zacharias's refusal to tell where John was hidden and his consequent murder. "And I James wrote this history in Jerusalem, a commotion having arisen when Herod died, withdrew myself to the wilderness until the commotion in Jerusalem ceased, glorifying the Lord God who had given me the gift and the wisdom to write this history. And grace shall be with them that fear our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory to ages of ages. Amen."

The primary purpose of this religious novel is to assign to Mary such a manner of birth and upbringing as befits the virgin mother of the Lord, and secondarily to further substantiate, by citing the details of an alleged examination, the fact of Mary's virginity, not only before, but after the birth of Christ. The strenuous emphasis upon the divinity of Jesus had, as we have seen, inevitably exalted the standing of his mother, and, as the historical theologians have pointed out, this overemphasis became almost equivalent to robbing the church of a Christ capable of sympathy with the merely human. Hence the turning to Mary. But by what method could the exalted position of Mary be supported? The fact was that the church saw her, as it were, in midair, half-way between the Christ deified beyond men's grasp and the church on earth largely destitute of a sense of the approachableness of God. Some visible superstructure must be erected to support Mary in her serviceable but precarious position—something forsooth to keep her from falling to the level of the sin-conscious world, and something perhaps to keep her from vanishing into heaven whither the thoroughly deified Christ had withdrawn.

¹⁴⁷ Pseudo-Matthew (chap. 13) goes even farther, claiming that Mary underwent none of the experiences of parturition but became a mother in a painless and mysterious way.

The material and the details for such an undertaking were not far to seek. Greatness, even that of Jesus, depended upon lineage; and most of the notables of heathen myth and Old Testament story were designated as such by extraordinary features attending their births. Not only in extra-canonical myth, but in the Jewish Scriptures, giants and heroes were thought to be the offspring of gods and women, Gen. 6: 2-5. Isaac was the son of a barren woman of ninety years by a father a hundred years old. Jacob was the son of a barren mother, and his strange action at the time of his birth was, so Yahweh said, prophetic of his assured greatness. The mother of Joseph was barren until that great patriarch was given in answer to prayer. The babe Moses had a wonderful deliverance. The birth of the mighty Samson was announced to the barren wife of Manoah by an angel. Samuel was given to the barren Hannah in answer to prayer and to take away her shame from the eyes of the people; and John the Baptist came as the child of the barren Elizabeth advanced in years, and the aged priest who had ceased to hope for offspring. Our composer was directed not only by these regulation requirements for the production of a notable character, but he had also the full benefit of a developed angelology such as was contained in the Old Testament and elaborated in current thought. Angels are always convenient in such narratives. He also possessed the canonical story of the virgin birth. This was his starting-point.

Accordingly the story is wrought out chiefly upon the model of that of Samuel, great care being taken to emphasize the purity of Mary in her food, surroundings, and occupation.¹⁴⁸ It is hardly necessary to point out the use of the canonical New Testament in the account of Joachim's retreat into the desert and his forty days' fast, or in the blending of the Lucan and Matthæan stories in the annunciation to Joachim (§ 4), or in Mary's visit to the temple at the age of three and her utter lack of desire to return home with her parents (§ 7). These, together with many other items and the almost literal use of Matt., chap. 2, in §§ 11, 12, 13, 21, and 22, prove beyond a doubt that the protevangelium is simply a purposeful, though not deeply serious, elaboration of the canonical infancy sections; and it is equally clear that the author's aim is so to reflect upon Mary the miraculous circumstances attributed to the birth of Jesus as to give her advent a purity and a glory in keeping with her exalted position.

A different conscience from that exhibited in the patristics is at work. They, with slight exceptions subsequent to the time of Clement of Alexandria, made a strenuous and dogmatic use of the canonical material. Nor did they resort to invention even in apologetic and polemic stress. The literary conscience of the apocryphal writers, on the contrary, was not satisfied with the most advantageous use of the accepted sources, but under false names attempted to add to the sources just those elements which would best explain

¹⁴⁸ For the acme of this effort, see the Sahidic fragment, *Texts and Studies*, IV, 2, p. 15.

the religious situation in which it found itself. From such a conscience, confronted by a practical theological problem, but devoid of the required skill, and also destitute of the deep seriousness of the canonical and patristic writings, sprang the teaching of the perpetual virginity of Mary.

The Gospel of Thomas and the History of Joseph the Carpenter differ from the Gospel of James and its derivatives in that the former adopt the point of view of the Johannine philosophy and find the idea of an incarnation¹⁴⁹ more in accord with their Docetic purpose. But the Gospel of James is practically sufficient to indicate the contribution of the so-called New Testament apocrypha to the study of the virgin birth. In a word, they push back a step or so farther, and hence wholly past the point of credibility, the remarkable features of the canonical infancy stories.

¹⁴⁹ See also *Pseudo-Clementina*, "Two Epistles Concerning Virginity," Ep. I, VI (VIII, 56, 57), and "Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena," chaps. 14, 15 (IX, 209). And for spurious material *purporting* to be ante-Nicene see *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles*, Book V, 16 (VII, 446); VI, 6; VII, 36, 37, 41; VIII, 1; *Apocalypse of the Holy Mother of God*, I (IX, 169), IV, V, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXIX; *Apocalypse of Paul* (VIII, 579); *Book of John Concerning the Falling-Asleep of Mary* (VIII, 587-91); *Vision of Paul*, § 41 (IX, 162) and § 46; *Acts of Philip* (VIII, 502); *Acts and Martyrdom of Andrew* (VIII, 512); *Martyrdom of Bartholomew* (VIII, 554); *Gospel of Nicodemus*, Part II, chap. 12, first Latin version (VIII, 453); *Mar Jacob, Homily on Habib the Martyr* (Syriac), (VIII, 712); *Liturgy of James*, 6 (VII, 538), 29, 35, 44.

INDEX.

- Adam, compared with Jesus, 39, 40, 48, 63, 71.
 Æschines, belief of, 73.
 Alexander of Alexandria, 74, 75.
 Ante-Nicene Fathers, treatment of, 17, 18.
 Apelles, belief of, 36.
 Apocrypha, 9; not used, 41; presence of, 51; influence upon Clement of Alexandria, 52; upon Origen, 57; growing favor of, 60, 68, 70, 74; entrance into orthodox theology, 76; general treatment of, 81.
 Apostolic Fathers, silence of, 16 f.
 Archelaus, definition of *pater*, 67; quoted, 67, 68.
 Aristides, 21; departure from gospels, 22; quoted, 21.
 Arnobius, practical apologetic of, 69; quoted, 69.
 Barbeliotes, Gnostic theory of, 35.
 Barnabas, Epistle of, 17, 18.
 Basilides, christology of, 34, 35, 36, 72.
 Bethlehem, 10, 11, 14.
 Carpocrates, teaching of, 33, 35, 36, 72.
 Celsus, claim of, 53.
 Cerdo, 34, 35, 72.
 Cerinthus, heresy of, 34, 35, 36, 72.
 Church Fathers, reliability of, 80.
 Clement of Alexandria, 51, 52; quoted, 51.
 Clement of Rome, 17, 18.
 Colarbasus, 72.
 Conrad, theory of, 9.
 Cyprian, 65.
 Didaché, 17, 18.
 Diognetus, Epistle to, 17, 18.
 Docetism, early evidence of, 21.
 Ebionites, 34 f.
 Elchasai, 61.
 Encratites, 35.
 Genealogies, 9, 10.
 Gnosticism, 32, 33, 36, 45, 51, 67, 73, 78.
 Gospels, the four teach virgin birth, 46, 47.
 Harnack, on protevangelium, 81, 82.
 Heracleon, 36, 72.
 Heretics, destitute of sources, 73, 76.
 Hippolytus, 61 f.; use of Scripture, 62; of apocrypha, 64; significance of, 65; quoted, 61-3.
 Huck, *Synopsé*, 14.
 Ignatian controversy, 18.
 Ignatius, 17 f.; quoted, 19.
 Immanuel, 15.
 Immanuel prophecy, appeal to, 15, 26, 44, 57.
 Incarnation, 16, 19, 22; in Justin, 30; in Novatian, 66; Malchion, 67; Peter, 74; harmonization with virgin birth, 77; apocryphal use of, 85.
 Infancy stories, comparison of, 10 f.; Old Testament use of, 84.
 Interpretation, 27, 80.
 Irenæus, polemic of, 31; method of treatment, 32; reply to Gnosticism, 32; appeal to Scripture, 36; dogmatic conclusions of, 41, 42; quoted, 32-40.
 James, gospel of = protevangelium, compared with Matthew and Luke, 12 f.; grossness of, 14; in Justin Martyr, 29, 30; in Clement of Alexandria, 51; in Origen, 57, 58; estimate of, 81; sources of, 84; quoted, 12 f.; abstract of, 81 f.
 Jesus, Davidic descent of, 10, 20, 49; dual nature of, not in virgin-birth stories, 15, 16, 20; based upon parentage, 20, 21, 32, 37, 43, 44, 77, 79; son of Joseph, 33 f.; pre-existent, 33 f.; not Joseph's son, 38; a mediator because of virgin birth, 40, 79; purity of birth, 58; frequent birth of, 62; not born at all, 67.
 Joseph, home of, 10, 11; occupation, 37, 53.
 Justin Martyr, 22 f.; his use of mythology, 24; of prophecy, 26; final apology of, 28; summary, 29; sources, 29, 30; quoted, 23-9.
 Lactantius, theology of, 70; quoted, 70.
 Logos doctrine dominant, 75, 76.

- Luke, gospel of, infancy story compared with Matthew, 10; dependence upon Mark, 11; correspondence to Matthew, 14; interpretation of virgin birth, 15, 16; Marcion's mutilation of, 39.
- Malchion, 66, 67; quoted, 66.
- Manes, 67.
- Manichæans, 67.
- Manuscript testimony, 10.
- Marcion, belief of, and use of the New Testament, 35, 39, 46, 72; Tertullian's reply to, 43.
- Marcus, 72.
- Mary, contrasted with Eve, 23, 39, 47, 48; exaltation of, 51, 64, 68; Jewish slander of, 53, 54; perpetual virginity, 57; never Joseph's wife, 68.
- Matthew, gospel of, infancy story compared with Luke, 10; dependence upon Mark, 11; correspondence to Luke, 14; interpretation of virgin birth, 15.
- Melito, 31.
- Messiah, Jewish belief as to birth, 24, 27, 28, 62.
- Method, 9, 17.
- Methodius, typology of, 71; quoted, 71.
- Monoimus, teaching of, 61.
- Mythology, Greek, 24, 28, 55, 56, 69.
- New Testament, silence of, regarding virgin birth, 16, 17; its authority in time of Justin Martyr, 27; in time of Irenæus, 36; Tertullian's use of, 45.
- Noetus, 61.
- Novatian, 65, 66; quoted, 65.
- Ophites, 35, 72.
- Origen, 52 f.; reply to Celsus, 54; scientific argument of, 55; use of Scripture, 57; use of apocrypha, 58; reverence of, 59; contribution of, 60; quoted, 52-60.
- Panthera, story of, 53, 54.
- Patrippassionism, 61.
- Peter of Alexandria, 73, 74; quoted, 73, 74.
- Plato, reputed virgin birth of, 56.
- Polycarp, 17, 18.
- Praxeas, heresy of, 73.
- Ptolemy, 36, 72.
- Resch, theory of, 9.
- Rushbrook, Synopticon, 14.
- Saturninus, theory of, 34, 36, 72.
- Scythianus, 68.
- Secundus, 36, 72.
- Sethians, 35, 61.
- Shepherd of Hermas, 17, 18.
- Simon of Samaria, theology of, 34, 72.
- Son of God, 15, 16.
- Tatian, his appeal to mythology, 30; probable belief of, 31, 72; quoted, 30, 31.
- Terebinthus, pretension of, 68.
- Tertullian, 42 f.; his argument as to Christ's dual nature, 43; defense of his humanity, 44; interpretation of, 45, 46; estimate of the gospels, 47; his sources, 50; peculiar use of virgin birth, 50; quoted, 42-9.
- Theodotus, 73.
- Trypho, his criticism of virgin birth, 23, 24.
- Valentinians, 34, 72.
- Victorinus, 71; summary of heresies, 72, 73; quoted, 71.

KINGDOM OF GOD IN THE FATHERS

The Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek of the University of Chicago proposes to issue, from time to time, Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament. These Studies will be grouped in three series: I, Texts; II, Linguistic and Exegetical Studies; III, Historical Studies. The volumes in each series will be issued in parts from time to time.

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THE KINGDOM OF GOD IN THE
WRITINGS OF THE
FATHERS

BY

HENRY MARTYN HERRICK, PH.D.

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Regnum fulgebit in regno, cum regno venerit regnum, quod nunc oramus, et dicimus: Veniat regnum tuum. Haec ergo domus Dei, hoc templum Dei, hoc regnum Dei, regnumque coelorum adhuc aedificatur, adhuc fabricatur, adhuc paratur, adhuc congregatur.

—AUGUSTINE, *Tractate on John*, 68, 2.

PREFACE.

This treatise upon the kingdom of God is based upon the Christian writings of the patristic age, from Clement of Rome to John of Damascus. These writings have been studied exegetically and historically in the standard English translations, with reference, when necessary, to the original text. The editions used are the following:

1. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, in twenty-four volumes, published by T. & T. Clark.
2. Lightfoot's *Apostolic Fathers, Greek and English*, one volume.
3. *The Supplementary Volume* (Vol. IX) of the reprint of the Clark edition, published by the Christian Literature Co. of New York.
4. *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, in twenty-eight volumes; also published by the Christian Literature Co. (now by the Scribners). Series I contains fourteen volumes, of which eight are of Augustine and six of Chrysostom.

These volumes, about fifty in number, contain the most important writings of the patristic age. Of many Fathers all the extant works are given, and of the others, with hardly an exception, sufficient of their writings to afford a reliable estimate of their views of the kingdom.

One supplemental work I have found to be of great value—the *Catena Aurea* of Thomas Aquinas, in the Oxford edition of eight volumes. Of this work the *Encyclopædia Britannica* says that “under the form of a commentary on the gospels, it was really an exhaustive summary of the theological teaching of the greatest Fathers of the church.” It not only confirms many patristic references to the kingdom, but apparently gathers in addition all the important references (which are, of course, not numerous) not included in the volumes named above.

A list of the references to the kingdom in these volumes of the Fathers (3,974 in number, including 1,410 scriptural quotations) is given at the end.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER		PAGE
CHAPTER	I—Introduction	9

PERIOD I.

CHAPTER	II—The Apostolic Fathers	15
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PERIOD II. THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS SUBSEQUENT TO THE APOSTOLIC.

A. GREEK.

CHAPTER	III—Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Hippolytus	21
CHAPTER	IV—Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Methodius	25
CHAPTER	V—The Apocryphal Writings, the Apostolic Constitutions, and the Clementines	30
CHAPTER	VI—The Liturgies and Minor Greek Fathers	35

B. LATIN.

CHAPTER	VII—Tertullian and Cyprian	38
CHAPTER	VIII—Lactantius and the Minor Latin Fathers	43

PERIOD III. THE NICENE AND POST-NICENE FATHERS.

A. GREEK.

CHAPTER	IX—The Historians: Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret	46
CHAPTER	X—Athanasius	49
CHAPTER	XI—Ephraem Syrus, and Aphrahat	52
CHAPTER	XII—Basil, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gregory Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nyssa	55
CHAPTER	XIII—Chrysostom	61
CHAPTER	XIV—John of Damascus	66

B. LATIN.

CHAPTER	XV—Hilary	68
CHAPTER	XVI—Ambrose	71
CHAPTER	XVII—Jerome, Rufinus, Sulpitius, and Vincent	74
CHAPTER	XVIII—Augustine	78
CHAPTER	XIX—Cassian	92
CHAPTER	XX—Leo the Great and Gregory the Great	96
CHAPTER	XXI—Additional References from the <i>Catena Aurea</i>	98
CHAPTER	XXII—Summary and Conclusion	100
TABLES	. . . . .	107
INDEX OF REFERENCES	. . . . .	109

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

WHAT was understood by the kingdom of God in the early Christian centuries? To what extent was the New Testament usage followed, and wherein was it departed from? Did the Fathers, on the whole, preserve the great idea and hand it down, or did they lose it?

It is a notable fact that in the patristic age there seems to be no separate treatise upon the kingdom of God. The nearest approach to such a treatise is Augustine's great work *De Civitate Dei*, in which he gives a Christian philosophy of history. To him the kingdom of God is the divine government as realized in the church—the church which is ideal and historical, in heaven and on earth, and consists of angels and of men, of Israel first and then of the gentiles. This idea is evidently at a wide remove from the primary views of the New Testament. The doctrine of the kingdom, like the kingdom itself, may be said to work like leaven, rather than to stand forth from the outset as a formal and definite article of the Christian faith. An indication of this appears in Jerome's *Illustrious Men*. In his list of 135 writers he mentions about 240 subjects upon which they have written (omitting many of those best known to his readers), besides many commentaries and letters. Gennadius adds 99 men to the list, and about 220 titles. Of these 460 treatises not one is upon the kingdom of God. But many of the best thoughts of the early centuries cluster around this theme, scattered throughout the whole range of the literature, and possibly no other theme is more suggestive as a key to patristic views of Christianity.

A brief statement of the teaching of Jesus and the apostles concerning the kingdom is a necessary starting-point. Although Jesus made the kingdom the predominant theme of the gospel, he did not define it. He adopted the word from the current Jewish teaching, and gave it a new meaning. "The bond that unites the Old Testament with the New, the religion of Israel

with the gospel, is the idea of the kingdom of God. It is to come, and yet it is a present reality. It is in the souls of men; it is a living force in the bosom of society."¹ The dream of the earlier prophets, that the nation, and then mankind, would become obedient to the will of Jehovah; the individualism of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the sages; the visions of Daniel the seer—are all combined into a splendid ideal in the teaching of Jesus concerning the kingdom. Speaking in parables whose meaning was often purposely veiled, he emphasized the inner, mysterious nature of the kingdom more than its obvious features. The word "kingdom" is abstract in the sense of reign or dominion—of power in the universe, of grace in the soul;² and concrete in the sense of realm, or the subjects reigned over. The word in the abstract sense occurs but rarely in the New Testament. The kingdom of God usually means the company of believers, the Christian society. Yet its domain is first of all in the individual soul. It is dynamic before it is static, spiritual rather than formal. Before the Christian society is possible, souls must be renewed.

Meyer, throughout his commentaries, maintains that the kingdom of God always signifies nothing else than the Messiah's kingdom, the erection of which begins with the parousia, belonging not to "this world," but to "the world to come" (on Rom. 14:17; cf. on 1 Cor. 4:20). On Luke 17:21 he defends the translation "the kingdom of God is among you," and claims that the kingdom of God as an ethical condition of the soul is a modern idea, not historico-biblical. But an idea is not modern which the Fathers uniformly find in Luke 17:21, translating it correctly "the kingdom of God is within you," and in several instances applying with exceptional force its teaching that the kingdom of God is in the soul.

The idea of the kingdom as involving eternal life seems traceable in Mark 9:45 and 47; probably, also, in Luke 18:18 and 24, and John 3:3 and 15. The kingdom of God (synonymous with the kingdom of heaven) and of Christ is one, Matt. 13:43; John

¹ See FISHER, *History of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 23-5; FREMANTLE, *The World as the Subject of Redemption*, p. 38.

² Cf. the Lutheran and Reformed Confessions.

18:36; Eph. 5:5. As to the relation of the kingdom to the church, the only passage in the New Testament bearing directly upon it (Matt. 16:17-19) is indeterminate. This passage is peculiar to Matthew, but is evidently an original utterance of Jesus. The idea of the kingdom is apparently here embodied by Jesus in the church as the form whereby or wherein the kingdom is to reach its goal. The institution which Jesus chooses as the distinctive, visible form of the kingdom, to consist of men of rock-like faith such as Peter's, is to continue unvanquished by the death of its members. The earthly decrees of Peter in regard to the kingdom, as represented by the church, shall be valid in heaven.

The disciples thought that they understood the mysteries of the kingdom (Matt. 13:51), but only after Pentecost did they begin really to grasp them. Answering their inquiries about the kingdom (Acts 1:6 f.) the Lord said: "Ye shall receive power, when the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and ye shall be my witnesses." Led by the Spirit, the disciples directed their energies to proclaiming the gospel of the kingdom, and the kingdom increased visibly in the growth of the churches. Still looking for the speedy return of Jesus, they anticipated with his appearing the consummation of the kingdom.

Besides the emergence of the church in the days of the apostles, which to some extent overshadowed the thought of the kingdom, there was a progress of doctrine which in part transferred the center of their thought and preaching from the kingdom to the king. This is in the Fathers frequently carried to the length of identifying Christ and the kingdom. The new point of view is manifest in comparing the discourses in Acts with the parables of Jesus. Three times in Acts "the things concerning the kingdom" are significantly combined with "the things concerning Jesus" (8:12; 28:23, 31). Only after Pentecost did a definite Christology arise; but from that time it began at once to reveal the dynamic which established the eternal life of the kingdom in men's souls, and thereby in their relations with one another promoted the fraternal life of the church.

But as time went on, and Jesus did not return, while members

of the new society were being removed by death, an adjustment in their thought of the kingdom became inevitable. Especially would the persecutions, as they increased, tend to make transcendental the views of the kingdom, as to the nature of its conquest of the world, and the time and place of its full realization. The general tone of the thirty-two references to the kingdom in the New Testament outside the gospels is eschatological, the thought of the kingdom as a present reality being merged in the form of the church. The expectation seemed to be that when Christ appeared in judgment on the earth the kingdom would be set up to continue, possibly, on a regenerated earth, though, at last, not under the control of the Christ, but of God the Father.

The Apocalypse, with its vivid portrayal of the times of persecution and of triumph, would give important testimony as to the changing idea of the kingdom, if we knew its author and its origin. The millennial ideas of the patristic age seem to have sifted through the Apocalypse from the Old Testament, especially Daniel, but met with strong opposition and proved evanescent. The idea of a millennium, however, whether as a transformation of earth into heaven, or as a representation of, or prelude to, the heavenly consummation, has vitality, and recurs at different epochs; one phase of it notably in our day in writings of which Fremantle's *The World as the Subject of Redemption* is typical.

The following plan exhibits the New Testament usage of the term "kingdom of God" or its equivalent, with the most important references, some of which might be otherwise grouped.

I. *God's reign—the abstract idea.*—Matt. 6:10, 33; Luke 1:33 (Luke 17:21; Rom. 14:17; 1 Cor. 4:20).

II. *God's realm—the concrete reality:* the community of saints, or the ideal society of men as brothers because sons of a common Father.

(1) *As an order of things already present or impending* (indefinite as to time, Acts 1:6f.; as to place, Luke 17:37): Matt. 3:2; 4:23; 5:3, 10; 12:28; 18:23; 19:12; 20:1; 21:43; 22:2; 25:1; Luke 19:11; Acts 1:6;¹⁰⁰ Heb. 12:28.

(2) *With special reference to its personal constituency and social nature.* Matt. 5:19, 20; 8:12; 11:11, 12; chap. 13; 19:14, 23, 24; 21:31; 23:13; Acts 14:22; 1 Cor. 15:24. Its origin, growth, and process, John 18:36; Matt. 13; Mark 4:26f. Conditions of entering and remaining, John 3:3, 5; Matt. 18:1—4; Luke 9:62.

(3) *As having bounds or limits, and thus suggesting organized form.* Matt. 16:19 marks the point of attachment for the idea of the church as the kingdom. Possibly Matt. 13:41 is a point of connection with the millennial idea.

(4) *As future, but not definitely eschatological.* Matt. 16:28; Mark 9:1; Matt. 20:21; 26:29; Mark 9:47 (*cf.* 45); Luke 21:31; 22:16, 30; 23:51.

(5) *Eschatological, associated with the parousia and the last judgment.* Matt. 7:21; 8:11; 13:43; 25:34; Luke 23:42; 1 Cor. 6:9, 10; Gal. 5:21; Eph. 5:5; 1 Cor. 15:50; Col. 4:11; 1 Thess. 2:12; 2 Thess. 1:5; 2 Tim. 4:1, 18; Jas. 2:5; 2 Pet. 1:11; Rev. 12:10. In certain of these later references the kingdom is apparently anticipated as about to exist in heaven after the parousia. The thought of Christ's kingdom as now existing in the celestial world, into which the believer enters at death, does not appear in New Testament times.

Thus the kingdom of God in the New Testament is a complex idea, the emphasis falling now upon one, now upon another of its several phases. In general it may be said that the kingdom is personal and social, and, when the idea of time enters in, usually eschatological. The various connotations of the idea in the Fathers are usually traceable to Scriptural references as the points of departure.

In the present work the Fathers are considered in chronological order, arranged in groups of Greek and Latin in each of the three periods. There is in general no sharp line of demarcation between the second and third periods, in the current ideas of the kingdom, and the same may be said of the Greek and Latin churches. Of each writer the references he makes to the kingdom are characterized somewhat in detail and as a whole, with

quotation of those which seem most important. The number of references quoted (out of the whole number of nearly four thousand) is between five and six hundred, representing about fifty Fathers and over one hundred and seventy-five works. In the supplement several tables are given, showing the distribution of references to the kingdom among the Fathers, together with their use of Scripture.

PERIOD I.—THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

CHAPTER II.

CLEMENT OF ROME, in the first certain reference to the kingdom after the apostolic age, says that the apostles went forth with the glad tidings that the kingdom of God was about to come (*Epistle to the Corinthians*, 42). The righteous dead dwell in the abode of the pious; and they shall be manifest in the visitation¹ of the kingdom of God (50). These references regard the kingdom as eschatological. In chap. 54 citizenship in the kingdom is spoken of proleptically, in the sense given it by Paul in "our citizenship is in heaven": "This have they done and will do, who live as citizens of that kingdom of God which bringeth no regrets;"² but the kingdom itself is eschatological.

The ancient homily by an unknown author, the so-called *Second Epistle of Clement*, has several references to the kingdom as a place of future rest or blessedness. "And ye know, brethren, that the sojourn of this flesh in this world is mean and for a short time, but the promise of Christ is great and marvelous, even the rest of the kingdom that shall be and of life eternal" (5). Twice the word βασιλειον, royal palace or seat of empire, is used instead of βασιλεία. "With what confidence shall we, if we keep not our baptism pure and undefiled, enter into τὸ βασιλειον of God?" (6). "The unbelievers shall be amazed when they see the kingdom of the world given to Jesus" (17).³ This does not necessarily involve the conversion of the world. In sec. 12 occurs the important passage: "Let us therefore await the kingdom of God betimes in love and righteousness, since we know not the day of God's appearing. For the Lord himself, being asked by a certain person when his kingdom would come, said: 'When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, etc. These things if ye do', saith he, 'the kingdom of my father shall come.'" Here the kingdom of

¹ ἐπισκοπή. ² οἱ πολιτευόμενοι τὴν ἀμεταμέλητον πολιτείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

³ τὸ βασιλειον τοῦ κόσμου ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ.

Christ is identical with the kingdom of God, and the time of its coming, though future, may be imminent, and is to some extent conditioned on human conduct. "If therefore we shall have wrought righteousness in the sight of God, we shall enter into his kingdom and receive the promises which ear hath not heard nor eye seen," etc. (9). Whether it shall come in and with this doing of righteousness, or as a consequent reward, the ethical relation is important. These passages are clearly eschatological.

In sec. 14: "The Books and the Apostles plainly declare that the church exists, not now for the first time, but hath been from the beginning; for it was spiritual, . . . and was manifested in the last days . . . in the flesh of Christ." By these and other mystical expressions we are reminded of Hilary's view of the kingdom of Christ in his flesh, and of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, which is both kingdom and church.

In the so-called *Epistle of Barnabas*, which is variously dated from 70 to 182 A. D., and so may be earlier than Clement, it is said that he that doeth righteousness shall be glorified in the kingdom of God (21). "They that desire to see me, and to attain unto my kingdom, must lay hold on me through tribulation and affliction" (7). If we relax our efforts, and slumber over our sins, there is danger lest "the prince of evil receive power against us and thrust us out from the kingdom of the Lord," apparently from attaining unto it. It is mystically declared that "the kingdom of Jesus is on the cross, and they who set their hope on him shall live forever" (8). It is said in the same section that "in his kingdom there shall be evil days, in which we shall be saved," which seems to involve an earthly experience, perhaps millennial. There is a temple of God in renewed human hearts, a spiritual temple built up in his name in place of the Jewish temple (16). The church, rather than the kingdom, is probably here in mind.

In the *Didaché*, or *Teaching of the Apostles*, the following prayer, with slight variations, occurs twice: "May thy church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom, which thou hast prepared for it" (9 and 10).

Thus in the earliest patristic reference to the church and the kingdom together, they are clearly distinguished from each other. The kingdom is still future and eschatological with implied reference to Matt. 25:34; but nothing is indicated as to the place of its manifestation. The thought may be that the church as a whole is to have place in the kingdom; as Cyprian speaks of the church as "that which shall reign there." Twice in quoting the Lord's Prayer the closing words read: "For thine is the power and the glory," omitting "kingdom."

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, which may possibly be a Jewish, rather than Christian, writing, two or three general references occur: "The Lord sware to me with an oath that the kingdom should never fail from me" (*Judah*, 23). "His kingdom an everlasting kingdom" (*Joseph*, 19). "The kingdom of the Lord shall not be among you, for he will forthwith take it away" (*Benjamin*, 9).

The *Shepherd of Hermas* is written in a style so highly figurative and involved as to be often obscure. The *Visions* and *Similitudes* center around the building of a tower which is repeatedly declared to be the church (*Vis.* 3.3; *Sim.* 9.13). But in the voluminous discussions centering about this idea, the kingdom of God seems frequently to be synonymous with the church.

The church was created before all things (*Vis.* 2.4). "But the tower in building is the church; ye shall be purified, and shall be useful as stones for its building. The white portion is the coming age, in which the elect of God shall dwell" (4.3). Life is for all that keep the commandments of the Lord: all the righteous and repentant have their dwelling within the tower. The penitent had their dwelling placed within the first walls, and some of them even ascended into the tower (*Sim.* 8.7; 8.10; 8.6).

The tower is built upon the rock and upon the gate: it is made a single stone with the rock (9.15, 13). This rock and gate is the Son of God; the rock is ancient and the gate recent: being made recent in the manifestation of Christ, that they who are to be saved may enter through it into the kingdom of God.

Only the stones which come through the gate go to the building of the tower ; thus no one shall enter into the kingdom of God, except he receive the name of his Son. The builders of the tower are angels, by whom the Lord is walled about. But the gate is the Son of God ; there is this one entrance to the Lord, to the kingdom of God (9.12). Those who believe shall become one spirit and one body (9.13).

But some, having been placed in the tower, after a time were enticed, and were cast away from the house of God. There was therefore a cessation in the building, that, if these repent, they may go into the building of the tower ; thus God "restored our life" (9.14). The evil shall be cast out and the church of God purified ; there shall be one body of them that are purified, just as the tower when purified became made as it were of one stone. It is hard for such as go astray to enter into the kingdom of God ; but, if they repent and do good, they shall live unto God. Let them do so speedily, before the tower is completed. The righteous dwell, without doubt, in the kingdom of God. But the other stones, which have remained round and have not been fitted into the building, have been put back into their place. For this world and its vanities must be cut from off them, and then they will fit into the kingdom of God (9.16, 18, 20, 26, 29, 31). The last statement is obviously a reference to the tower, or church, under the name of the kingdom.

There is thus in the *Shepherd* no distinct and consistent idea of the kingdom ; but it is significant that this composition, which was long treated as a part of Scripture and had large influence upon later Fathers, so closely interweaves the idea of the church with that of the kingdom as to make them practically interchangeable. The most important note of time as connected with the kingdom is the urgent call to repent before the completion of the tower. To enter into the kingdom is parallel with living unto God. The figure of the building recalls Paul's temple of God, and Peter's living stones built upon the Rock.

IGNATIUS declares in his *Epistle to the Philippians*, 3: "If any

man followeth one that maketh a schism, he doth not inherit the kingdom of God." In the *Martyrdom of Ignatius* (perhaps genuine) he is reported as saying: "the only-begotten Son of God, whose kingdom may I enjoy" (2). POLYCARP, *Ep. to the Philip-
pians*, in secs. 2 and 5, quotes 1 Cor. 6:10, and Matt. 5:3 and 10 in part both apparently with an eschatological reference. The Smyrnæans pray in *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*, 20: "May it be our lot to be found in the kingdom of Jesus Christ;" and in 22: "That the Lord Jesus Christ may gather me also with his elect into his heavenly kingdom." ARISTIDES says in the *Apology*, 16: "Verily this is the way of the truth which leads those who travel therein to the everlasting kingdom promised through Christ in the life to come." *The Epistle to Diognetus*, 9, very beautifully prays: "that . . . we might now be made deserving by the goodness of God, and having made clear our inability to enter into the kingdom of God by ourselves, might be enabled by the ability of God." This of itself might look like a reference to the kingdom as a present reality, but in the next section (10) the reference to the heavenly kingdom is plain: "For God loved men for whose sake he made the world, . . . to whom he promised the kingdom which is in heaven, and will give it to those that have loved him." The references in this paragraph are to the kingdom as a place of future reward or bliss, either terrestrial (eschatological) or celestial. The second reference from the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* and the second from the *Epistle to Diognetus* are clearly celestial (*cf.* 2 Tim. 4:18): and the probability is somewhat strong that this is the prevailing reference of the group, it being regarded eschatologically and as even now existent in heaven.

The millennial notions of PAPIAS are found in fragments in other writers. Eusebius (*Ch. Hist.* 3.39) refers to the statements "of a somewhat mythical character, among which he says that there will be a period of some (ten) thousand years after the resurrection, and that the kingdom of Christ will be set up in material form on this earth. These ideas I suppose he got through a misunderstanding of the apostolic accounts," etc. Jerome, in his *Illustrious Men*, 18, speaks of Papias as

having promulgated the Jewish tradition or a millennium, teaching that after the resurrection the Lord will reign in the flesh with the saints. Irenæus also (*Heresies*, 5.33) quotes Papias as saying: "The days will come in which vines shall grow each having ten thousand shoots, and on each shoot ten thousand branches," etc. Maximus Confessor and Photius (Lightfoot, p. 534) refer to Papias as having mentioned material viands among the anticipated joys of the kingdom.

In the *Reliques of the Elders* preserved in Irenæus, 4. 27: "He said this (1 Cor. 6 : 9 f.), not to those who are without, but to us, lest we be cast out of the kingdom of God," etc. "Without" here seems to mean outside the Christian circle, and the kingdom to be the future state of reward on earth or in heaven. In 5. 36 gradations in the heavenly reward are indicated: "The Elders say that this is the distinction between the habitations of them that bring forth a hundred-fold, and of them that bring forth sixty and thirty: the first shall be taken up into the heavens, and the second shall dwell in Paradise, and the third shall inhabit the city; and that therefore our Lord said, 'In my Father's house are many mansions.'"

The apostolic Fathers contain fifty-two references to the kingdom, among which are ten quotations from the New Testament. The phrase "kingdom of God" occurs twenty-seven times, while "kingdom of heaven" is not used.¹ In this first period, extending to about 150 A. D., the view of the kingdom on the whole resembles that of the apostles, with notable development as to definiteness of place—on the one hand millennial on earth, on the other celestial. Indications of a possibly non-eschatological view of the kingdom linger apparently only in the *Shepherd*, in which there is that vague intermingling of the ideas of the kingdom and the church, which, as remarked above, was widely influential in later times.

¹In the whole patristic period the phrase "kingdom of heaven" occurs three times where the phrase "kingdom of God" occurs twice; the relative usage in the Greek and Latin Fathers being much the same. See Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, Div. 2, Vol. II, p. 171, and notes.

PERIOD II. THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS SUBSEQUENT TO THE APOSTOLIC.

A.—GREEK.

CHAPTER III.

JUSTIN MARTYR, IRENÆUS, AND HIPPOLYTUS.

I. JUSTIN MARTYR, the great apologist of the second century, says in his *First Apology*, 11: "And when you hear that we look for a kingdom, you suppose, without making any inquiry, that we speak of a human kingdom; whereas we speak of that which is with God, as appears also from the confession.¹ For if we looked for a human kingdom, we should also deny our Christ, that we might not be slain But since our thoughts are not on the present, we are not concerned when men cut us off." Here the idea of the kingdom is eschatological. The kingdom is "with God," waiting to be manifested in the future. Only the regenerate shall see it (15.61). In the *Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew*, the kingdom is treated as the millennium. "Christ is King, and is preached as having the everlasting kingdom; so I prove from all the Scriptures" (34). In chap. 39, Trypho says: "You have proved from the Scriptures that Christ must suffer, and come again with glory, and receive the eternal kingdom over all the nations, every kingdom being made subject to him; now show us that this man is He." In chap. 51, Justin says: "Christ preached also Himself, saying that the kingdom of heaven is at hand. . . . Moreover, he referred to the fact that there would be no longer in your nation any prophet, and to the fact that men recognized that the new covenant, which God formerly (promised), was then present, *i. e.*, Christ himself; and in the following terms: 'The law and the prophets were until John; from that time the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence,' " etc. The main thought of this involved passage is that Christ is king: the kingdom is his. "There will be

¹ Cf. the confession in the Apos. Constitutions, p. 31.

a resurrection of the dead and a thousand years in Jerusalem; the everlasting and imperishable kingdom with Christ is to be enjoyed in this same land, a future possession for all the saints" (79. 117, 139).

Justin's idea of the kingdom is thus eschatological, in the millennial form.

2. In IRENÆUS, also, we find millennial views: Christ shall introduce an eternal kingdom, which is the resurrection of the just. In the times of the kingdom the righteous man on earth shall forget to die; there shall be an inheritance in the kingdom of the earth, foreseen by John (*Against Heresies*, Book 5, chaps. 26, 36). In the peaceful times of the kingdom the Spirit of God shall vivify and increase mankind (4. 20). And yet Christ's kingdom is now existent in heaven, for "he sent on before into his kingdom the infants slain at Bethlehem" (3. 16). It is also here on earth, for the "new treasure" of the kingdom in Matt. 13: 52, is "the manner of life required by the gospel" (4. 9). Christ by the apostles announced that the kingdom of heaven had drawn nigh, and that he was dwelling within those that believe (3. 21). It is clear that those who disallow his salvation, and frame an idea of another God beside him who made the promise to Abraham, are outside the kingdom of God, blaspheming God, who introduces to the kingdom of heaven, through Jesus Christ, Abraham and his seed, the church (4. 8). The "violent" seize the kingdom by strong and earnest striving. The heavenly kingdom is honorable to those who have known the earthly one. The church, fashioned after the image of the Son, is designed to bring man to perfection (4. 37). By means of the earthly kingdom, which is the commencement of incorruptibleness, those who shall be worthy are accustomed gradually to receive God (*capere Deum*, 5. 22).

Irenæus thus recognized at least two kingdoms of Christ, the "heavenly" and the "earthly." It is not quite clear whether he thinks of the church as the earthly kingdom, or as one phase or portion of it. The earthly kingdom is either now existent in connection with the church; or, perhaps, to be first realized after the resurrection as the prelude to the eternal heavenly

kingdom. In the references cited from 4. 8 and 4. 9 Irenæus seems to regard the kingdom as in some sense the state of salvation.

3. HIPPOLYTUS, in the *Fragments on Daniel*, says: "There is nothing stable among men, but only that which is the appointed end of all things—the kingdom of God. In 500 years from the birth of Christ the end shall be." Commenting on 7: 17, he says: "After the fourth beast is removed, earthly things shall end, and heavenly things begin; that the indissoluble and everlasting kingdom of the saints may be brought to view, and the King coming from heaven as the world's judge;" and on 22: "He shall consume all with the eternal fire of punishment. But to his servants he will give an everlasting kingdom: *i. e.*, they shall possess the endless enjoyment of good." In his treatise *On Christ and Anti-Christ*, 5, he bids Christians: "Find out from the Scriptures what the conflagration of the whole world shall be, and what the glorious and heavenly kingdom of the saints is to be when they reign together with Christ." In the *Fragment on Daniel*, 7: 27 f., he makes the Sabbath "the true type and emblem of the future kingdom of the saints, when Christ shall come from heaven and they shall reign with him, as John says in the Apocalypse," etc. In these references we observe that the kingdom is to ensue on the destruction of the earth. In the *Refutation of all Heresies*, Book 9, chap. 7, it is a future reward: "Thou shalt possess an immortal body, and receive the kingdom of heaven, thou who, while thou didst sojourn in life, didst know the Celestial King." It is significant that Hippolytus interprets the parable of the tares as referring to the church (Book 9, chap. 4).

In discussing and refuting the heretical notions of the Ophites (Book 5, chaps. 2-4), the following phrases, which indicate that the inner, subjective view of the kingdom was known among heretics, occur in obscure connection: "the kingdom of heaven to be sought for within a man," and "the kingdom of heaven that reposes within us as a treasure, as leaven hid in the meal." Perhaps the most curious definition of the kingdom to be found anywhere is in this quotation from the teaching of the sect just named: "That which is nothing, and which consists of nothing, inasmuch

as it is indivisible—a point — will become through its own reflective power a certain incomprehensible magnitude. This, he says, is the kingdom of heaven, the grain of mustard seed, the point which is indivisible in the body ; and, he says, no one knows this [point] save the spiritual only.”

CHAPTER IV.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, ORIGEN, AND METHODIUS.

I. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.—The views of this church Father may be seen from the following quotations. "A stranger is permitted to enter the kingdom of heaven, when he is enrolled and made a citizen . . . made an heir of God, to share God's kingdom with the Son. This is the first-born church . . . these are the first-born enrolled in heaven, who hold high festival with angels" (*Exhortation to the Heathen*, chap. 9). He promises us the kingdom of heaven as a reward for learning (chap. 1). He is greatest in the kingdom who shall do and teach: imitating God in conferring like benefits (*Stromata*, 2. 19). It is to the violent that the kingdom of God belongs. The violent that storm the kingdom are not so in disputations; but by continuance in a right life and unceasing prayers are said to take it by force. For this alone is commendable violence, to take life from God by force (*Strom.* 4. 2: *Quis Dives*, 21). The least in the kingdom, *i. e.*, His own disciple, is greater than John. "Abandon the alien possessions that are in thy soul, that, becoming pure in heart, thou mayest see God, which is another way of saying: Enter into the kingdom of heaven" (*Quis Dives*, 31 and 19).

In these references the idea of the kingdom as the Christian community is conspicuous, while there is frequent quotation of Scripture which refers to the kingdom as an inheritance of the future, as 1 Cor. 6:9 and Matt. 25:34. He quotes the two references in chaps. 42 and 50 of Clement of Rome. The kingdom is a reward of the present as well as of the future. By metonymy there is a notable application of the spiritual qualities which characterize the kingdom: to take the kingdom by force is to take life from God; to be pure in heart is to enter the kingdom, which, accordingly, seems to be regarded as the state of salvation.

The relation of church to kingdom is suggestively referred to. "False teachers by a perverse use of the divine words neither

enter into the kingdom of heaven, nor permit those whom they have deluded to attain the truth. Not having the true key, they do not enter as we do, through the tradition of the Lord, but dig through the wall of the church, and step over the truth," etc. (*Stromata*, 7. 17). As Clement has just said that these do not enter into the kingdom, he seems to distinguish between the kingdom and the church, while implying that entrance through the door into the church would bring one also into the kingdom. The germ of the idea of the invisible church is evident. Connected with this is the statement in 4. 2: "The earthly church is the image of the heavenly," whose influence may be traced in Origen and others.

2. ORIGEN.—In his *First Principles*, 1. 3, 6, he holds "That all men have communion with God, Christ's words teach, Luke 17: 20, 21: 'The kingdom of God is within you.' And if Genesis 2: 7 be understood as applying generally to all men, then all men have a share in God. The kingdom is in all men potentially" (see below). Here for the first time we meet with the abstract idea, very frequent in the subsequent Fathers, of the kingdom as God's reign in the soul. But the concrete idea is also clear in Origen: "Christ himself instructs his disciples, that when fully instructed he may form them into a kingdom worthy of God, and present them to God the Father. They do in a sense separate themselves . . . that they may live as citizens of heaven, coming to the living God, and to the city of God, the heavenly Jerusalem," etc. (*Against Celsus*, 6. 17).

In his *Commentary on John* these two fundamental ideas are blended. "One is a scribe made a disciple to the kingdom of heaven in the simpler sense, when he comes from Judaism and receives the teaching of Jesus Christ according to the church, but he is a scribe in a deeper sense when, having received elementary knowledge through the letter of the Scriptures, he ascends to things spiritual, which are called the kingdom of the heavens. . . . He who abounds in knowledge free from error is in this kingdom. . . . So far as Christ, God the Word, has not his home in the soul, the kingdom of heaven is not in it, but when any one becomes nigh to admission of the Word, to him the kingdom of

heaven is nigh (Book 10. 14). Of the kingdom of heaven there are as many keys as there are virtues. . . . And perhaps each virtue also is a kingdom of heaven, and all together are a kingdom of the heavens; so that according to this he is already in the kingdom of the heavens who lives according to the virtues. Then 'Repent' is to be referred not to the time, but to deeds and dispositions: for Christ, who is all virtue, has come, and speaks, and on account of this the kingdom of God is within the disciples" (Book 12. 14). He who beholds the excellency of the Word, sees the Son of man coming in his kingdom; if he beholds him also representing truth with perfect clearness, then he would behold his glory in addition to his kingdom: would see in him the kingdom of God come with power; would see this, no longer under the reign of sin, but of Christ, who is God of all, whose kingdom is indeed potentially "within us," but actually (as Mark expresses it, "with power") within the perfect alone (35). "The kingdom of heaven (in that very mystical parable Matt. 18:23) is likened to a certain king. Who but the Son of God? For he is the King of the heavens, and as he is absolute Wisdom and absolute Righteousness and absolute Truth, is he not also absolute Kingdom? . . . 'Theirs is the kingdom of heaven'; you may say that Christ is theirs in so far as he is absolute Kingdom, reigning in every thought of the man who is no longer under the reign of sin" (Book 14. 7, 14).

The kingdom of the future will be celestial. In *First Prins.*, 3. 6, secs. 8 and 9: "There will be another earth, which receives into it all the saints, where they may be prepared for those better institutions to which no addition can be made. For after his agents and servants, the Lord Christ, who is King of all, will himself assume the kingdom; *i. e.*, after instruction in the holy virtues, he will himself instruct those who are capable of receiving him in respect of his being Wisdom, reigning in them until he has subjected them to the Father," etc. In his *Com. on John*, Book 10. 11, 28, he speaks of what will take place "in the coming age and in heaven when the kingdom of God appears; . . . in the kingdom of heaven, the Father's house, in which are many mansions." In *First Prins.*, 2. 11 and 3. 7: "The pure in heart,

by more rapid progress, will quickly ascend to a place in the air, and reach the kingdom of heaven, through those mansions, following him who hath passed through the heavens," etc.

The equality of the members of the kingdom is emphasized. "Every one who confesses Christ, the judgments of that man abide sure; he has the keys of the kingdom of heaven for binding and loosing; for upon such the church of Christ is built" (*On John*, Book 12. 14). In *First Prins.*, 1. 3: "We are even in the present life placed in the church, in which is the form of that kingdom which is to come" (*cf.* Clement of Alex.).

Origen's tendency to allegorize is given free play, as above in his use of the Hebraistic plural "the kingdom of the heavens," and as when he says that Peter received the keys not of one heaven, but of more (*On John*, Book 10. 14). The difficulty in understanding certain of his expressions is increased by the doubt as to the original reading. An instance may be cited from his *Com. on Matthew*, Book 11. 16: "The righteous indeed are prepared for the kingdom of heaven and for the exaltation in the kingdom of God;" yet he says (*On John*, 10. 14) that the kingdom of God and the kingdom of heaven are the same. Origen's regard for knowledge, while profound, is ever subservient to the ethical aim, as in his work *Against Celsus*, 8. 11: "We desire not only to understand the nature of the divine kingdom of which we are continually speaking and writing, but to be of those who are under the rule of God alone, that the kingdom of God may be ours."

3. METHODIUS.—This writer defines the kingdom as eternal life. "When Paul says that flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God, he does not give a disparaging opinion of the resurrection of the flesh, but would teach that the kingdom of God, which is eternal life, is not possessed by the body, but the body by the life. . . . The kingdom of God, which is life," etc. (*On the Resurrection*, 13). He does not expressly say whether he regards eternal life as a present possession, but there can be little question that his prevailing conception is eschatological.

The idea of the kingdom as a reward is prominent, as where

he distinguishes the church from the kingdom in his *Oration on Simeon and Anna*, 13: "Hail to thee, Catholic Church, which hast been planted in all the earth; fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom." In the *Banquet*, Discourse 7. 3, referring to the Beatitudes: "The Lord promises different honors; to some, that they shall be numbered in the kingdom of Heaven; to others, the inheritance of the earth, and to others to see the Father." The language of these last two quotations does not forbid the kingdom being thought of as a spiritual reward to be realized in the present life; the eschatological idea, however, is evident in such passages as the following: "That which is perfect has not yet come to us, namely, the kingdom of heaven and the resurrection; let us strive for a life of blessedness and the kingdom of heaven come into the temple and city of God." (*Banquet*, Disc. 9. 2, 5; 8. 4.)

We meet first in Methodius with the definite statement that "The kingdom of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost is one, even as their substance is one and their dominion one." (*Oration on Psalms*, 5.)

CHAPTER V.

THE APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS, THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS, AND THE CLEMENTINES.

1. *The Apocryphal Writings* contain about thirty references to the kingdom, distributed among three gospels, eleven books of Acts, and three revelations, or visions. They are frequently indefinite; their general tone is millennial. "When Christ shall come to reign with his saints a thousand years the first earth will be dissolved, and this land of promise then revealed" (*Vision of Paul*). The *History of Joseph the Carpenter* speaks of the banquet of the thousand years; and the *Vision of John* contains the unique declaration that "the whole world and Paradise shall be made one, and the righteous shall be on the face of all the earth with my angels, Ps. 37:29." The prayer of the thief on the cross is several times given in the form, "When Thou shalt reign," or "become king."

In the *Martyrdom of Bartholomew* God's kingdom is said to exist in heaven. In one MS. of the *Acts of Thomas* occur these sentences: "I rejoice with you, that you are made partakers of His kingdom. . . . Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, to whom is due all glory and kingdom without end." The *Gospel of Nicodemus* says: "Of those who have believed on Him, their kingdom shall endure forever." The two following references are peculiar: Jesus says in the *Acts and Martyrdom of Matthew*: "I am Paradise, I am the Comforter, . . . I the foundation of the church, I the kingdom of the bishops," etc., and in the *Revelation of Moses* God says to Adam, who is lying on the ground in Paradise: "I will set thee in thy kingdom, on the throne of him that deceived thee."

2. *The Apostolic Constitutions*.—In these there is about the same number of references to the kingdom as in the apocryphal writings, mostly eschatological, as "That ye may become partakers of immortality and partners of the kingdom of God," in Book 6. 30; and "Preserve us unto His heavenly kingdom," 8. 10, per-
118]

haps celestial. The kingdom is also intimately connected with Christ, as in Book 7. 32: "They shall rejoice in the kingdom of God, which is in Jesus Christ." It seems to be viewed as a present possession in Book 5. 16: "The kingdom of God shall be taken from them; . . . having given the kingdom to you, he expects the fruits of your gratitude and piety." In 7. 25 and 26 the prayer "Gather together thy church from the ends of the earth" twice occurs as in the *Didaché* followed by, "Let this thy kingdom come," which may signify God's universal reign on earth, but in any case is eschatological. The baptismal confession is given in 7. 41: "I am baptized into the resurrection of the flesh, and into the remission of sins, and into the kingdom of heaven, and into the life of the world to come." In 8. 7: "Pray that, . . . being initiated into the death of Christ, they may rise with him, and become partakers of his kingdom, and may be admitted to the communion of his mysteries: unite them to, number them among, those that are saved in his holy church." While the reader is, on the whole, strongly reminded in the *Constitutions* of the tone of the apostles, there seems to be an advance toward a closer relation between the church and the kingdom.

3. *The Clementines*.—About eighty-five references to the kingdom occur in these writings, with only two Scriptural quotations, which fact may indicate a comparatively early date.

A. *The Homilies*.—"The whole business of the church is like unto a ship bearing through a violent storm men of many places who desire to inhabit the city of the good kingdom" (the so-called *Epistle of Clement to James*, 14). In *Homily* 3. 18, 19: "The key of the kingdom, which is knowledge, which alone can open the gate of life. . . . If anyone end this life in real ignorance he is rejected from the kingdom of God."

"God gave two kingdoms to two (beings), good and evil; to the evil, . . . the present world along with law, to punish, etc.; to the good, the eternal age to come. The boundary line of the two kings is the having or not having possessions" (*Hom.*, 15.7, 9). Here the ascetic tone is noticeable, as also in the following: "Christ, being thought worthy to be king of the world to

come, (fights against) him who by predestination has usurped the kingdom that now is. . . . But those who have determined to accept the blessings of the future reign have no right to regard as their own the things that are here, except such as necessary food, since they belong to a foreign king. . . . Two kingdoms have been established; the kingdom of heaven and the kingdom of the present kings of the earth. . . . The evil king rejoices in the destruction of the wicked. But the good one, the king of the age to come, loves the whole nature of man; but not being able to have boldness in the present world he counsels what is advantageous, like one who tries to conceal what he really is" (*Hom.*, 3. 19; 15. 7; 20. 2). This peculiar ethical view of expediency is not found elsewhere in the doctrine of the kingdom. In the *Homilies* the kingdom is always eschatological.

B. *The Recognitions* also have much to say about the "two kingdoms," the one evil and present, the other good and of the future. The latter seems to be regarded as the kingdom of God, but the idea is not clear and consistent. In 1.24 there seems to be at first sight a recognition of the social idea: "From the multitude came the election of the beloved, from whose oneness of mind the peaceful kingdom of God is constructed." But this composition of the kingdom is evidently not thought of as now in progress on earth, for a little farther on we read: "He established two kingdoms, that of the present time and that of the future, and appointed times to each, . . . and a day of judgment, in which is to be made a severance of things and of souls; so that the wicked shall be consigned to eternal fire, . . . but those who have lived according to the will of God, introduced into an eternal abode, shall receive eternal gifts" etc. Again in 5:9: "From the beginning, as we have said, God instituted two kingdoms, and has given to each man the power of becoming a portion of that kingdom to which he shall yield himself to obey. And since it is decreed by God that no one man can be a servant of both kingdoms, . . . be earnest to betake yourself to the covenant and laws of the good King." The kingdom is eschatological and celestial: "The condition of this world shall pass away that the sublime condition of the

heavenly kingdom may shine forth" (3. 28, 29). "The city is the kingdom in which dwells the Almighty Father" (2. 22). "If the soul at death is ignorant of God, it is driven forth from the light of his kingdom" (5. 18). "At his second coming he shall take the pious into a share and association with himself in his kingdom" (1. 49).

But are the righteous while on earth in no sense in God's kingdom? There seems to be a wavering on this point, as if the *Recognitions* were reluctant to let this idea merge wholly in the eschatological. In 1. 51, 52, as to those who die before Christ's coming: "Know then that Christ was ever present with the pious, though secretly, . . . especially those who waited for him, to whom he frequently appeared. . . . Others, translated to Paradise, should be kept for the kingdom. . . . Blessed are all who shall attain to the kingdom." In 8. 55: "God, foreseeing that some men would incline to good, . . . assigned those who would choose the good to his own government and his own care, and called them his peculiar inheritance; but the evil to certain angels," etc. In 9. 3: "God by his Son created the world as a double house, separated by this firmament which is called heaven; and appointed angelic powers to dwell in the higher, and a multitude of men to be born in this visible world, from among whom he might choose friends for his Son, prepared for him as a bride. . . . But even till the time of the marriage, which is the manifestation of the world to come, he has appointed a certain power, to choose out and watch over the good ones of those who are born in this world, and to preserve them for his Son, set apart in a certain place of the world, which is without sin; in which there are already some, who are there being prepared, as I said, as a bride," etc. These references suggest the idea of a sort of intermediate state, as it were a transitional form of the kingdom, perhaps blended with a vague notion akin to that of the invisible church. Certain of Hilary's ideas have here a point of contact.

In 1. 45 occurs a curious blending of the figurative and the literal, referring evidently to the future kingdom: "Christ anoints with oil every one of the pious when they come to his

kingdom, for their refreshment after their labors, as having got over the difficulties of the way ; so that their light may shine, and being filled with the Holy Spirit, they may be endowed with immortality."

The kingdom is thought of as a reward or treasure, rather than the Christian society, in the following : "The first duty of all is to inquire into the righteousness of God and his kingdom ; his righteousness, that we may be taught to act rightly ; his kingdom, that we may know what is the reward appointed for labor and patience" (2. 20). In 3. 41 the exhortation is given to "seek first his righteousness," omitting "kingdom." God has concealed the kingdom of heaven, that which is profitable to men, as a secret treasure, reporting it under various names throughout the ages, that all lovers of good might seek and find it in him. He who truly loves this possession of the kingdom of heaven will cast away evil practices, or fail to possess the heavenly kingdom ; for it is foolish to love anything more than God, neglecting one's own salvation (3. 53). Here the kingdom is the supreme good, the way of salvation, with the emphasis more upon the individual than the social side.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LITURGIES AND MINOR GREEK FATHERS.

I. *The Liturgies.*—In the *Liturgies of James, of Mark, and of the Apostles*, the kingdom in the twenty references is usually equivalent to heaven. Three or four are general, as in the expression “preaching the gospel of the kingdom,” and in the Lord’s Prayer. In the *Liturgy of James*, 44, the Prayer of Incense at the Last Entrance: “Keep us under the shadow of thy wings, and count us worthy till our last breath to partake of thy holy rites for the sanctification of our souls and bodies, for the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven,” etc. The *Liturgy of the Holy Apostles*, 13: “Bless this oblation, . . . and may it be unto us . . . for propitiation and forgiveness, . . . and for a grand hope of resurrection from the dead, and for a new life in the kingdom of heaven.” In 20, the Obsignation or Final Benediction: “May Christ himself render us worthy of the splendid glory of his kingdom,” etc. In the prayer of the same section (20) said on the Lord’s Day and on feast days, the kingdom is probably also celestial, though ambiguous: “May he himself who blessed us with all spiritual blessings in the heavens, through Jesus Christ our Lord, and prepared us for his kingdom, and called us to the desirable good things which neither cease nor perish, as he promised, . . . bless this congregation,” etc. The same may be observed of the two following: In 18, the priest begins to break the bread and says: “O Lord, sanctify our lips through thy grace, that we may give the fruits of glory and praise to thy divinity, with all thy saints in thy kingdom;” and in 15: “Drink ye his chalice with faith in the house of his kingdom.”

The idea of an intermediate state has a certain bearing upon the thought of the kingdom, as in the two following: In the Prayer for the Dead, the *Liturgy of Mark*, 15: “Give peace to the souls of all who dwell in the tabernacles of thy saints. Graciously bestow upon them in thy kingdom thy promised blessing,

which eye hath not seen Give peace to their souls, and deem them worthy of the kingdom of heaven," etc. In the *Liturgy of James*, 36: "Remember, O Lord, the spirits from righteous Abel unto this day: unto them do thou give rest there in the land of the living, in thy kingdom, in the joy of Paradise, in the bosom of Abraham," etc. These prayers for the dead seem to regard them as not yet in the celestial kingdom. But they are apparently even now, at least some of them, "in thy kingdom," "in Paradise," "in the tabernacles of thy saints." It seems probable that this ambiguity is in part owing to the uncertainty as to the state of the departed, and that the righteous dead are vaguely thought of, even before reaching heaven, or at least the highest heaven, as "in thy kingdom."

Thus the *Liturgies*, expressing the general thought and feeling in worship, indicate that the kingdom is still conceived of eschatologically.

2. *The minor Greek Fathers of this period.*—HEGESIPPUS in *The Relatives of Christ* (Euseb. *Ch. Hist.* 3. 20) understands the kingdom as celestial: "Being then asked concerning Christ and his kingdom, what was its nature, and when and where it was to appear, they answered that it was not of this world, nor of the earth, but belonged to the sphere of heaven and angels, and would make its appearance at the end of the world (or age) when he shall come in glory to judge living and dead, and render to every one according to his course of life." PETER OF ALEXANDRIA, *Canon* 5, thinks of the kingdom as the new life in the soul: "They preached not only repentance, but the kingdom of heaven, which, as we have learned, is within us: for the word which we believe is near us, in our mouth and in our heart. DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA is celebrated for his doubts concerning the authorship of the Apocalypse, which are candidly and forcibly expressed, and for his opposition to millenarianism in its crude form. He says in his work *On the Promises*, 3: "Cerinthus teaches an earthly reign of Christ; . . . he fancied that the kingdom would consist of sensuous pleasures," etc. CAIUS also combated Cerinthus in similar terms. Of GREGORY THAUMATURGUS only the disputed writings refer to the kingdom; in the

First Homily occurs one of the rare personifications of the kingdom: "Today, God invites, . . . and the heavenly kingdom is urgent to summon those who mind celestial things," etc. In *Hom. 2, On the Annunciation*: "By her (the Virgin's) means are we called sons and heirs of the kingdom of Christ." In *Hom. 4, On the Holy Theophany*, Christ says: "When thou seest me cast out demons, then hail my kingdom with adoration." These last two references have the evangelical tone. ARCHELAUS, in his *Disputation with Manes*, speaks often of "the kingdom of the good God," and of "the kingdom of light," and has among other curious conceits a reference to the time when the devil's father fell from the kingdom of heaven (33). THEOPHILUS has an obscure reference in his work *On the Nature of God*, which reference may have given a suggestion to Origen: "If I call him Power, I mention his activity; if Providence, his goodness; if I call him Kingdom, I but mention his glory; if Lord, I mention his being Judge," etc. MELITO, in a *Fragment on Faith*, has a general reference, beginning: "He who preached the kingdom." ATHENAGORAS, in his *Plca for the Christians*, 18, says: "May you, by considering yourselves, be able to discover the heavenly kingdom also!" JULIUS AFRICANUS, in his *Chronology, On Events in Persia*, says: "The Sages said, 'But of Judah has arisen a kingdom which shall subvert all the memorials of the Jews.'" In the anonymous *Selections from the Prophetic Scriptures*, 12: "We have received, as it were, an earnest of the eternal blessings and of the ancestral riches. For he said: 'Seek the kingdom of God,'" etc. In the *Syriac Documents* the references are as a rule to the celestial kingdom.

There are thus in the fragments of these minor Greek Fathers several conceptions of the kingdom, but the prevailing sense makes it a kingdom in heaven.

B.—LATIN.
CHAPTER VII.

TERTULLIAN AND CYPRIAN.

I. TERTULLIAN'S 161 references have as a whole the eschatological tone. The references in his Catholic, or pre-Montanistic writings, before 202 A. D., are comparatively few and unimportant, and indicate an intermingling of the ideas of the kingdom as terrestrial and celestial. In the *Prescription against Heresies*, chap. 13: "He preached the new law and the new promise of the kingdom of heaven." In the work on *Spectacular Shows*, sec. 30, he refers to the "fast-approaching advent of our Lord, the rising of the saints, the kingdom of the just thereafter." On *Prayer*, 5: "'Thy kingdom come' has reference to that whereto 'Thy will be done' refers—in us, that is. And if the manifestation of the Lord's kingdom pertains unto the will of God and unto our anxious expectation, how do some pray for a protraction of the age, when the kingdom of God, which we pray may arrive, tends to the consummation of the age?" In the treatise *On Baptism*, chap. 13, John 3:5 is quoted, possibly with the social conception of the kingdom; and in chap. 20 he says: "No one untempted should attain the celestial kingdoms." In the treatise addressed *To his Wife*, 6, occurs the phrase, "the celestial kingdom," which is, in a parallel passage in *Woman's Dress*, 9, "the kingdom of God." On *Idolatry*, 9: He cannot hope for the kingdom of heaven who abuses the heaven (as in astrology).

The Montanistic writings are in general millennial and materialistic. *Against Marcion*, Book 3, chap. 24: "We confess that a kingdom is promised us upon the earth, although before heaven, only in another state of existence; . . . it will be after the resurrection for one thousand years, in the divinely-built city of Jerusalem, let down from heaven; . . . this Ezekiel knew of, and John beheld. . . . It is suitable that the saints be rewarded on earth, the scene of their suffering for Christ. . . . Of the heavenly kingdom this is the process: after its thousand years

are over, within which period is completed the resurrection of the saints, will ensue the destruction of the world at the judgment; we shall be changed into the substance of angels, and so removed to that kingdom in heaven whereof we treat. . . . There is thus an earthly and a heavenly dispensation." In Book 4, chap. 33, Christ is identified with the kingdom: "A certain limit is placed between the old dispensation and the new, at which Judaism ceased and Christianity began, a cessation (which was fulfilment, not extinction) of the law and the prophets and the commencement of that gospel in which is the kingdom of God, Christ himself." In chap. 35, on Luke 17:20, 21: Who will not interpret "within you" to mean "in your hand," "within your power," if you do the commandment of God? If, however, the kingdom of God lies in his commandment, Moses gives the same view in Deut. 30:11-13. This means, Neither in this place nor in that is the kingdom of God; for behold, it is within you. This concerns the Lord's own kingdom, for he says that the Son of man must suffer many things and be rejected, before his coming, at which time his kingdom will be really (*substantialiter*) revealed. In Book 5, chap. 10: The substance of the flesh is to be changed at the resurrection, which is the gate through which the kingdom is entered. *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, 50 and 51: Flesh and blood are excluded from the kingdom of God in respect of their sin, not of their substance. In Christ flesh and blood obtain both heaven and the kingdom of God. But sin shall be "excluded from the kingdom and indeed from the court of heaven itself."

The millennium is thus the prelude of the true kingdom of God, for "when the world shall pass away, then the kingdom of heaven shall be opened" (*On the Soul*, 55). In two passages the kingdom is equivalent to heaven in a way that reminds us of Chrysostom. *On the Scorpion's Bite*, 10: "For though you think heaven still shut, remember that the Lord left here to Peter, and through him to the church, the keys of it, which every one having confessed will carry with him." And *On Modesty*, 1: "Apprehension or desire of the eternal fire or kingdom." The church is here distinguished from the kingdom, but in his work

Against Marcion, Book 3, chap. 23, he says: "His Holy Spirit, who builds the church, which is indeed the temple, and household, and city of God," which not only reflects a thought of Hermas, like him leaving the relation between church and kingdom indefinite, but is clearly a seed-thought for Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*.

Besides holding to the view of Luke 17:21, already given above, he quotes 1 Cor. 4:20, "not in speech but in power," in the same vein (*On Modesty*, 14); and in his treatise *On the Soul*, 39, in commenting on John 3:5, says: "cannot enter into the kingdom of God: in other words, he cannot be holy." The kingdom is, however, at least in words, distinguished from eternal life: "To them from whom the kingdom is taken away, of course the life which exists in the kingdom is not permitted either" (*On Modesty*, 16). The social conception of the kingdom seems to be in mind when he quotes Rev. 1:6 in his *Exhortation to Chastity*, 7: "It is written, 'A kingdom also and priests to his God and Father hath he made us,'" but in view of his general usage, the expression must be taken in a proleptic sense. Also in his work *Against Praxeas*, 26, he refers to Luke 22:29: "He awards the kingdom to his disciples as he says it had been appointed to himself by the Father."

2. CYPRIAN is a true connecting link between "the master" Tertullian and the great Augustine. Even more ardently than Tertullian he looks toward the manifestation of the kingdom in the time of the Last Things, but not in the millennial form. Like him also he dwells upon its ethical nature, emphasizing still further its spiritual elements as the substance of character. Like him he declares that Christ himself is the kingdom of God, as the impersonation of that which we pray may come, and in whom we shall reign; and advances toward a closer conception of the relation between the church and the kingdom. In all these points we may trace his influence on Augustine, who recognized his indebtedness to Cyprian in many germinal thoughts, as is evident from his tribute to Cyprian in chap. 26 of his work on *Grace and Free-Will*: "I strongly advise you to read attentively the book of the blessed Cyprian on *The Lord's*

Prayer. So far as the Lord shall assist you, understand it, and commit it to memory." In no less than eleven other places in Vol. V of his works, does Augustine refer to this treatise of Cyprian.

"'Thy kingdom come.' We ask that the kingdom of God may be set forth to us, even as also that his name may be sanctified in us. For where does God not reign? We pray that our kingdom, which has been promised us by God, may come, which was acquired by the blood and passion of Christ; that we who first are his subjects in the world, may hereafter reign with Christ when he reigns, as in Matt. 25:34. Christ himself, however, may be the kingdom of God, whom we day by day desire to come; whose advent we crave to be quickly manifested to us. For since he is Himself the resurrection, since in him we rise again, so also the kingdom of God may be understood to be Himself, since in him we shall reign. But we do well in seeking the kingdom of God, *i. e.*, the heavenly kingdom, because there is also an earthly kingdom. There is need of prayer, that we fall not away from the heavenly kingdom, as the Jews fell. The Jews were previously children of the kingdom, so long as they continued to be also children of God; but after the name of father ceased to be recognized among them, the kingdom also ceased; and therefore we Christians, who in our prayer begin to call God our Father, pray also that God's kingdom may come to us" (*On the Lord's Prayer*, 13). In *Epistle* 72. 2: "From this earth and from these sufferings you shall speedily come to the kingdom of heaven." *On Mortality*, 2: "The kingdom of God is now beginning to be at hand; the reward of life, . . . the possession lately lost of Paradise, are now coming with the passing away of the world."

"The kingdom of God is not in the wisdom of the world, nor in eloquence, but in the faith of the cross and in virtue of conversation" (*Against the Jews*, 3.69). In 4. 52, in illustrating the theme that "the liberty of believing or of not believing is placed in free choice," he quotes Luke 17:21, "the kingdom of God is within you," with Deut. 13:18, and Isa. 1:19. *On the Unity of the Church*, 14: "Charity will ever be in the kingdom, will endure

forever in the unity of a brotherhood linked to herself. Discord cannot attain to the kingdom of heaven," etc. Here there may be the thought of charity as being always in the kingdom on its progress from earth to heaven.

The church is to reign in the kingdom. "He cannot be a martyr who is not in the church; he cannot attain unto the kingdom who forsakes that which shall reign there" (*Unity of the Church*, 14). In 6: "The bride of Christ keeps us for God. She appoints the sons whom she has borne for the kingdom." In *Works and Alms*, 9: "The Lord says that in the judgment, those who have labored in his church are admitted to receive the kingdom." These references distinguish between the church and the kingdom; but a statement in *Epistle* 72. 11 makes the keys of Matt. 16:19 refer to the church: "The church is founded upon one who received the keys of it by the Lord's voice."

CHAPTER VIII.

LACTANTIUS AND THE MINOR LATIN FATHERS.

I. LACTANTIUS is the only Father who identifies the kingdom of God with the "golden age" of the poets, as something lost in the past but to be restored. He distinguishes this kingdom from the universal reign of God. He is a millennarian, but with a marked ethical tone, and repeatedly speaks of immortality, or the inheritance of the heavenly kingdom, the final state of the kingdom of God, as the highest good. He apparently has a vivid sense of the eschatological view of the kingdom.

"It is possible that Mt. Olympus may have supplied the poets with the hint for saying that Jupiter obtained the kingdom of heaven, because Olympus is the common name both of the mountain and of heaven" (*Divine Institutes*, I. 11). "Jupiter changed the golden age by taking away justice. This is . . . the laying aside of divine religion, which alone effects that man should esteem man dear, and should know that he is bound to him by the tie of brotherhood—since God is alike a Father to all—so as to share the bounties of the common God and Father with those who do not possess them; to injure no one, to oppress no one, not to close his door against a stranger, nor his ear against a suppliant, but to be bountiful, beneficent, and liberal; which Tullius thought to be praises suitable to a king. This truly is justice, and this is the golden age" (which Jupiter and his offspring took away).

"But God, when the last time appeared, sent a messenger to bring back that former age. . . . The appearance, therefore, of the golden time returned, and justice was restored to the earth, but was assigned to a few only; and this justice is nothing else than the pious and religious worship of the one God. . . . In order that the nature of virtue might be evident, he did not exclude evil; . . . so the golden age is not truly here" (Book 5, chaps. 6 and 7). It is at this point that all hope for the

kingdom as the Christian community, destined to win and possess the earth, seems to be given up.

The return of the golden age is still future, and it will come as the prelude of the kingdom of God—as the millennium. In Book 4, chaps. 7 and 12: “The time for Christ’s receiving this earthly kingdom has not yet come, but he sways a heavenly and eternal kingdom. . . . For since God decreed that Christ should twice come to earth, once to announce to the nations the one God, then again to reign, why do the Jews who did not believe in his first advent believe in his second? . . . Even now, in one sense, he has (on earth) an everlasting dominion. And when he shall come again in glory, to judge every soul, and to restore the righteous to life, then he shall truly have the government of the whole earth; then, every evil having been removed from the affairs of men, the golden age, as the poets call it, *i. e.*, a time of righteousness and peace, will arise.” In the *Epitome*, 72: Christ shall reign with the saints on earth, and the kingdom of the righteous shall be for one thousand years. After the destruction of the nations . . . at the end of the one thousand years, God will renew the world, and transform the righteous into the forms of angels, that, being presented with the garb of immortality, they may serve God forever; and this will be the kingdom of God, which shall have no end. Then shall the wicked rise to punishment, etc.

The righteous become a kingdom. In the *Institutes*, Book 7, chap. 6: “We are rewarded with immortality, that being made like to the angels we may serve the Lord for ever, and be to all eternity a kingdom to God.” Although, as remarked above, he seems to have lost the conception that the righteous even now are such a kingdom, still in Book 5, chap. 8, he says: “Lay aside every evil thought from your hearts, and the golden age will at once return to you.” This is the root of the matter. If this fine sentiment is individual in application, it recognizes the kingdom of God “within;” if collective, it points the way to the social millennium; and in either case it is an assurance that the prayer “Thy kingdom come” may be granted.

2. *The minor Latin Fathers*.—VICTORINUS, in his *Commentary on*

the Apocalypse, has several important references to the kingdom. JEROME is in error when in his *Illustrious Men*, 18, he classes Victorinus as a follower of the millennial doctrine, for the latter in his comments on Rev. 21:16 f. says: "Christ is the rock by which and on which the church is founded. . . . The church is invincible. . . . Therefore they are not to be heard who assure themselves that there is to be an earthly reign of a thousand years, who think with the heretic Cerinthus. For the kingdom of Christ is now eternal in the saints, although the glory of the saints shall be manifested after the resurrection." On Rev. 1:6: "And he made us a kingdom. That is to say, a church of all believers; as also the Apostle Peter says, a holy nation, a royal priesthood." On Rev. 14:15, he speaks of "the consummation of the world, and the kingdom of Christ, and the future appearance of the kingdom of the blessed," apparently with the thought that Christ's kingdom is now preparing in the church. Here is a manifest approach toward the idea of the church as representing the kingdom on earth, which culminates in Augustine.

COMMODIANUS, in his *Instruction in favor of Christian Discipline*, thinks of the kingdom in connection with the resurrection of the just, but without indication as to whether it shall be terrestrial or celestial. No references of importance are made in the writings of the Pseudo-Isidorus under the names of PONTIAIUS, ANTERUS, and FABIAN, or in MINUCIUS FELIX and the anonymous treatise on *Rebaptism*. It is notable that in the work of ARNOBIUS *Against the Nations*,² there is no reference to the kingdom.

Thus in the ante-Nicene period while the Fathers exhibit a considerable divergence of views concerning the kingdom, representing all phases of the New Testament usage, still the eschatological conception is the most common.

² Which is Vol. XIX of the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* in the Clark series.

PERIOD III. THE NICENE AND POST-NICENE FATHERS.

A.—GREEK.

CHAPTER IX.

THE HISTORIANS—EUSEBIUS, SOCRATES, SOZOMEN, AND THEODORET.

THE writings of EUSEBIUS under consideration contain his *Church History* and certain compositions relative to Constantine. He speaks of history as "a narrative of the government of God." He tells of "soldiers of Christ's kingdom," meaning Christians, confessing their faith; and in 8. 13 relates how the first martyr of the kingdom of Christ proclaimed the heavenly kingdom of Christ, first by words, then by deeds.

But the kingdom in heaven, equivalent to heaven, is his prevailing thought.¹ "A ready way of entrance into the kingdom of heaven was given Pamphilus," on the day of his martyrdom (*Martyrs of Palestine*, 11. 23). In the *Oration on the Thirtieth Anniversary of Constantine's Accession*, 2.4: "Christ opens the gates of his Father's kingdom to those whose course is thitherward from this world." In 4. 1 occurs the statement: "No one has seen the unseen kingdom, which governs all things." In this *Oration* the terms "celestial" and "heavenly" are constantly applied to the kingdom. In his *Life of Constantine*, describing the banquet scene after the Council of Nicæa, he says: "One might have thought that a picture of Christ's kingdom was thus shadowed forth, and a dream rather than a reality." This amiable picture must also be referred to the celestial arena, for Eusebius is an opponent of millennarianism, and to him we owe the record of nearly all the early writings in opposition to that doctrine.

SOCRATES has no original references to the kingdom, but reports in his *History* several forms of creed or confession which

¹ Cf. the *Catena*, Vol. VI, p. 631, where this saying is ascribed to Eusebius: "Some thought that our Savior's kingdom would commence at his first coming; he therefore informs them that he should not receive the kingdom before returning to his Father," etc.

occasionally refer to the kingdom. In Book 1, chap. 26, ARIUS and EUZOIUS in their confession to Constantine say: "We believe also in the Holy Ghost, and in the resurrection of the flesh, and in the life of the coming age, and in the kingdom of heaven (or, of the heavens), and in one Catholic church of God, extending from one end of the earth to the other." About the middle of the fourth century there was a considerable controversy as to the duration of Christ's kingdom, to which reference is made by the oriental bishops at Sardica in their *Synodical Letter*, 347 A. D.: "A certain Marcellus of Galatia, who will set bounds to the perpetual, eternal, and timeless kingdom of our Lord Christ, saying that he began to reign four hundred years since, and shall end at the dissolution of the present world" (note, p. 45 of Vol. II, Ser. 2). About that time four bishops having been sent for to give account of the deposition of Athanasius and Paul, presented to Constans a declaration of faith, composed by themselves, suppressing the creed which had been promulgated at Antioch, and therein confessed their belief that Christ's kingdom "being perpetual, shall continue to infinite ages," etc. (Book 2, 18). The *Makrostich*, or Lengthy Creed, sent three years later by the eastern bishops to those in Italy, has the same declaration set forth at length, among its statements being the following: "Christ has not attained any new dignity, but we believe that he was perfect from the beginning. . . . Asserting that the Father is God, and that the Son also is God, we do not acknowledge two Gods, but one only, on account of the majesty of the Deity, and the perfect blending and union of the kingdoms; the Father ruling over all things universally, and even over the Son himself: the Son being subject to the Father, but except him, ruling over all things which were made after him and by him," etc. (2:19). In the creed set forth by Mark at Sirmium, in presence of Constantius, the same thought of Christ's kingdom being everlasting is made prominent (30). The prevailing thought of his kingdom in these confessions seems to be that of his reign with the Father.

SOZOMEN, the contemporary of Socrates, has two references to the same controversy, and in addition the following indefinite

reference in 3.14: "Some of the disciples of Eustathius of Sebaste denounced the rich as altogether without part in the kingdom of God."—See the reference to Marcellus in Athanasius, below, also Theodoret, *History* (2.6).

In THEODORET the kingdom is generally equivalent to heaven. In his *History*, 2. 2: "When Constantine was about to be translated to an eternal kingdom," etc. He also refers to Christ's relation to the kingdom, and in 5. 11 quotes the *Confession of Faith* from Pope Damasus to Bishop Paulinus when in Thessalonica: "If any one deny one Godhead and power, one sovereignty and glory, one lordship, one kingdom, will and truth of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, let him be anathema." In the *Dialogues*, p. 173, Orthodoxus says: "Though the general resurrection has not yet taken place, though the kingdom of heaven has not yet been bestowed upon the faithful, the Apostle says: 'Hath raised us up,' Eph. 2: 6, to teach that we too shall attain the resurrection," etc. On p. 224: "Consider what belongs to Adam as compared with what belongs to Christ, the disease with the remedy, hell with the kingdom." In *Epistle* 120, to Lupicius: "To receive from our Master alike his kindly care in this present life and in the life to come the kingdom of heaven." In the list of 182 *Questions on Genesis and Exodus*, Question 24 reads: "Why did God plant Paradise, when he intended straightway to drive out Adam thence?" The answer is: "God condemns none of foreknowledge. And besides, he wished to show the saints the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world." (Cf. Athanasius below.)

There is in the *Dialogues*, p. 224, one reference which recalls the Pauline view of the relation of the earthly life to that of the kingdom: "In this human nature they who have exercised themselves beforehand in the citizenship of the kingdom shall reign with him."¹

¹ Cf. CLEMENT OF ROME, 54, quoted above.

CHAPTER X.

ATHANASIUS.

THIS great thinker has two distinct conceptions of the kingdom; the one abstract or subjective, God's reign, especially in the individual soul; the other the concrete reward of heaven. He seems never to think of the kingdom as a society on earth, either present or future. His celebrated view of the goodness inherent in human nature appears forcibly in his thought of the kingdom, which he even declares we have within ourselves and from ourselves. Having in this view a strong affinity with Origen, he lays less stress than Origen upon the discipline required, in knowledge and virtue, to make the "potential" kingdom within us a reality. While in Origen the kingdom becomes real in us, a part of our character, only by strenuous effort, to Athanasius it seems more like a part of ourselves at the outset. In this Origen clearly stands on firmer ground, but Athanasius by no means overlooks the ethical demands.

"The way to God is not afar off or outside ourselves, but it is in us, and it is possible to find it from ourselves in the first instance, as Moses also taught when he said, 'The word of faith is within thy heart.' Which very thing the Savior declared and confirmed, when he said, 'The kingdom of God is within you.' For having in ourselves faith, and the kingdom of God, we shall be able quickly to perceive the King of the universe, the saving word of the Father" (*Against the Heathen*, Part 2. 30). "We need not depart from home for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, nor cross the sea for the sake of virtue. For the Lord said, 'The kingdom of heaven is within you.' Therefore virtue needs only willingness, since it is in us and is formed from us. For when the soul has its spiritual faculty in a natural state virtue is formed" (*Life of Antony*, 20). And yet we need divine help, for "The Lord in the flesh becomes our guide to the kingdom of heaven and to his own Father, saying: 'I am the way, and the door,'" etc. (*Discourses Against the Arians*, 2. 61).

The kingdom is of the Trinity: "To him the kingdom belongs, even to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, now and for ever" (*On Luke 10 : 22*, sec. 6). In the *First Discourse Against the Arians*, 46, on Ps. 45:6: "Christ had the kingdom eternally, ever ruling in the Father's kingdom." The Nicene Creed, and several other symbols, contain no reference to the kingdom. But after a time, owing to the misinterpretation of such passages as Ps. 110:1 and 1 Cor. 15:24 by the school of Marcellus, the eternity of Christ's kingdom was introduced into the creeds; we find it, for example, in the creed propounded by Cyril of Jerusalem in his *Catechetical Lectures*. Athanasius defends Marcellus himself from error on that point in these words: "Marcellus had never pretended that the Word of God had his beginning from Mary, nor that his kingdom had an end; on the contrary, he had written that his kingdom was both without beginning and without end" (*Defense against the Arians*, 3. 47).

The kingdom is the reward in heaven. "If we exercise virtue we shall conquer death, and receive an earnest of the kingdom of heaven" (*Epistle for Easter*, 342 A. D., 14. 5). "Strangers to difficulties become aliens from the kingdom of heaven. All present matters are trifling compared with those which are future. . . . For what can be compared with the kingdom? or with life eternal?" (341 A. D., 13. 4). "At the day of judgment . . . shall be received what is laid up for the saints in the kingdom of heaven, which eye hath not seen," etc. (*On the Incarnation of the Word*, 57. 3). The church is distinguished from the kingdom: "The heresy of Arius is excluded from the communion of the church, and alien from the kingdom of heaven" (*Epistle 54, to Serapion*). "Baptized into the Trinity and united to God, we believe that we have also inherited the kingdom of heaven, in Christ Jesus," etc. (*To the Bishops of Africa*, 11). In his *Statement of Faith*, 1, on Luke 23:43, he says: "An entrance to Paradise was regained, from which Adam was cast out, into which Paul also entered." In *Epistle 43*, for Easter of 371 A. D., on Matt. 25:34: "The door was shut from the time that Adam was cast out of Paradise; Christ led into Paradise the thief, and having entered heaven as forerunner opened the gates to all." This expresses a belief com-

mon in the patristic age, that the abode of the first human pair in Eden was not on earth.

It is a fine sentiment of Athanasius that "Paul wished all men should be as he was. For virtue is philanthropic (and sin misanthropic, *Easter* of 338:10.4), and great is the company of the kingdom of heaven, for thousands there serve the Lord." (*Easter* of 339:11:1). Here the kingdom stands for a social order, but apparently in the heavenly rather than in the earthly state.

CHAPTER XI.

EPHRAEM SYRUS AND APHRAHAT.

1. MOST of the references to the kingdom by EPHRAEM the Syrian are in his *Hymns*, as a rule poetical and indefinite. The prevailing sense is celestial, there being no millennial idea. "Save by the door of resurrection none can enter into the kingdom" (*Hymns for the Feast of Epiphany*, 10. 10). His birth, baptism, death, and resurrection form a fourfold bridge unto his kingdom; and his sheep pass over in his steps (10. 9). Prayer is able to bring a man to the house of the kingdom (*On Admonition and Repentance*, 7). In the *First Homily on Our Lord*, 1: "He departed from Sheol and took up his abode in the kingdom, that he might seek out a path from Sheol which oppresses all, to the kingdom which requites all. For our Lord gave his resurrection as a pledge to mortals, that he would remove them from Sheol which receives the departed without distinction to the kingdom which admits the invited with distinction." In these references the kingdom seems to mean heaven; perhaps in the reference to prayer the idea of salvation may be in mind.

There is also, however, a clear recognition of Christ's kingdom on earth, as in *Hymns for Epiphany*, 15. 52, Mary says to the magi: "May Persia . . . and Assyria rejoice: when my Son's kingdom shall arise, may he plant his standard in your country." His kingdom is conceived of as universal reign or dominion, as when the magi say to Mary in 15. 11: "To his kingdom shall all be obedient." In the *First Homily*, 54: "He received the kingdom from the house of David, even though Herod held the place." *On the Nativity*, 2, on John 10:9: "The Door for them that go in, by which they go into the kingdom." In sec. 4: "Herod heard the roaring of the Lion, who came to sit in the kingdom according to the Scriptures." In 7: "Thou who pavest the way into the kingdom." Here the way "into the kingdom" may be either of present salvation or of the heavenly reward.

The kingdom spoken of in connection with Herod is a poetic conception for dominion in general.

2. APHRAHAT, the Persian sage, was a contemporary of Ephraem, and in some of his views resembles him. The kingdom is to him the Messiah's reign and realm, especially as portrayed in Daniel, with its realization still in the future. His thought therefore centers chiefly on the Last Things, with frankly expressed doubt whether the kingdom is to be terrestrial or celestial. There is no trace of the social conception of the kingdom, nor of the inner view of its existence in the soul.

"Jesus received the kingdom from Israel, and handed over the keys to Simon, and ascended and returned to him who sent him" (*Demonstration on Persecution*, 21. 13). "The righteous have not inherited the kingdom, nor have the wicked gone into torment. The King has gone to receive the kingdom, but as yet he has not returned the second time" (*Dem. on the Resurrection*, 8. 22). "The saints shall inherit the kingdom that is beneath the heaven, Dan. 7:27. And if they say that it has not taken place as yet, then (we ask) is the kingdom that shall be given to the Son of man to be heavenly or earthly?" What answer is expected here is not stated. He proceeds: "And lo! the children of the kingdom are sealed, and they have received their emancipation from this world. . . . First, he gave the kingdom to the sons of Jacob; . . . and when they did not prosper in the kingdom, he took it away and gave it to the children of Esau (the Romans) until he should come whose it is. And they will deliver up the deposit to its Giver, and will not deal fraudulently with it" (*Dem. of Wars*, 5. 23 and 24).

The thought here seems to be that his kingdom which he entrusted to Simon was within the Roman Empire, an *imperium in imperio*; but it is evidently not entirely clear or consistent in the sage's mind. His doubt also as to the future place of the kingdom is expressed in the *Dem. on the Last Things*, 22. 24: "God has power, if he chooses, to give inheritance of life in heaven, and if it please him, in the earth. Jesus said, 'Blessed are the poor, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven'; and to the

thief: 'Thou shalt be with me today in the Garden of Eden.' The earth, and the firmament which is set to divide the upper heavens from the earth and this life, shall pass away. And God will make a new thing for the children of Adam, and they shall have inheritances in the kingdom of heaven. If he shall give them inheritance in the earth, it shall be called the kingdom of heaven. And if in heaven, this is easy for him to do. For with the kings of the earth also, although each one of them abides in his own place, yet every place to which their authority extends is called their kingdom," etc. In the *Dem. of Monks*, 6. 18: "The spiritual shall inherit the kingdom that was prepared for them from the beginning. The others shall remain on the earth and turn back to Sheol."

To these *Demonstrations*, whose date is 337-344 A. D., Aphrahat appends the following statement: "These things I have written, not according to the thought of one man, but of all the church, and for the persuasion of all faith. . . . I will receive instruction without contention from any man who will speak and demonstrate about any matter." So far as his views represent those of the church of his time, they indicate a wide degree of uncertainty as to chiliasm and freedom of speculation about the locality of the kingdom when finally established.

CHAPTER XII.

BASIL, CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, GREGORY NAZIANZEN, AND GREGORY
OF NYSSA.

I. IN BASIL the two chief conceptions of the kingdom, apart from certain indefinite references, are the celestial, and the inner or subjective. He speaks frequently of "the gospel of the kingdom," and in *Epistle 44, To a Lapsed Monk*, he says: "You were proclaiming to all the power of the kingdom, and you fell from it," making the kingdom substantially equivalent to Christianity. The Trinity share in the kingdom, *Epistle 105, To the Deaconesses*.

"Through the Holy Spirit comes our restoration to Paradise, our ascension into the kingdom of heaven, our return to the adoption of sons, . . . in a word into all blessings of this world and the world to come" (*On the Spirit*, 15. 36). "Nothing can destroy the labors of holiness and truth, for the kingdom of heaven that awaits them is firm and sure" (*Ep. 18, To Macarius and John*).

Two mystical passages in his *Eighth Epistle, To the Cæsareans*, treat of the subjective view of the kingdom. In sec. 12: "It is said, 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God.'" And, my brethren, entertain no other conception of the kingdom of heaven than that it is the very contemplation of realities. This the divine Scripture calls blessedness. For, the kingdom of heaven is within you, Luke 17: 21. The inner man consists of nothing but contemplation. The kingdom of heaven, then, must be contemplation. Now we behold shadows as in a glass; thereafter, their archetypes," etc. In sec. 7: "All material knowledge is said to be the kingdom of Christ: while immaterial knowledge, and so to say the knowledge of actual Godhead, is that of God the Father. But our Lord himself is the ultimate blessedness. . . . He calls the transition from material knowledge to immaterial contemplation a resurrection. . . .

Little by little our intelligence becomes strong enough to approach Deity unveiled. . . . This is what is meant by delivering up the kingdom, 1 Cor. 15:24, as Christ is the first-fruits, not the end, of this deeper doctrine. So when the disciples asked him, 'When wilt thou restore the kingdom?' Acts 1:6, he replied, 'It is not for you to know,' etc. That is, the knowledge of such a kingdom is not for them that are bound in flesh and blood. This contemplation the Father hath put away in his own power."

We find a certain affinity to this peculiar conception of the kingdom in GREGORY OF NAZIANZEN, Basil's friend; and the thought of both may possibly have been influenced by Philo the Jew.¹

2. CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, who has been termed "the orthodox Arian," in his *Catechetical Lectures* dwells constantly upon Christ's kingdom as the reward in heaven of the faithful, and as being endless in duration.

In *Lecture* 3. 10 it is parallel with salvation: "If any man receive not baptism, he hath not salvation; except only martyrs who, even without the water, receive the kingdom." In 4. 15: "Christ is coming to reign in a heavenly, eternal kingdom; . . . be sure on this point, for many say Christ's kingdom hath an end." "Now is the falling away. . . . This created world is to be made anew. . . . How escape the fire? How enter into the kingdom?" (15. 2, 8, 26). "In this holy Catholic church receiving instruction and behaving ourselves virtuously, we shall attain the kingdom of heaven, and inherit eternal life" (18. 28). "A pure soul that has cleansed itself from sin can say with boldness, 'Thy

¹SCHÜRER, in his *History of the Jewish People*, Div. II, Vol. III, p. 380, in summarizing Philo's ethical teaching, says: "As it was by falling away from God that man was entangled in the life of sense, so must he struggle up from it to the direct vision of God. This object is attainable even in this earthly life. For the truly wise and virtuous man is lifted above and out of himself, and in such ecstasy beholds and recognizes Deity itself. His own consciousness sinks and disappears in the divine light; and the Spirit of God dwells in him and stirs him like the strings of a musical instrument. He who has in his way attained to the vision of the Divine, has reached the highest degree of earthly happiness. Beyond it lies only complete deliverance from this body, that return of the soul to its original incorporeal condition, which is bestowed on those who have kept themselves free from attachment to this sensuous body."

kingdom come'" (23. 13). In *Procatachesis*, 16, the rhetorical reference to the kingdom has probably the usual meaning in Cyril; "Great is the baptism, . . . a ransom to captives, . . . a new birth of the soul, . . . the delight of Paradise, a welcome into the kingdom, the gift of adoption." Likewise the reference in *Lecture* 17, 15: "as the rushing of a mighty wind, signifying the presence of him who was to grant power unto men to seize with violence the kingdom of heaven." Possibly, however, by "the kingdom" in these two references he has the present Christian community in mind. Otherwise the eschatological views of the kingdom are found in Cyril.

3. GREGORY NAZIANZEN.—In this versatile and talented Father, surnamed the Theologian, the view of the kingdom as the community of saints or Christian society seems dominant, while it is also viewed as the reign of Christ over all mankind, and as the heavenly reward, the latter being emphasized on its individual and subjective side.

In the *Oration on Holy Baptism*, 3, "Baptism is, . . . dying with Christ, . . . the bulwark of faith, the key of the kingdom of heaven, the change of life, . . . the loosing of chains, the remodeling of the whole man." In 22: "Will he not (you say) take the desire of baptism instead of baptism? You speak in riddles, if you mean that the unenlightened is enlightened in his sight, and that he is within the kingdom of heaven who merely desires to attain to it, but refrains from doing that which pertains to the kingdom." In 24: "Do not delay in coming to grace, but hasten, lest the robber outstrip you, the publican, . . . or any of these violent ones who take the kingdom of heaven by force. For it suffers violence willingly, and is tyrannized over through goodness."

In the *Second Discourse on the Son*, 4: "As Almighty King of both willing and unwilling he reigns; in another sense as producing in us submission, and placing us under his kingship as willingly acknowledging his sovereignty. Of his kingdom in the former sense there will be no end. In the second sense the end will be his taking us as his servants, on our entrance into a state of salvation. What need to work submission in us when

we have already submitted? Then he will judge the earth and make awards," etc. This seems to point to the expectation of Christ's earthly kingdom of the saints losing its identity, so to speak, at the end of the world, in the celestial kingdom. In *Epistle* 4, Div. 2, in answer to *Ep.* 14 of Basil: "I admire your strait and narrow way, leading, I know not whether to the kingdom or to Hades, but for your sake I hope it is the kingdom." In the *Panegyric on Basil*, 76, he uses the expression "intrusted with the keys of heaven," so characteristic of Chrysostom.

"The heavenly reward to those whose mind is purified, will be Light, God seen and known, in proportion to their degree of purity, which we call the kingdom of heaven; but to those who suffer from blindness of their ruling faculty, darkness, estrangement from God, in proportion to their blindness here" (*Oration on Holy Baptism*, 45). "Some will be welcomed by the unspeakable light and the vision of the holy and royal Trinity, which now shines upon them with greater brilliancy and purity, and unites itself wholly to the whole soul, in which alone and beyond all else I take it that the kingdom of heaven consists" (*On His Father's Silence*, 9). According to this, the kingdom is that light wherein is the vision of God uniting himself with the soul; this heavenly vision apparently shines with greater brilliancy, with ever-increasing appropriation of the kingdom of God in the soul, from the beginning of the Christian life.

4. GREGORY OF NYSSA, in his thought of the kingdom, bears little resemblance to his brother Basil, but has notable affinity with Origen and Athanasius. He is a brilliant defender of Nicene orthodoxy, and his conception of the kingdom is many-sided. He thinks of the universal reign of Christ, which, of course, included mankind. But through sin the right of citizenship was lost. This was restored to men by the entering of Christ into human life, so that they are no longer outcasts from the kingdom, but by their own efforts may regain their lost estate. Again, he regards the kingdom of the future as the reward in heaven, a restoration to Paradise.

A fundamental difference between the typical Greek theology and the Augustinian may be illustrated in Gregory: "These

glad tidings he proclaims to all who, up to the present day, become disciples of the Word—that man is no longer outlawed, nor cast out of the kingdom of God, but is once more a son, once more in the station assigned to him by his God, inasmuch as along with the first fruits of humanity the whole lump is hallowed” (*Against Eunomius*, Book 12. 1). “The earthly envelopment once removed, the soul’s beauty will again appear, becoming again that which in the beginning we were created. This likeness to the divine is not our work at all; it is the great gift of God bestowed upon our nature at the very moment of our birth; human efforts can go only so far as to clear away the filth of sin, and so cause the buried beauty of the soul to shine forth again. . . . This truth is, I think, taught in the gospel, when our Lord says, to those who can hear what Wisdom speaks beneath the mystery, ‘The kingdom of God is within you.’ The Scripture points out that the divine good is not something apart from our nature, and is not removed far away from those who have the will to seek it; it is, in fact, within each one of us, ignored indeed and unnoticed while it is stifled beneath the cares and pleasures of life, but found again whenever we turn our thoughts toward it.

. . . . This is confirmed by the parable of the lost drachma” (*On Virginity*, 12).

“Christ showed his universal sovereignty by saying to the thief, ‘Today thou shalt be with me in Paradise’” (*Against Eunomius*, Book 2. 11). “Lordship is not a name of his being, but of his being in authority, and the appellation of Christ indicates his kingdom, while the idea of his kingdom is one, and that of his nature another. The establishment of his kingdom does not signify the formation of his essence, but the advance to his dignity” (Book 6. 4). “It is with an eye to Christ’s humanity, I suppose, that David describes the establishment of His kingdom, not as though He were not a king, but in the view that the humiliation was taken up and absorbed into the majesty of His kingdom” (Book 11. 3).

The kingdom as celestial may be seen in the following passages: “Paradise will be restored. We hope not for those things which now pertain to the necessary uses of life, but for another

kingdom, of a description that belongs to unspeakable mysteries" (*On the Making of Man*, 21. 4). "Now the resurrection promises us nothing else than the restoration of the fallen to their ancient state; for the grace we look for is a certain return to the first life, bringing back again to Paradise him who was cast out from it" (17. 2). "Christ teaches in the gospels that the acquisition of the kingdom comes to those who are deemed worthy of it, as a matter of exchange. When ye have done such and such things, then it is right that ye get the kingdom as a reward." From the *Catena* two references may be added: "Perhaps the kingdom of God being within us, means that joy which is implanted in our hearts by the Holy Spirit." And, "'Thy kingdom come' according to some means 'May thy Holy Spirit come upon us to purify us.'"

CHAPTER XIII.

CHRYSOSTOM.

THE great preacher usually makes the kingdom a synonym of heaven. This is clear from his constant antithesis of "hell" and "the kingdom," occurring about sixty-three times, including the use of the phrase "kingdom of heaven" in such connection six times; the antithesis "heaven and hell" is rare. This usage is also evident in his quoting Matt. 16:19 nine times, uniformly as "the keys of heaven." Remarkable also is his preference for the phrase "kingdom of heaven," which he uses about two hundred times; while "the kingdom of God" occurs only about sixty times, and of these sixty passages all but two are Scriptural quotations.

But in his thought of the kingdom he is profoundly evangelical, and the burden of his splendid eloquence from first to last is, "Realize the kingdom here! Make the earth a heaven!" He has reached the social view of the kingdom, as the redeemed society on earth, as it were by way of heaven, where Christ dwells and reigns. He thinks but little of the return of Christ to earth, the primitive eschatological view of the kingdom having almost faded from sight. Placing the essence of the kingdom in character, in a life well-pleasing to God, his strenuous ethical tone almost obliterates the boundary between things present and future.

"Let us show forth a new kind of life. Let us make earth, heaven; let us hereby show the Greeks of how great blessings they are deprived. For, when they behold in us good conversation, they will look upon the very face of the kingdom of heaven. . . . They will say: 'If the Christians are become angels here, what will they be after their departure hence?' Thus they too will be reformed" (*On Matthew*, 43.7). "Let us love God as we ought. This divine and pure love is indeed the kingdom of heaven; this is fruition, this is blessedness. . . . For thus

we shall see his kingdom even from out of this life, and shall be living the life of angels, and while we abide on earth we shall be in as goodly a condition as they that dwell in heaven" (*On Romans*, 23). "To live according to his will, this is the principal thing. So that by this thou hast the kingdom already in possession without a probation" (*On 2 Cor.*, 10.4). In 11.6: "Let us above all things be afraid of sin: for this is punishment, this is hell, this is ten thousand ills. And let us not only be afraid of, but also flee from it, and strive to please God continually; for this is the kingdom, this is life, this is ten thousand goods. So shall we even here obtain the kingdom and the good things to come; whereunto may we all attain," etc.

In his comments upon 1 Cor. 15:24 f.: "He refers to Christ the perfecting of his kingdom,—I mean the salvation of the faithful, the peace of the world, the taking away of evils; for this is to perfect the kingdom. But what is this: 'When he shall deliver up the kingdom'? The Scripture acknowledges two kingdoms of God, the one by appropriation,¹ the other by creation. Thus he is King over all in respect of his creation; but he is King of the faithful and willing and subject, in respect of his making them his own. This is the kingdom which is said also to have a beginning. To this he refers in Ps. 2:8 and Matt. 28:18. This kingdom then doth he deliver up, *i. e.*, bring to a right end. . . . But some say that he spake this to declare the removal of wickedness, as though all would yield thenceforth and none would resist nor do iniquity. For, when there is no sin, it is evident that God shall be all in all." *On Matthew*, 19.7: "He hath enjoined each one of us, who pray, to take upon himself the care of the whole world. 'Thy will be done,' . . . everywhere upon earth; so that error may be destroyed, and truth implanted, and all wickedness cast out, and virtue return, and there be no difference henceforth in this respect between heaven and earth."

In his celebrated *Sermons on the Statues*, 16.17, he gives a social program which reminds us of the "golden age" of Lactantius. "Exercise tender care toward thy neighbor. For we are

¹ οἰκείωσιν.

placed with one another, inhabit cities, and meet in churches, in order that we may bear one another's burdens, that we may correct one another's sins. And just as persons in the same shop carry on a separate traffic, yet put all afterwards into a common fund, so also let us act. Whatever advantages each man is able to confer upon his neighbor, let him not grudge, nor shrink from doing it, but let there be a kind of spiritual commerce and reciprocity: in order that having deposited everything in a common store, and procured a large treasure, we may be altogether partakers of the kingdom of heaven; through the grace of our Lord," etc. The immediate reference of the closing words is probably to the kingdom above, yet the shading of the present kingdom into that of the future is obvious.

"While the kingdom is synonymous with salvation and the sum of all good, still it is a greater thing than the kingdom itself to receive it from such a Giver" (*Homily 6, on Acts*). Hence the kingdom is frequently spoken of as one among many good things. *On 1 Cor.* 43. 6: "We ought not to do anything good for the hope of the kingdom, but because it pleases God, which is more than any kingdom." *On Romans*, 15, as often: "Paul would prefer to fall into hell and be banished from the kingdom, to losing Christ." *On Matthew*, 24: 5 and 6: "The centurion went away having received a kingdom. . . . Judas, too, was a child of the kingdom, and yet he became a child of hell." *On John*, 24. 2: "It is impossible, Christ says, for one not born from above to see the kingdom of God; in this pointing to himself, and declaring that there is another besides the natural sight, and that we have need of other eyes to behold Christ." So in *Homily 2, on Colossians*: "No one by his own achievements obtains the kingdom." Of the young man in *Mark* 12: 34, who was 'not far from the kingdom,' he says that it was because he overlooked low things and embraced the first principle of virtue (*On Matt.*, 71. 1). This passage of *Mark* is treated at length in Hilary.

Chrysostom evidently thinks of the church as the kingdom of Christ in some instances, but without expressly identifying them. *To Catechumens*, 1. 4, on *Ps.* 2: 8: "Dost thou see how

he has made mention of the church of the gentiles, and has spoken of the kingdom of Christ extended on all sides?" In 1. 1: "Ye are not about to be led to an empty dignity, but to an actual kingdom: and not simply to a kingdom, but to the kingdom of heaven itself. . . . Yet thirty days, and the King of heaven shall restore you to the country which is on high, Jerusalem, which is free—to the city which is in heaven. Remember me, when you come into that kingdom, when you receive the royal robe," etc. *On Matt.* 8. 6: Now in Egypt Christ's kingdom shines forth in its brightness. . . . Everywhere in that land the camp of Christ, and the royal flock, and the polity of the powers above. In 88. 1: "There ought to be choirs of angels here, and we ought to make the earth a heaven." In *Homily* 15. 11, on 1 *Cor.*, the church is distinguished from the kingdom when he speaks of "the priests not purging out from their borders, that is, out of the church, the covetous and whatsoever would exclude from the kingdom of heaven." On the parable of the tares, *On Matthew*, 47. 1: "Whereas Christ is the sower, and of his own field and out of his own kingdom he gathers, it is clear that the present world also is his."¹ The conclusion which Augustine draws from this parable is that the church is the kingdom of God on earth.

Chrysostom's thought of the kingdom as spiritual and requiring the guidance of the Spirit, is manifest in two comments in his *Discourses on the Acts*. On 1:6: "It appears to

¹ In his famous passage on the community of goods, *Homily* 11 on *Acts*, he draws this enthusiastic picture: "Let us now depict this state of things in words, and let all sell their possessions, and bring them into the common stock—in words, I mean: let none be excited, rich or poor! How much gold think you would be collected? . . . Perhaps one million pounds' weight of gold, . . . nay, twice or thrice as much. Shall we say there are in the city a hundred thousand Christians, and the rest Greeks and Jews? Of the poor I think not more than 50,000; . . . Then to feed that number daily, what abundance would there be! And yet if the food were received in common, all taking their meals together, it would require no such great outlay after all. But, you will ask, what should we do after the money was spent? And do you think it ever could be spent? Would not the grace of God be ten thousand fold greater? Would it not be richly poured out? Nay, should we not make a heaven upon earth? If, where the numbers were 3,000 and 5,000, the doing of this thing had such splendid success, and none of them complained of poverty, how much more glorious would this be in so vast a multitude?"

me that they had not any clear notion of the nature of that kingdom; for the Spirit had not yet instructed them." On 28:31: "The things concerning the kingdom of God. Nothing of the things of sense, nothing of things present." His spirit is finely summarized in a remark in *Homily 6, on Philipians*: "I could wish the things concerning the kingdom to be ever my discourse, of the rest, of the green pastures, . . . of the pleasure of being with Christ."

CHAPTER XIV.

JOHN OF DAMASCUS.

It is a long leap in more than one respect from Chrysostom to JOHN OF DAMASCUS. Chrysostom died in 407, and John in or near the year 757, as "the last of the Fathers." Between them there are in the Eastern church only a few names of any importance, and none whose works are considered in the present investigation. In the Western church the succession extends to Gregory the Great (d. 604).

The work of John selected as representative in the list is that *On the Orthodox Faith*, which is the third Division of his *Fountain of Knowledge*. In this work there are six references to the kingdom, all general and indefinite, as follows: "We believe in one God, . . . holding a perpetual and immortal kingdom over all things" (Book 1. chap. 8). Also, "one lordship, one kingdom," which the English version renders "sovereignty." In 2. 11 Matt. 6:33 is quoted. In 2. 29: "God's original wish was that all should be saved and come to his kingdom. For it was not for punishment that he formed us, but to share in his goodness, inasmuch as he is a good God." In 4. 15: "John the Baptist was the first herald of the kingdom." In 4. 25: "From the time when he was baptized, and the Holy Spirit appeared to men, the spiritual worship and polity (or mode of life) and the kingdom of heaven have been preached."

This extreme meagerness of reference to the kingdom by the "engrosser of Greek theology" at the close of the patristic age, is significant chiefly as showing that John wholly failed to appreciate the importance of the kingdom. Not less striking is the evidence from his *Sacred Parallels*, a collection of opinions of the early Fathers upon various points of morality and religion, alphabetically arranged under Scriptural quotations. Under the title of "The Kingdom of Heaven," he first quotes fourteen representative New Testament passages in which the

kingdom is mentioned ; then follow eleven quotations or sentiments, to illustrate the subject, of which seven do not mention the kingdom at all. Four Fathers are mentioned as quoted from (Basil, the Gregorys, Clement of Alexandria), but several of the quotations are of doubtful source. Of the four references to the kingdom by name, two are indefinite: "It is the dignity of the kingdom that it has no tyranny over it;" and, "That incorruptible kingdom has no desire, but has the presence of all good things, whence there is no place for desire." Another is from Clement's *Quis Dives*: "The kingdom of God does not belong to sleepers and sluggards, but the violent take it by force; . . . for this is commendable, to take life from God by force," etc. The fourth is important, and of doubtful origin: "The state of those who live according to the divine laws is to be declared the kingdom of God." This saying, and the quotation from Clement, seem to retain something at least of the social idea of the kingdom.

The tenor of the other seven quotations, supposed to illustrate the kingdom without mentioning it, is of the reward of virtue, the good things waited for. The first given reads: "When man is made perfect, he is borne up to the dignity of angels." As a rule, however, these quotations are sententious and obscure: "I must be buried together with Christ, with Christ rise again, be an heir with Christ, become a son of God, God himself." And, "Tribulation is the flower of good things which we wait for. Let us therefore pluck the flower on account of the fruit."

As the Eastern church had already long been dead intellectually when John of Damascus wrote, we may be grateful that in this final flickering of the flame we see even the few references to the kingdom which he gives.

B.—LATIN.

CHAPTER XV.

HILARY.

THE "Athanasius of the West" has many suggestive thoughts about the kingdom, even though his views are not always clear or consistent. He is represented in the present discussion of patristic literature by his treatises *On the Trinity*, and *On the Synods, or the Faith of the Orientals*. Having at hand the Benedictine edition of his works, and certain important references being found apart from the two treatises mentioned, I treat as a whole his views of the kingdom.

His most distinctive view is indicated by the title of an essay *De regno Christi a regno Dei Patris distincto*, eight pages folio, by the Benedictine editors in the preface. This essay is of rare interest and value; according to its own showing, however, the somewhat uncertain use of terms by HILARY leaves the distinction between God's kingdom and Christ's vague and shadowy.

At the transfiguration the glory of his body coming into the kingdom was shown the disciples. The Lord shall reign in his glorified body until the offenses shall be removed from his kingdom at the consummation of the age. Then he will deliver up the kingdom. He says not "his kingdom," but "a kingdom," namely, ourselves made conformable to his glorious body, whom he will deliver up as a kingdom to God, as in Matt. 25:34. For the Son will deliver up to God as a kingdom those whom he called into a kingdom, promising them that the pure in heart should see God. Reigning thus he will remove offenses, and then shall the righteous shine as the sun in the kingdom of their Father. And what kingdom, he himself testified, saying to the apostles: "The kingdom of God is in you"¹ (*On the Trinity*, Book II. 37-9).²

¹ *In vobis.*

² Cf. the "earthly kingdom" of Irenæus, 5. 32.

Christ's kingdom is thus a sort of intermediate state, in his glorified body, in which he keeps the righteous after death until they enter the kingdom of God at the judgment. On Paul's saying, "I follow on, if I may apprehend," Hilary seems to think that the saints, their flesh being laid aside, are joined to the flesh which Christ assumed for us, to rest in it until they receive a body of their own; and this resting of the saints in Christ's body he calls the kingdom of Christ. But the church is Christ's body: "For Christ himself is the church, *per sacramentum corporis sui in se universam eam continens*" (*On Ps. 125; cf. On Matt. 5:34*). Is, then, Christ's body, the church, different from his glorified body, in which the righteous dead are waiting? So it seems from Hilary's comments on the words in Ps. 15, "Who shall dwell in his holy mountain?" "The mountain," he says, "is the body which Christ took from us. We climb this mountain after we have dwelt in the church. There is rest in the Lord's exaltation; there we shall be associated with choirs of angels, since we also are a city of God" (*Dei civitas*). Here is evidently a mystical blending of ideas; the primary idea of Christ's kingdom on earth seems to be lost in the shadows of the spirit-world. In his comment on Matt. 12:32 he identifies Christ with the kingdom: he perfects all work by the Spirit of God, and is himself the kingdom of heaven, and in him is God reconciling the world unto himself.

And yet, in the exposition of Mark 12:34, of the young man who was not far from the kingdom, there is apparently a recognition of the kingdom as the present company of the saints. "Why does he say that, although such faith makes a man perfect for the kingdom of heaven, this scribe was not in the kingdom, but only not far from it? In Matt. 25:34 and 5:3, it is given in absolute possession. Did this young man, whose love to God and man was apparently perfect, confess something less than these confessed? . . . The Lord, praising his confession of faith, still says he is not far from the kingdom, and did not place him in the very possession of the blessed hope. He was on the right way, and not far from the gospel sacrament, though still ignorant that the one thing lacking was to confess Christ as

Lord." If he had also done this, Hilary would probably have considered him as in the kingdom.

The kingdom within the soul is also emphasized. "To rule the body, subduing the sin reigning there and all incentives to vice, is the kingdom of God in us. Let Christ reign in us, since through him we may reign over ourselves, according to Luke 17:20, 21, The kingdom of God is within you. The kingdom of God is where sin is vanquished, death done away, and no enemy reigns. . . . This will be to us the kingdom of God, when all the stings of our vices being broken, the blemish of bodily infirmity will be removed" (*On Ps. 2*, sec. 42). Here also there seems to be a blending of present and future.

The church is distinguished from the kingdom in a passage of *The Trinity*, Book 6. 37: "This faith [of Peter] is the foundation of the church; this faith has the keys of the celestial kingdom."¹ But in other passages the two ideas are intermingled somewhat in the manner of the *Shepherd of Hermas*, as *On Ps. 147:15*: "By this swift running of the word the building of this blessed city has been begun, which, as the abundance of its resources becomes known, is daily everywhere built up with the living stones of the faithful, to the increase of the city of the blessed kingdom." We have noted above how he makes Christ both church and kingdom. Jerome says that Hilary drew largely upon Origen in his treatise on the Psalms; we may trace such influence in his comment *On Ps. 51*, sec. 17; the Jews being said to be torn away from Christ's body and kingdom, an assertion hardly consonant with his peculiar views, he explains the kingdom as something promised, offered freely to all, but not yet realized; recalling Origen's thought of the kingdom being potentially in all men.

¹ The English translation (which appeared in May, 1899) of a passage *On the Trinity*, Book 6. 38, runs: "You may have a change of faith if the keys of heaven are changed. That faith holds not the keys of the church," etc. In both cases the original text in the Benedictine edition reads: "the keys of the kingdom of heaven."

CHAPTER XVI.

AMBROSE.

THIS beautiful and knightly soul, under whose preaching Augustine was converted, has a thoroughly evangelical view of the kingdom. He thinks of it as the community of those who have the divine life in the soul. He lays great stress upon the unity of the kingdom of the Trinity, his treatise *On the Christian Faith* being in large part a sustained proof, fortified by Scripture, that the Kingdom of the Son is one with that of the Father; thus taking the opposite point of view from Hilary. But these two Fathers are in striking agreement in their insistence upon the spiritual and ethical content of the kingdom. In the *Catena on Luke* there are several valuable additions to the teaching of Ambrose concerning the kingdom, which will be given with the other references.

"Christ came into this world to prepare for himself a kingdom from among us, . . . to receive a kingdom from us, to whom he says: 'The kingdom of God is within you.' This is the kingdom which Christ has received, this the kingdom which he has delivered to the Father. . . . He who came will deliver up the kingdom to the Father. Each gives the other unity of honor. The kingdom which he delivers up is not lost, but grows. We are the kingdom, for it was said to us, The kingdom of God is within you. And we are the kingdom, first of Christ, then of the Father, John 14:6. When I am on the way, I am Christ's; when I have passed through, I am the Father's; but everywhere through Christ, and everywhere under him. It is a good thing to be in the kingdom of Christ, that Christ may be in us. We are now under Christ's rule in the form of servants; but when we shall see his glory we shall be in the kingdom of God, in which are the patriarchs and prophets. . . . But in the kingdom of the Son the Father also reigns; and in the kingdom of the Father the Son also reigns" (*On the Faith*, 5. 12).

"To be with Christ is life, and where Christ is, there is his kingdom" (*Catena on Luke*, 23:43). Christ is our Way, which hath opened the kingdom of heaven to believers (*On the Faith*, 3.7). This is evidently the source of the line in the *Te Deum* of the later liturgy: "Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers." In *Duties of the Clergy*, 1.49: Cast out of the kingdom of thy soul the likeness of the devil, and let the likeness of Christ glow brightly in thy kingdom, that is, thy soul.

"The kingdom of God itself is the work of the Holy Spirit, as it is written in Rom. 14:17: 'Righteousness and joy and peace,' etc. . . . The Holy Spirit takes us into his kingdom by the adoption of holy regeneration. He has made us heirs of the new birth from above" (*On the Spirit*, Book 2, chaps. 20 and 7). We are all anointed with spiritual grace for a share in the kingdom of God and in the priesthood (*On the Mysteries*, 6). "He shows that it is a regal power which the Holy Spirit possesses, in whom is the kingdom of God, and that we in whom the Spirit dwells are a royal house. . . . If, then, the mustard seed is the kingdom of God, and faith is as the grain of mustard seed, faith is truly the kingdom of heaven, which is within us" (*Catena*). "The kingdom of God consists in simplicity of faith, not in persuasive words, but in power plainly shown forth. But faith alone is not sufficient to enter (*On Matt.* 7:21. So also Chrysostom). . . . What, indeed, do we understand by being in the kingdom of God, if not the having escaped eternal death? But they who have escaped eternal death see the Son of man coming into his kingdom" (*On the Faith*, 2.5, 9; 3.12). He does not say whether this takes place before the Last Things. He occasionally speaks of the kingdom as celestial (as in *Epistle* 63, on Prov. 10:15*a*): "And what is that city but Jerusalem which is in heaven, in which is the kingdom of God?" In sec. 97 of the same: "How much ought we to raise our hopes to the kingdom of God, where will be newness of life?"

The relation of the church to the kingdom is touched upon in a few places: To Peter he gave the kingdom, calling him the rock, thereby declaring him to be the foundation of the church (*On the Faith*, 4.5). "The comparison of the leaven is suitable,

for the kingdom of heaven is redemption from sin, and therefore we all, both bad and good, are mingled with the meal of the church, that we all may be a new lump, not harmed by the sins of the evil" (*On Repentance*, 1.15). Here the phrase "the meal of the church" is obscure, but the question is suggested: To enter the kingdom must one first enter the church, as the apostles at first supposed that the gentiles must come to Christianity through Judaism? The Fathers undoubtedly hold the affirmative: that the church is not a temporary institution such as Judaism was. But when the consequences of this view became gradually more apparent, the resulting tendency was inevitable to distinguish the ideal from the actual church, and to identify the ideal with the kingdom. One of the most striking evidences of this transition is the expression "the kingdom of the church," occurring in the *Catena on Luke* from Ambrose: "He shows his own kingdom to be undivided and everlasting. . . . And therefore the kingdom of the church shall remain for ever, because its faith is undivided in one body."

CHAPTER XVII.

JEROME, RUFINUS, SULPITIUS, AND VINCENT.

1. JEROME usually thinks of the kingdom as the celestial abode, frequently also as God's reign in the world or in the soul. He does not seem to connect the kingdom in thought with the church. He regards rather the form than the rich spiritual content of the kingdom as the principle of the Christian life. That he holds the conception somewhat loosely, retaining little trace of the primitive meanings, is evident from the various definitions of the kingdom which he sets forth, in one passage giving three alternative meanings. The *Catena* supplies a few references.

Stephen the deacon, the first to wear the martyr's crown, would be less in the kingdom of heaven than many bishops, if rank determined the reward (*Against Jovianus*, 1. 35). The sheep which stand on the right hand will be brought into the kingdom of heaven; the goats will be thrust down to hell (2. 25). The place and the mansions are of course in the Father's house, that is, in the kingdom of heaven, not on earth, etc. (28). No man is happier than the Christian, for to him is promised the kingdom of heaven (*Epistle* 125. 1). Abraham and other rich men in the Old Testament, though rich, entered the kingdom of heaven, for they were rich for others (*Against the Pelagians*, 1. 10). He apparently thinks of Paradise in two senses, for in *Epistle* 51. 5 he says: "Paradise was on earth, for Adam and Eve were made to dwell over against Paradise;" and in *Epistle* 60. 3: "Even if Lazarus is seen in Abraham's bosom, still the lower regions cannot be compared with the kingdom of heaven. Before Christ's coming Abraham is in the lower regions; after Christ's coming the robber is in Paradise. . . . This [reward] is promised us in the resurrection, for as many of us as do not live after the flesh have our citizenship in heaven, and while still here on earth we are told that the kingdom of heaven is within us." In *Epistle* 51. 5 he has a characteristic reference to Origen: "He teaches that

the devil will return to his former dignity and rise again to the kingdom of heaven. Apostles and prophets co-heirs of the devil in the kingdom of heaven!"

"Thy kingdom come" is either a general prayer for the kingdom of the whole world that the reign of the devil may cease, or for the kingdom in each of us that God may reign there, and that sin may not reign in our mortal body (*Catena*). In *Epistle* 46. 10, in speaking of the advantage of pilgrimages to Jerusalem: We do not mean to deny that the kingdom of God is within us, or to say that there are no holy men elsewhere. In 58. 3: Access to the courts of heaven is as easy from Britain as it is from Jerusalem, for the kingdom of God is within you. In 118. 4 occurs one of the rare instances in which the kingdom is personified: "The rich find it hard to enter the kingdom of heaven, a kingdom which desires for its citizens souls that soar aloft free from all ties and hindrances." In this quotation, and in the two following, is the nearest approach to the idea of the kingdom as the Christian society: *Against the Luciferians*, 4, he quotes Rev. 1:6: "Made us to be a kingdom," etc.; and in *Epistle* 22. 40, on Matt. 11:12, "The kingdom suffereth violence," he says: "Still, unless you use violence you will never seize the kingdom of heaven."

The following quotations indicate the wide range of ideas which he groups under the kingdom: "The kingdom of God denotes either Himself, of whom it is written in another place, 'The kingdom of God is within you,'¹ and, 'There standeth one in the midst of you whom ye know not;' or surely that kingdom which both John and the Lord himself had preached, 'Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.' There is also a third kingdom, of holy Scripture, which shall be taken from the Jews," etc. (*Catena on Matt.* 12. 28). Again, from the *Catena*: "The kingdom of heaven is the preaching of the gospel, and the knowledgè of the Scriptures which leads to life, concerning which it is said to the Jews, 'The kingdom of God shall be taken from you.' . . .

¹In this passage the *Catena* is erroneously translated, "The kingdom of God is among you;" the original reads *intra vos* as usual, with the meaning "within you," as in all the Fathers who quote the verse.

'His Father's kingdom,' Matt. 26:29, I suppose to mean the faith of believers. When the Jews shall receive his Father's kingdom, then the Lord will drink of their vine."

2. RUFINUS seems to regard the kingdom as eschatological, celestial, and eternal. In his *Preface to the Translation of Origen's First Principles*: "By our belief in the coming kingdom, by the assurance of the resurrection from the dead," etc. *On the Apostles' Creed*, 14: Christ when he came brought three kingdoms at once into subjection under his sway, referred to in Phil. 2:10, and conquered all of them by his death. In 34 and 39 he discusses the clause, "Of his kingdom there shall be no end." He has an interesting comment in sec. 7 on Matt. 13:33, 47, where the kingdom is likened to leaven and to a net: "Are we to imagine that the kingdom of heaven is in all respects like leaven? Obviously the illustration was employed simply for this: to show how, through the preaching of God's Word, which seems so small a thing, men's minds could be imbued with the leaven of faith. So likewise in 13:47—are we to suppose that the substance of the kingdom of heaven is like twine? The sole object of the comparison is to show that, as a net brings fishes to the shore from the depths of the sea, so by the preaching of the kingdom of heaven men's souls are liberated from the depth of the error of this world." In sec. 6: "Jesus conducted the people, who had been brought forth from the darkness of ignorance, and recalled from the errors of the world, into the kingdom of heaven." Here the lack of a note of time makes the reference indefinite.

3. To Sulpitius Severus the kingdom is ordinarily the celestial reward. In *Epistle* 1. 6 (a doubtful letter): The Son of God will say in the judgment, "I promised you the kingdom of heaven; I also placed in Paradise the robber as an example of escape from punishment," etc. In *Epistle* 2. 4 he speaks of the reward and glory to be obtained in the kingdom of heaven, which no one can obtain who does not deserve eternal life by keeping the commandments. In the *Sacred History*, Book 2, chap. 3: The Messiah promised by Daniel will reduce to nothing that world in which exist earthly kingdoms, and will establish another

kingdom, incorruptible and everlasting, that is, the future world, which is prepared for the saints. The faith of some still hesitates about this point only, while they do not believe about things yet to come, though they are convinced of the things that are past. In the preface to Desiderius in his *Life of St. Martin*; "The kingdom of God consists, not of eloquence, but faith," — evidently in the sense of the gospel or the Christian life.

4. In VINCENTIUS OF LERINS the "children of the kingdom" are contrasted with those who "will have their portion in hell" (*A Communitory*, 6), and in 26 the expression "the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven" occurs, both indicating the celestial conception.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AUGUSTINE.

THE chief works of AUGUSTINE have about 1,300 references to the kingdom, nearly one-third of the whole number in the patristic writings under consideration. In the vast range of his works nearly every phase of the kingdom may be repeatedly met with; but the evangelical view, of the kingdom as the community of souls born anew through the gospel, is ever dominant. In Augustine this view takes its most characteristic form, however, in his explicit, though carefully modified, identification of the kingdom with the church, which is found in several of his treatises, but most fully expressed in *De Civitate Dei* and in his *Tractates on the Gospel of John*. This view, occasionally traceable in patristic thought from the time of Hermas, is nevertheless found even in Augustine in close connection with a clear distinction between the church and the kingdom; showing that the kingdom is generic and the church only its distinctive organized form. He thinks also of the kingdom as the celestial abode; but time and place are incidental and uncertain; to be in a state of salvation is to be in the kingdom of God. The reign of God in the soul is always assumed of the members of the kingdom, but the social idea receives the greater emphasis. A certain progress of his thought of the kingdom may be traced in his writings, and these have therefore been arranged in seven groups, as far as possible with reference to the chronological order of composition of each treatise.

1. *Early general writings*.—In his earliest Christian composition, the *Soliloquies*, the single reference he makes to the kingdom is prophetic of the sweep of his vision: "God, whose kingdom is that whole world of which sense has no ken; God, from whose kingdom a law is even derived down upon these lower realms" (1. 3). In the *Confessions*, Book 11. 2: Let me confess unto thee whatsoever I shall find in thy books, . . .

even from the beginning, wherein thou madest the heaven and the earth, unto the everlasting kingdom [or reign] of thy holy city with thee.

"They are peacemakers who, by controlling all the motions of the soul, become a kingdom of God, . . . subject to Christ. From a kingdom of this sort brought to peace, the prince of this world is cast out" (*Sermon on the Mount*, Book 1, 2). In the kingdom of him who came to fulfil the law, one will bring benevolence to perfection when he loves an enemy (21). "Thy kingdom come," that is, be manifested to men. As a light which is present is absent to the blind, or to those that close their eyes, so the kingdom of God, though it never departs from the earth, is yet absent to those who are ignorant of it. But no one will be allowed to be ignorant of the kingdom of God, when the Son shall come from heaven visibly to judgment. The coming of his kingdom will be manifested, not after, but in the end of the world. Let us ask that his kingdom may come, whether it be over ourselves, that we may become meek, or from heaven to earth in the splendor of the Lord's advent (Book 2, 6, 10, 11). It is evident that in saying above that the kingdom is invisible to some, although never departing from the earth, he did not have the visible church in mind.

In a notable passage in his treatise *On Holy Virginity*, 24, he speaks thus of the present and future of the kingdom: "What else remains for these [who misinterpret Matt. 19: 12] save to assert that the kingdom of heaven itself pertains unto this temporal life, in which we now are? For why should not blind presumption advance even to this madness? And what more full of frenzy than this assertion? For although at times the church, even that which now is, is called the kingdom of heaven, certainly it is so called for this end, because it is being gathered together for a future and eternal life. Although, therefore, it has the promise of the present and of a future life, yet in all its good works it looks not to the things that are seen, etc. (2 Cor. 4: 18; 1 Tim. 4: 8)." "Why contend you that the kingdom of heaven is to be understood in this life only?" (25). In chap. 9 of the same work occurs a unique designation of the church: "Now, out

of every race and nation, members of Christ may be gathered unto the people of God, and city of the kingdom of heaven." In this first group, generally, the church is distinguished from the kingdom, and the latter is often future or celestial. *On the Faith of Things Not Seen*, 9: The church, which we discern from the toilsome beginning of faith even unto the eternal blessedness of the kingdom. In *Christian Doctrine*, 37: Christ is the head of the church, which is his body, destined to be with him in his eternal kingdom and glory. *On the Work of Monks*, 8: Working only spiritual works in the preaching of the kingdom of heaven and edifying of the peace of the church. In the *Sermon on the Mount*, 1. 15: In that eternal kingdom there are no temporal relationships (as of father and mother). In 1. 8: He that is called least in Matt. 5:19 will perhaps not be in the kingdom at all; the one called great is also in the kingdom. In 1. 4 is another conception of the kingdom: "In the beatitudes the one reward, which is the kingdom of heaven, is variously named. In the first . . . it is the perfect wisdom of the soul," etc.

2. *Against the Manichæans*.—In this group the kingdom has two distinct meanings, corresponding to present and future time: "For you are not instructed in the kingdom of heaven, that is, in the true catholic church of Christ, as the Lord said, Matt. 13:52. . . . In the kingdom of heaven there are those who, that they may be perfect, sell or leave all, and follow Christ," etc. (*Reply to Faustus*, 4. 1; 5. 9). On the other hand, in 19. 30: I do not find in the Old Testament the expression "the kingdom of heaven." This expression belongs properly to the revelation of the New Testament, because in the resurrection our bodies shall be spiritual bodies, and so heavenly, that thus we may possess the kingdom of heaven. In 11. 8: We no longer in New Testament times expect a temporal or carnal kingdom of God; and all things are become new, making the promise of the kingdom of heaven, where there shall be no death or corruption, the ground of our confidence. . . . In the hope of spiritual things, that is, of the kingdom of heaven, where the body itself will be, by the change in the resurrection, a spiritual body. In 22. 76: The

doctrine of the New Testament is that we must serve God, not for temporal happiness in this life, but for eternal felicity hereafter.

The church and the kingdom are distinguished from each other in the work *On the Nature of Good*, 48: The keys of the kingdom of heaven in thy holy church. In the *Reply to Faustus*, 22. 67, occurs one of the rare instances in Augustine of the kingdom in the soul: "The kingdom of heaven is within us, Luke 17:21; and we must worship God from our inmost feelings instead of honoring him with our lips." With this may be placed his comment on Rom. 14:17 from the *Catena*: Wisdom is justified of her children, for the holy apostles understood that the kingdom of God was not in meat and drink, but in patient enduring.

3. *Against the Donatists*.—The Catholics, says Neander, in their controversy with the Donatists, distinguished the church on earth, in which genuine and spurious members are mixed together, from the purified church of heaven; but, failing to distinguish the conceptions of the visible and the invisible church, they gave occasion to the Donatists of charging them with supposing the existence of two churches; but they were extremely uneasy under this accusation, and would allow of no other distinction than that of two different conditions, mortal and immortal, of one and the same church¹. Thus, although the idea of the invisible church is at the center of this controversy, it was neither fully grasped nor consistently carried out, and it was only by Zwingli in 1531 that the phrase "the invisible church" was first used.

In the writings of this group the kingdom is regarded as the inheritance in heaven, of which only those are heirs who are really members of the church. In the *Correction of the Donatists*, 2, he speaks of "the heavenly Jerusalem, that is to say, the true church of God." From this expression it is evident how easy is the transition from the conception of the kingdom to that of the church, whether on earth or in heaven. In similar vein, apparently, is the remark *Against the Epistles of Petilianus*, Book 2.

¹See NEANDER, *History of the Church*, Vol. II, pp. 246 ff.

55: "Many belong to the kingdom of God who do not cast out devils." Also in 2. 85: The words of Christ, "Beginning at Jerusalem," etc., Luke 24:47, show forth the glory which he received from his Father in the wideness of his kingdom. The trend of the argument may be seen in the following quotations: "Bad men may have baptism but do not belong to the holy church of God, though they seem to be within it. Neither does the avaricious man, baptized within the church, become the temple of God, unless he depart from his avarice; for they who become the temple of God certainly inherit the kingdom of God" (*On Baptism, against the Donatists*, 6. 3; 4. 4). "The sacrament of chrism can exist even among the worst of men, wasting their life in the works of the flesh, and destined never to possess the kingdom of heaven. Such men are not in the body of Christ, which is the church, nor within the constitution of the church, which increases in the increase of God in its members through connection and contact with Christ" (*Against the Epp. of Petil.* 2. 105, 109).

4. *Against the Pelagians*.—In this group, which contains his chief controversial writings, his strenuous contention is that only through the new birth by water and Spirit can any soul, infant or adult, enter the kingdom of God, that is, be saved. He constantly quotes John 3:3 and 5, referring to the latter verse as "*sententia illa principalis*," meaning perhaps the chief Scriptural utterance concerning the kingdom. The kingdom is therefore the state of salvation, and time and place are secondary, although the references are usually cast in the celestial form. But in this group the present existence of the kingdom is made especially prominent by the repeated quotation of Col. 1:13: "Who delivered us . . . and translated us into the kingdom of his Son." We are therefore already in the kingdom, even if this obvious result is not always consistently adhered to. The church, now in process of cleansing, is to remain in purity for ever in the kingdom; Augustine does not say in this connection whether it is already in the kingdom, nor further define its relation to the kingdom. The Pelagians held that infants were baptized, not for sin, but in order to enter the kingdom of heaven, which was

either "Paradise" or some of the mansions of the Father's house, not strictly within the kingdom of God. Augustine insists that the Father's house must not be thus divided; that outside the kingdom of God there is no place of salvation.

In the prayer, "Thy kingdom come," that is called the kingdom of God in which his whole family shall reign with him in happiness and forever. He now reigns over all. Therefore, what is in "Thy kingdom come" but that we may deserve to reign with him? The lost will be under his power, but will they be in the kingdom of God? It is one thing to be honored with the gifts and privileges of the kingdom of God, and another thing to be restrained and punished by the laws of the same. It is not necessary now to raise and discuss the question whether the kingdom of God and the kingdom of heaven have the same meaning. It is enough to find (John 3:3, 5) that no one can enter into the kingdom of God except he be washed in the laver of regeneration. Separate not then from the kingdom of God any mansions that are placed in the house of God (*On the Soul and its Origin*, 3. 17). The kingdom of the Most High in Daniel is, of course, none other than the kingdom of God; otherwise anyone might boldly contend that the kingdom of God is one thing and the kingdom of heaven another (*Acts of Pelagius*, 15). In 28: Between the laver and the kingdom, where the church will remain forever without any spot or wrinkle, there is this intermediate time of prayer, during which her cry must of necessity be, "Forgive us our debts." The church, now in process of cleaning, shall continue in the kingdom of heaven forever in a sinless state.

Exsufflation (at baptism) is intended to show that souls were not removed into the kingdom of Christ without first being delivered from the power of darkness (*On Marriage and Concupiscence*, 2. 50). There is a curious circling of ideas in the work *On Forgiveness of Sins and Baptism*, 1. 15, where he says that original sin "not only excludes from the kingdom of God, but also alienates from salvation and everlasting life, which cannot be anything else than the kingdom of God." In the *Gift of Perseverance*, 5: "'Thy kingdom come,' that is, to us, which will

come to all saints. The kingdom of God will come only to those who persevere to the end." In chap. 6 occurs a thought common in Chrysostom: "'Thy will be done on earth,'" may be for a beginning, that is, that earth may imitate heaven, man the angel, the disbeliever the believer. Or, it may be a prayer for perseverance."

5. *The City of God*.—As noted in the Introduction, this work, sometimes reckoned the greatest monument of the patristic age, is a philosophy of history, a treatise on the divine government, with the church as the central fact of both. It treats of God's kingdom in its distinctive form of organization. The *civitas* is two-sided, the two sides being the *regnum* and the *ecclesia*. The church is called the kingdom, not merely in anticipation, but because it is already, on earth and in heaven, an important, if not the essential, part of the kingdom of God. The church is the embodiment of the coming kingdom. In *De Civitate Dei* the great thoughts of the patristic age concerning the kingdom are focalized. To live after the Spirit, to love God rather than self and one's neighbor as himself, is the character of the citizen of the kingdom; "for the life of the *civitas* is a social life." Nowhere is the social element of the kingdom more eloquently urged, and the effect is not weakened, even though the writer's vision is broad and clear enough to compass both the present life and the life beyond.

We may cite first a sentiment which reminds of Hermas; "A house is being built to the Lord in all the earth, even the city of God, which is the holy church. Men through faith are living stones in the house" (8. 24). It is good to draw near to God. And those who have this good in common have, both with him to whom they draw near, and with one another, a holy fellowship, and form one city of God: his living sacrifice, and his living temple. There are no more than two kinds of human society, which we may justly call two cities: the one of those who wish to live after the flesh, the other of those who wish to live after the spirit. This is the great difference which distinguishes the two cities: the one is the society of the godly, the other of the ungodly; each associated with the angels that

adhere to their party; and the one guided and fashioned by love of self, the other by love of God (12. 9; 14. 1, 13). The life of the wise man must be social. For how could the city of God either take a beginning or be developed or attain its proper destiny, if the life of the saints were not a social life? But who can enumerate all the great grievances with which human society abounds in the misery of this mortal state? Who can weigh them? The heavenly city, or rather the part of it which sojourns on earth and lives by faith, makes use of peace. It lives like a captive and a stranger in the earthly city, obeying the laws, calling citizens out of all nations. It avails itself of the peace of earth and makes it bear upon the peace of heaven. In its pilgrim state it possesses this peace by faith, and by this faith it lives righteously when it refers to the attainment of the peace of heaven every good action toward God and man; for the life of the city is a social life (19. 5, 17).

The ninth chapter of Book 31 contains some of his most significant utterances on the subject. While the devil is bound, the saints reign with Christ during the thousand years, which is the time between his first and second coming. They shall gather out of his kingdom all offenses (Matt. 13: 41). Can he mean out of that kingdom in which are no offenses? Then it must be out of his present kingdom, the church, that they are gathered. In Matt. 5: 19 he speaks of both great and least as being in the kingdom of heaven, and immediately adds, "Except your righteousness exceed, ye shall not enter." We must understand in one sense the kingdom of heaven in which the least and the great exist together, and in another sense the kingdom of heaven into which shall enter he who does what he teaches. Consequently, where both classes exist it is the church as it now is, but where only the one shall exist it is the church as it is destined to be when no wicked person shall be therein. Therefore the church even now is the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of heaven. His saints, but not "the tares," reign with him in a sense even now, who are in his kingdom in such a way that they are themselves his kingdom.

The following points are important as bearing upon his view

of the future life: The souls of the pious dead reign with Christ and are not separated from the church, though not as yet restored to their bodies (31. 9). The thousand years is the whole interval during which the first resurrection is going on. He that heareth hath everlasting life; that is, by having part in the first resurrection, by which a transition from death to life is made in this present time (31. 9; 20. 6). The city of Rev. 21: 2 is said to come down out of heaven, because the grace with which God formed it is of heaven. There are many obscure passages in the Apocalypse, but that he shall wipe away all tears is plain and refers to the future world (31. 17). This world shall pass away by transmutation, not by absolute destruction; the fashion of this world passeth away (1 Cor. 7: 31) (14). In the great conflagration the world is renewed to some better thing, as we ourselves also (16).

6. *On the Psalms.*—It is significant of the way in which the kingdom entered into the fiber of his thought that even his voluminous discourses on the Psalms abound in references to it, containing indeed a larger proportion of references to the kingdom than his other writings. In this work the kingdom has usually the meaning of the future celestial reward; but nearly all the other conceptions occur along with it. The kingdom in the soul is thus beautifully described in 78. 29: "Translated into the kingdom, Col. 1: 13. This cometh to pass to so much the greater good, as it is a more inward thing, wherein being delivered from the power of darkness, we are in mind translated into the kingdom of God, as God's sheep in spiritual pastures, our faith observable to none, our life hid with Christ in God." Here it is evident that to have the kingdom within is to be within the kingdom. In 149. 3: True Zion or Jerusalem is the church of the saints, in part a pilgrim, in part abiding in the heavens. In 126. 2: Man was a citizen of Jerusalem, but sold under sin he became a pilgrim. This whole life of human affairs is confusion, which belongeth not unto God. In 129. 3: How great evils do we endure, how great are the scandals that every day thicken, as the wicked enter into the church and we have to endure them!

But the kingdom is coming. In 145. 11: "Thy kingdom come. For that kingdom which we desire may come, that kingdom the saints proclaim to be coming." Thus the kingdom is a coming kingdom,

" . . . till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful seat."

In 72. 17 occurs a thought from Cyprian: "Thy kingdom come. That for which we pray is perhaps concerning Christ himself. For Christ's coming shall make present to believers the kingdom of God." We are again reminded of *Hermas*, and perhaps in turn of *Zech.* 9: 12, "Turn ye to the stronghold, ye prisoners of hope!" in 61. 4: "Christ himself is the tower, . . . also the rock whereon hath been builded the church. Before thee is the tower: call to mind and go into the tower." A reference to the intermediate state is found in 37. 10: Come, inherit the kingdom. Thou shalt not be there at once, but laid in that place of rest (as *Lazarus* in *Luke* 16) thou waitest in security for the day of judgment, when thou art to receive again a body and be made equal to an angel.

The following illustrate the use of the kingdom in the sense of heaven. In 69. 2: The passing both of Christ and of ourselves is hence to the Father, from this world to the kingdom of heaven. In 78. 3: The land of promise is nothing in comparison with the kingdom of heaven, whereunto the Christian people is being led. In 104. 36: If thou fearest hell, and lovest the kingdom of God, watch. In 147. 8: Within these walls are more than will be in the kingdom of God, in the heavenly Jerusalem. The kingdom is used for the state of salvation in 112. 3: *Zaccheus* bought the kingdom of heaven for half his goods and the widow for two mites, each possessing an equal share. The same kingdom is worth treasures to the rich man and a cup of cold water to the poor.

The church is probably the same as the kingdom in the two following: In 57. 12: The kingdom of Christ we see: where is the kingdom of the Jews? In 45. 12: The martyrs have suffered; and the kingdom of God has made much progress from thence, and advanced throughout all nations. The two

are distinguished in 109. 1: To the church as a whole he gave the keys of the kingdom. On Ps. 110:2: "The Lord shall send the rod of thy power out of Zion," he says: "The prophet is not speaking of that kingdom of Christ in which he reigneth for ever with his Father, for when doth not God the Word reign, who is in the beginning with God? But that reign of temporal government, by which, through the mediation of his flesh, he called us into eternity, beginneth with Christians; of his reign there shall be no end."

7. *Later miscellaneous writings.*—As already stated, the most important of these as bearing on the kingdom is the commentary on the gospel of John, in a series of *Tractates*. Of the more than four hundred references to the kingdom in this last group of Augustine's works, about two-thirds are in Scriptural quotations. The general tenor of the group is similar to that of his other writings, with many supplementary thoughts rather than essentially different ideas. He frequently recognizes two or more interpretations of a passage of Scripture, notably of "Thy kingdom come."

"He is in a certain sense preparing the dwellings by preparing for them the dwellers. Ye are God's temple. This is also the kingdom of God which the Son is to deliver up to the Father. The kingdom will shine forth in the kingdom when the kingdom shall have reached the kingdom. But the realm is not yet reigning. Accordingly it is already so far a kingdom that when all offenses shall have been gathered out of it, it shall then attain to sovereignty, so as to possess, not merely the name of kingdom, but also the power of government. For it is to this kingdom, standing then at the right hand, that it shall be said in the end, 'Come, receive the kingdom;' that is, ye who were a kingdom, but without the power to rule, come and reign; that what you formerly were only in hope, you may now have the power to be in reality. This house of God, therefore, this temple of God, this kingdom of God and kingdom of heaven, is as yet in the process of building, of construction, of preparation, of assembling" (*Tractate on John*, 68. 2).

If this brilliant passage, with its thoroughly evangelical tone,

and the many similar utterances of Augustine, were not overlooked, it is probable that the modern vogue of belittling the Fathers' view of the kingdom would have less currency. It may readily be granted that Augustine was unduly influenced both by his view of the visible church and by the somewhat disheartening spectacle of an empire falling to pieces; but to blame him too severely for his characteristic views of the kingdom, to charge him with despairing of the renewal of society, and with "turning away from the task of elaborating an ideal of a social state influenced by Christian principles," is not only to do him injustice, but to direct attention to the feebleness of the attempts to improve upon him. To say that "the great Fathers at the end of the fourth century had little influence on society" is to run serious risk of being challenged to produce three men of any age whose social influence was more direct and pungent than that of Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Augustine.

"What is his kingdom save those who believe in him, to whom he says, 'Ye are not of this world'? . . . Of the world are all mankind, created indeed by the true God, but generated from Adam as a vitiated and condemned stock; the regenerated in Christ are made into a kingdom no longer of the world" (115. 1, 2). He ever reigns, indeed, with the Father. But the prophets² foretold his kingdom according to that wherein he is Christ made man, and has made his faithful ones Christians. As if he had answered the question in Acts 1:6: "You wish that I should manifest the kingdom now: let me first gather what I may manifest" (25, 2). The first three petitions in the Lord's Prayer ask for blessings that are to be enjoyed for ever; which are indeed begun in the world, and grow in us as we grow in grace (*Enchiridion*, 115). We pray that his kingdom may come in us; that we may be found in it. We ought to be in his kingdom always, to do his will always (*Sermons on New Testament Lessons*, 6. 7, 19). In 81. 6: The church at present is an inn; it will be a home whence we shall never remove, when in

¹ See FREMANTLE, pp. 146 f., 329 f.

² This indicates that Augustine regarded their prophecies of the kingdom as spiritual rather than external and eschatological.

perfect health we shall have reached the kingdom of heaven. *On John*, 7. 21: Christ perceived Nathaniel to belong to His church. In *Epistle* 130. 2: While he was still on earth he brought Zaccheus, though rich, into His kingdom.

He deplores the corruption in the church: "For whence exist in the church the great evils under which we groan, save for the impossibility of withstanding the enormous multitude which, almost to the entire subversion of discipline, gain an entrance, with their morals so utterly at variance with the pathway of the saints? . . . He that is least in the kingdom of heaven, as the church now exists, shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven, as the church shall be hereafter, Matt. 5: 19, 20" (*On John*, 122. 7, 9). But the church itself is not corrupted. In *Epistle* 91. 3: Now the churches which are multiplying throughout the world are, as it were, seminaries of public instruction for morality and above all for the worship of God, who commands, and gives grace to perform, all those things by which the soul of man is furnished and fitted for fellowship with God, and for dwelling in the eternal heavenly kingdom. In *Sermons on New Testament Lessons*, 30. 8: Troublous times! such as we are, such are the times. But what can we do? We cannot, it may be, convert the mass of men to a good life. But let the few who do give ear live well, and endure the many who live ill. The corn in the floor has the chaff, but will not have it in the barn. Evils abound in the world, in order that the world may not engage our love. The world itself is good: evil men make it evil. When the Winnowers come, there will be a bodily separation, which a spiritual separation now precedes. In 7. 6: "'Thy will be done' may be understood in many ways. We wish well for our enemies, that they, too, may believe and become Christians." It is sometimes forgotten that this last is a sentiment of Augustine.

In regard to some of the Last Things, he says: All the dead are sleeping; but the good, in joy; the evil, in torments. The church possesses the faithful dead in peaceful sleep (*On John*, 49. 122). The saints shall succeed to the place of the fallen angels, and shall dwell forever in that peaceful abode from which

they fell. After the resurrection and final judgment there will be two kingdoms, Christ's and the devil's, each with its own distinct boundaries, both consisting of angels and of men (*Enchiridion*, 30. 111.) Here Origen's speculation as to universal restoration is excluded.

With all his learning, Augustine remained a learner. In the *Sermons on New Testament Lessons*, 35. 9, he says: An end there will be to all earthly kingdoms. If the end be now, God knoweth. In the *Epistle to Optatus*, 8: "I would rather know when the desire of all nations shall come and when the kingdom of the saints will be, than how my soul came to its earthly abode, much as I desire to know this."

CHAPTER XIX.

CASSIAN.

IN this monk of Bethlehem and of Marseilles we meet with some of the most definite statements concerning the spiritual nature of the kingdom. He was also a leader of the Semi-Pelagians, holding that "the good that we do depends partly on grace and partly on free-will." In a tour of seven years with a friend, Germanus, among the monasteries of Egypt he diligently conferred with their abbots, and many years later wrote his book of twenty-four *Conferences*, which may be in part ideal compositions of Cassian himself. These display an exceptional insight into the kingdom regarded as God's rule in men's souls. While the stress is laid upon the individual side, the primary view of the kingdom as the company of those who have this divine life within them is recognized. His concrete view, usually, however, takes the kingdom as the reward in heaven. In his *Institutes of Monks*, Book 12. 15: "Fixing their gaze on those whom they knew to be really free from sin and already in the enjoyment of eternal bliss in the kingdom of heaven." *On the Incarnation, against Nestorius*, Book 1. 3: "The Pelagians say that men can reach the heavenly kingdom by their own exertions." In Book 3. 12: "It is clear that none can enter the gate of the kingdom save one to whom the key bestowed on the churches is revealed by you (Peter)." In comparison with the church the monastery and convent have naturally a high estimate in Cassian. As generally in the Fathers whose spiritual view of the kingdom is conspicuous, regarding it as an ethical fact and force of eternal validity, there is an almost imperceptible transition to and from the idea of reward in a state of bliss. Alternative meanings are often recognized. The following references are from the *Conferences*.

In the *First Conference of the Abbot Moses*, 3: "The end of our profession is the kingdom of God or the kingdom of heaven; but the immediate aim or goal is purity of heart." In chap. 5:

"The end indeed is eternal life as the apostle declares, Rom. 6. 22: but the immediate goal is purity of heart, which he calls sanctification," etc. In chap. 9 certain notes of a true Christian society are well indicated: "The Lord promises the reward of the kingdom of heaven to these works of mercy, etc., when he says, 'Come, ye blessed,' in Matt. 25: 34. How, then, shall these works be taken away, which admit the doers of them into the kingdom of heaven?" The abbot answers: "Not the reward, but the doing of these things will come to an end. For what you call works of religion and mercy are needful in this life, while these inequalities and differences of condition still prevail; but even here we should not look for them to be performed, unless such a large proportion of poor, needy, and sick folk abounded, which is brought about by the wickedness of men, viz.: of those who have grasped and kept for their own use, without however using them, those things which were granted to all by the Creator of all alike. . . . In the life to come this will give way to the love of God and contemplation, where equality will reign," etc. And that such a "life to come" is conceivable on earth seems to follow from such passages as the following, from chap. 13, on *The Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of the Devil*: "For everything depends on the inward frame of mind, and when the devil has been expelled from this, and sins no longer reign in it, it follows that the kingdom of God is founded in us, as the evangelist says, Luke 17: 20, 21. But nothing else can be 'within you' but knowledge or ignorance of truth, and delight either in vice or in virtue, through which we prepare a kingdom for the devil or for Christ in our heart; and of this the apostle describes the character, when he says, Rom. 14: 17, 'The kingdom of God is not meat and drink,' etc. And so, if the kingdom is within us, and the actual kingdom of God is righteousness and peace and joy, then the man who abides in these is most certainly in the kingdom of God, and, on the contrary, those who live in unrighteousness have their place in the kingdom of the devil, and in hell and death. For by these tokens the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the devil are distinguished."

There follows in the same chapter a shading off of the thought of the kingdom from this vivid sense of it as a present reality, first to the celestial view, then to a threefold aspect of the kingdom in the abstract or formal sense of dominion. "The apostle does not say that every joy is the kingdom of God, but that joy alone which is in the Holy Ghost. . . . The heavenly powers on high, who are truly in the kingdom of God, are in perpetual joy. . . . In fact the kingdom of heaven must be taken in a threefold sense: either that the heavens shall reign, that is, the saints over other things subdued, according to Luke 19:17 and Matt. 19:28; or the heavens themselves shall begin to be reigned over by Christ, when all things are subdued unto him and God begins to be all in all; or else that the saints shall reign in heaven with the Lord."

"Thy kingdom come." The pure heart desires that the kingdom of its Father may come at once, namely: either that whereby Christ reigns day by day in the saints, which comes to pass when the devil's rule is cast out of our hearts and God begins to hold sway by virtues; or else that which is promised in due time to all who are perfect, when Christ will say, "Come, ye blessed of my Father" (*First Conf. of Isaac*, 9. 19). Those cannot see Christ coming in his kingdom who are still in a state of Jewish weakness, not able to say, "Now we know him" (2 Cor. 5:16), but only those who are able to look on him with pure eyes of the soul (*Second Conf. of Isaac*, 6. 10). Those who show a splendid violence, not to others, but to their own soul, by a laudable violence seize upon the kingdom of heaven (*of Abraham* 26. 24). In the *First of Chæremón*, 6. 11, the kingdom is regarded as the reward of virtue, and thus naturally placed lower than virtue itself, God's kingdom in the soul. "Three things enable men to control their faults: (1), a fear of hell or of the laws; (2), the hope and desire of the kingdom of heaven; (3), a liking for goodness itself and the love of virtue."

A passage of singular beauty and significance, recognizing the inherent weakness of the monastic idea, is found in *Pianun*, 16. 18: "Unless our mind is strengthened by the power of his protection who says in the gospel, 'The kingdom of God is

within you,' in vain do we fancy that we can defeat the plots of our airy foe by the aid of men who are living with us, or that we can avoid them by distance of place, or exclude them by the protection of walls. . . . For just as 'The kingdom of God is within you,' so 'A man's foes are they of his own household.' For no one is more my enemy than my own heart, which is truly the one of my household closest to me. Where those of our own household are not opposed to us, there also the kingdom of God is secured in peace of heart."

CHAPTER XX.

LEO THE GREAT AND GREGORY THE GREAT

1. THE references of LEO to the kingdom, in the selection of letters and sermons here considered, are for the most part celestial. He does not apparently think of the church as the kingdom. In *Epistle* 162: "The Catholic faith, that solid rock on which the city of God is built." In *Sermon* 3. 3: Peter is the doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven. In 73. 2: To Peter beyond the rest the care of the Lord's flock is intrusted, in addition to the keys of the kingdom. In 33. 5: Whoso lives religiously in the church is like the heavenly light. Help one another, that in the kingdom of God, which is reached by right faith and good works, you may shine as the sons of light. In 54. 7: He opens the way to heaven, and by the punishment of the cross prepares for you the steps of ascent to the kingdom. In 95. 5: "They shall inherit the earth." This is not distinct from our heavenly dwelling, since it is no other than these who are understood to enter the kingdom of heaven. The "earth" is the flesh of the saints, which will be changed in the resurrection, so as to be in complete harmony with the soul, etc.

In certain passages the kingdom of Christ and of God is regarded as a present reality, but evidently more in the sense of dominion than of the subjects who compose the realm. In *Sermon* 21. 3: "Thou wert rescued from the power of darkness and brought out into God's light and kingdom. Do not again subject thyself to the devil's thralldom." In 66. 7: "Christ, the true light, rescues from the power of darkness and transfers us into the kingdom of the Son of God (Col. 1:13)." In 90. 3: "'Thy kingdom come:' *i. e.* that God may subdue those whom he has not subdued, and make men on earth ministers of his will. In seeking this we love God and also our neighbor: our love has but one object, that the servant may serve and the Lord have rule."

2. Generally reckoned as the last of the Latin Fathers, GREGORY is a century and a half later than Leo. With him the kingdom almost uniformly means heaven, the usual designation being "heavenly kingdom." In *Epistle* 5. 20, on Matt. 16: 19: "He received the keys of the heavenly kingdom, and power to bind and loose is given him; the care and principality of the whole church is committed to him, and yet he is not called the universal apostle." In the *Epistle to Leander*, 1.43: "Keep watch over King Reccared (a Visigoth in Spain), that he may show by his works that he is a citizen of the eternal kingdom, to the end that after a course of many years he may pass from kingdom to kingdom." A similar thought often recurs in the epistles. In the *Pastoral Rule*, Part 3. 15: "In the judgment those who have not wrought good works will sue in vain for entrance into the kingdom."

In the *Catena*, however, occur a number of references which show that he regarded the kingdom as the present church, usually in alternative interpretation, thus: "Or, by the kingdom of heaven is to be understood the present church." In another place: "Or otherwise, the holy church is likened to a net, by which each man is drawn into the heavenly kingdom out of the waves of this present world; the reprobate having lost the light of the inward kingdom are cast forth into the outer darkness. The shore signifies the end of the world; the shore shall discover what the net of the church has brought to land." Here his thought seems to be influenced by Augustine. Perhaps his "inward kingdom" points to God's reign within; but the meaning is somewhat uncertain, as also in *Epistle* 47, to *Dominicus*: "We look to the returning of the Master of the house, after receiving his kingdom, to take account of us."

CHAPTER XXI.

ADDITIONAL REFERENCES FROM THE *CATENA AUREA*.

A. PATRISTIC.

1. CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA (d. 444). "The kingdom of God is within you; that is, it rests with you and your own hearts to receive it."

2. VICTOR OF ANTIOCH (early in the fifth century). One evangelist simply says "to preach," the other added "the kingdom of God," which is Christ himself.

3. PSEUDO-CHRYSOSTOM. The floor is the church, the barn is the kingdom of heaven, the field is the world. "Thine is the kingdom" has reference to "Thy kingdom come;" that none should therefore say, "God has no kingdom on earth."

The kingdom of God is that in which God reigns; it is clear that the kingdom of God is confined neither by place nor by time.

4. PSEUDO-JEROME. "The kingdom of God is the church, which is ruled by God, and herself rules over men, and treads down the powers which are contrary to her," etc.

"For he must repent, who would keep close to eternal good, that is, to the kingdom of God."

5. PSEUDO-AUGUSTINE. "For then cometh the kingdom of God, when we have obtained his grace. For he himself says, 'The kingdom of God is within you.'"

B. POST-PATRISTIC, AS USUALLY RECKONED.

1. BEDE (d. 735). "Or else the present church is called the kingdom of God; and some of the disciples were to see the church built up," etc. (on Mark 9: 1).

"The kingdom of God, that is, the doctrine of the gospel."

"Or the kingdom of God means that he himself is placed in the midst of them, Luke 17: 21, that is, reigning in their hearts by faith." (In his *Church History* Bede constantly speaks of the kingdom in the sense of heaven.)

2. RABANUS MAURUS (d. 856). On Matt. 21:43: "Yet the kingdom of God may be understood by the gentiles, or of the present church, in which the gentiles go before the Jews, because they are more ready to believe."

3. REMIGIUS OF AUXERRE (fl. 880). On Matt. 3:2: The kingdom of heaven has a fourfold meaning: (1) It is said of Christ, as, "The kingdom of God is within you;" (2) of Holy Scripture, as, "The kingdom of heaven shall be taken from you, and given to a nation," etc.; (3) of the holy church, as, "The kingdom of heaven is likened unto ten virgins;" (4) of the abode above, as, "Many shall come . . . and sit down in the kingdom of heaven." And all these significations may be here understood.

He calls the Son of God himself the kingdom of heaven, for he saith: "The kingdom of heaven is like unto a man that sowed good seed."

4. THEOPHYLACT (d. *cir.* 1107). "As if he said, Mark 1:15, 'From this time the kingdom of God will work,' that is, a conversation according to the gospel, which is with reason likened to the kingdom of heaven. For when you see a man living according to the gospel, do you not say that he has the kingdom of heaven, which is not meat and drink, but righteousness, etc. (Rom. 14:17)?"

"When they are healed in their soul, the kingdom of God comes nigh unto them."

Besides these there are many quotations in the *Catena* which give the celestial sense to the kingdom. Together they make it clear that in the transition period between the patristic and scholastic ages, while the general social force of the term is rare, the identification of the kingdom with the church is almost as much in evidence as the conception of it as something inner and spiritual.

CHAPTER XXII.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

IN the preceding chapters the Fathers have told the story of their views of the kingdom of God. In the present chapter we may group around the leading conceptions the names of those who held them, and finally attempt to answer the questions with which we set out in the Introduction.

These conceptions may be considered in the following order:

I. The conception of the kingdom as the Christian society on earth.

II. The eschatological conception: the kingdom as future, to be set up at the second coming of Christ: (*a*) the millennium; (*b*) indefinite—without the millennial idea.

III. The kingdom as celestial.

IV. The kingdom as the church.

V. The kingdom as God's reign in the soul.

VI. The kingdom as the chief good, or some element of it.

I. THE KINGDOM AS THE CHRISTIAN SOCIETY ON EARTH.

IRENÆUS: Unbelievers are outside the kingdom of God. The heavenly kingdom is honorable to those who have known the earthly one.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA: The "violent" take the kingdom by prayer and a good life. The least in the kingdom, *i.e.*, Christ's disciple, is greater than John.

ORIGEN: One is made a disciple to the kingdom of heaven when he becomes a Christian. Christ himself instructs his disciples, and forms them into a kingdom worthy to deliver up to God.

[THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS: Having given the kingdom to you, he expects the fruits of your gratitude and piety.]

THE CLEMENTINE RECOGNITIONS: From the oneness of mind of the beloved the peaceful kingdom of God is constructed.¹

¹ From the context in the *Recognitions* it is doubtful whether the social sense is in mind. See p. 32 above.

TERTULLIAN: It is written, "A kingdom also and priests to his God and Father hath he made us." He awards the kingdom to his disciples as he says it had been appointed to himself by the Father. There is an earthly and a heavenly dispensation.

VICTORINUS: He made us a kingdom, *i. e.*, a church of all believers. The kingdom of Christ is now eternal in the saints, although the glory of the saints shall be manifested after the resurrection.

EPHRAEM SYRUS: Mary says to the magi: "When my Son's kingdom shall arise, may he plant his standard in your country."

GREGORY NAZIANZEN: Baptism is the key of the kingdom of heaven. He is not within the kingdom who merely desires to attain to it (neglecting baptism, etc.).

GREGORY OF NYSSA: To disciples of the Word come the glad tidings that man is no longer outlawed, nor cast out of the kingdom of God, but is once more a son, etc.

CHRYSOSTOM: When the heathen behold in us a good life, they will look upon the very face of the kingdom of heaven, and they too will be reformed. Thus will the kingdom be perfected; earth being transformed into heaven, the kingdom may be already in possession here.

JOHN OF DAMASCUS: The state of those who live according to the divine laws is to be declared the kingdom of God.

HILARY: We are the kingdom which Christ is to deliver up to the Father. The young man was "not far from the kingdom," not yet within it, because he had not confessed Christ as Lord.

AMBROSE: Christ came to earth to prepare a kingdom from among us. We are the kingdom, first of Christ, then of the Father. But they reign together. Where Christ is, there is his kingdom.

AUGUSTINE: That kingdom which we desire may come, the saints proclaim to be coming. We ought to be in his kingdom always, to do his will always. While the devil is bound, the saints reign with Christ during the thousand years between

the first and second coming. What is his kingdom, save those who believe in him? The kingdom of God, though it never departs from the earth, is absent to those who are ignorant of it. The church even now is the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of heaven, in process of being gathered together.

CASSIAN: That kingdom whereby Christ reigns day by day in the saints, when the devil is cast out and God reigns in our hearts. If the kingdom of God is within us, and the actual kingdom of God is righteousness and peace and joy, then the man who abides in these is most certainly in the kingdom of God, etc.

[LEO THE GREAT: Thou wert rescued from the power of darkness, and brought out into God's light and kingdom.]

II. THE KINGDOM TO BE SET UP OR INAUGURATED AT THE SECOND COMING OF CHRIST.

I. *The Millennium*.—Until the middle of the third century millennial views prevailed apparently unchallenged, while frequently, no doubt, existing side by side with the less definite views (see 2 below). The Apocalypse (see above, p. 12) gave a basis for this doctrine, which was first treated in detail by PAPIAS, only a few fragments of his writings having survived. He taught the Jewish tradition of a millennium, saying that after the resurrection Christ would set up a material kingdom on earth, and reign in the flesh with the saints. The pleasures of sense were to be enjoyed, as in the Moslem Paradise, with marvelous vines, each twig bearing ten thousand clusters, etc. This period was to be of long duration; Lightfoot, p. 529, reads ten thousand years. The heretic CERINTHUS, who left no writings, taught similar views earlier, perhaps, than Papias.

We find the millennial expectation in JUSTIN MARTYR, IRENEUS, HIPPLYTUS, the APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS, TERTULLIAN, in whom the doctrine is most fully given,¹ and in LACTANTIUS. The first opponent of the traditional view of the Apocalypse was DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA. He vigorously combated the millennial views as taught by Cerinthus, as did also CAIUS and VIC-

¹ Tertullian makes the millennium a prelude to heaven. See p. 38 f. above.

TORINUS. These views were gradually disavowed by the Fathers, and finally AUGUSTINE threw the case out of court by making the millennium the period between Christ's first and second coming.

2. *Indefinite*—*without the millennial idea*.—This general eschatological view, which we have seen to be the prevailing view of the apostles, was common among the Fathers. While the establishment or at least the consummation of the kingdom is looked for at the end of the present dispensation, it is often left an open question whether the kingdom will then continue on earth or be removed to another stage. This view is thus evidently transitional to that which makes the kingdom definitely celestial, or even now existent in heaven, whither the believer enters at death. A remarkable blending of the two is found in the apocryphal *Vision of John*: "The whole world and Paradise shall be made one, and the righteous shall be on the face of all the earth with my angels, as in Ps. 37: 29."

Here we find certain utterances of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, METHIDIUS, the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS, the CLEMENTINES, CYPRIAN, VICTORINUS, COMMODIANUS, APHRAHAT and AUGUSTINE.

Others of the Fathers without doubt held similar opinions; and, as usual, these views are frequently expressed with others more definite or even at variance with them.

III. THE KINGDOM AS CELESTIAL.

Where the kingdom of God is regarded simply as heaven, the present celestial world, it marks a departure from the New Testament conception, in both the social and eschatological forms, in that the kingdom is taken away from the earth. But the later epistles probably supply a point of departure even for this view, as 2 Pet. 1: 11; 2 Tim. 4: 18. Moreover, it is commonly the case that several distinct conceptions of the kingdom are held together, so that the view of it as celestial may be only additional or supplementary to the writer's prevailing view.

The thought of the kingdom as the state of bliss in heaven is much more general than any other single opinion about it in

the Fathers. It occurs with greater or less emphasis in all the important writers, and in some of them is conspicuous, as in several of the apostolic Fathers, the *Liturgies* as a whole, CYRIL, EUSEBIUS, and GREGORY THE GREAT. The scriptural reference most often quoted is Matt. 25 : 34,¹ being commonly understood as a summons to the righteous to enter and enjoy the felicity of heaven. As a rule, those who regard most highly the spiritual and ethical elements of the kingdom think the less about it as a celestial reward. This is noticeable in CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, CYPRIAN, ATHANASIUS, GREGORY NAZIANZEN, AMBROSE, CHRYSOSTOM, AUGUSTINE, and others.

IV. THE KINGDOM AS THE CHURCH.

The *Shepherd of Hermas*, while not expressly identifying the kingdom of God with the church, seems in some instances to use the terms interchangeably. His influence can be traced in the patristic age through the *Clementine Recognitions*, HILARY, and perhaps others, to AUGUSTINE himself, by whom the identification of church and kingdom is elaborately wrought out. It is well known what a vast influence this conception has exerted, especially in the church of Rome. It has, no doubt, a point of attachment in the great commission to Peter (*cf.* Introduction, II). The relation of the church to the kingdom is very differently expressed in different Fathers, and in the same writer the two are sometimes distinguished from each other in one passage and made substantially identical in another. There is no uniform usage.

A few citations will recall the various points of view. ORIGEN: We are even in the present life placed in the church, in which is the form of that kingdom which is to come. CYPRIAN: He cannot be a martyr who is not in the church; he cannot attain unto the kingdom who forsakes that which shall reign there. CHRYSOSTOM: In Egypt Christ's kingdom shines forth in its brightness. AMBROSE: The kingdom of the church shall remain forever, because its faith is undivided in one body. AUGUSTINE: Although at times the church, even that which now

¹ *Cf.* tables on p. 107.

is, is called the kingdom of heaven, it is because it is being gathered together for a future and eternal life.

V. THE KINGDOM AS GOD'S REIGN IN THE SOUL.

This important conception centers in Luke 17:21, "The kingdom of God is within you." It is thus uniformly rendered in the Fathers, and often associated with Deut. 30:11-13. In modern times it has occasionally been translated, "The kingdom of God is among you," partly on the ground that the words were addressed to the Pharisees; partly on the ground that the great thought involved is not definitely found elsewhere in Christ's teaching about the kingdom. But the reference of the words is general, not applied especially to the Pharisees: the Fathers seem rightly to understand them as addressed "to the apostles," "to us." Among the Fathers who quote and treat this passage are ORIGEN, TERTULLIAN, CYPRIAN, ATHANASIUS, BASIL, GREGORY OF NYSSA, HILARY, AMBROSE, JEROME, AUGUSTINE, and CASSIAN.

It is of great significance that such marked stress is laid upon this inner, spiritual phase of the kingdom. As the kingdom depends directly upon the divine life in renewed souls, it is hardly conceivable that a just, well-balanced idea of the kingdom could have existed without such a word of Christ. That it has prevented one-sided views of the kingdom as the church, or as heaven, from becoming too prevalent, seems evident.

VI. THE KINGDOM AS THE CHIEF GOOD, OR SOME ELEMENT OF IT.

Not only has the prayer "Thy kingdom come" been interpreted as a petition for all blessings and rewards, present and future, but there is hardly a good thing within the gift of God which has failed of being identified, or at least named, with the kingdom. Thus Christ himself is identified with the kingdom by TERTULLIAN, CYPRIAN, HILARY, JEROME, AUGUSTINE, VICTOR OF ANTIOCH, and essentially by several others. METHODIUS calls the kingdom eternal life; CHRYSOSTOM, love; AMBROSE, redemption; GREGORY NAZIANZEN, the vision of God uniting himself with the soul; the CLEMENTINES, "God has concealed the kingdom, as a hid treasure"; PSEUDO-JEROME, eternal good. The kingdom is thought of as in a sense the state of salvation,

by IRENÆUS, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, the *Clementine Recognitions*, and AUGUSTINE. Cf. also CYRIL. These definitions, it may be noted, are quite in the spirit of Rom. 14: 17 and 1 Cor. 4: 20, and are as a rule, with many others cited in the preceding pages, referable to a Scriptural source.

We may now recur to the questions at the beginning: To the first, What was understood by the "kingdom of God" in the early Christian centuries? the Fathers of the church have been summoned to give answer in their own words. The second, To what extent was the New Testament usage followed, and wherein was it departed from? may be partly answered by referring to the tables of Scriptural quotations at the end; partly by bearing in mind the general tenor of interpretation on the subject by the Fathers. Is there not, on the whole, considering the extreme complexity of the conception, the kingdom of God, a surprising conformity to the teaching of Scripture? There may be vagaries of a Tertullian, a Lactantius, an Origen, in their speculations; but it may be questioned whether any great Christian doctrine has suffered less in its transmission through the age of the Fathers. And the impression grows rather than lessens, that where the New Testament usage was departed from by the Fathers on this theme, it was more a development of doctrine, in the light of Providence and the Spirit's guidance, than a perversion of the truth.

This leads to the final question: Did the Fathers on the whole preserve the great idea and hand it down, or did they lose it? The former of these alternatives seems the correct one. When we remember that whether Christ himself changed his view of the kingdom during his ministry, in any case his teaching about it not only varied widely, but emphasized "the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven;" that the apostles' view already indicates that distinct progress in the conception had been made; that in the vicissitudes of the centuries following, the Fathers adhere, to an extent somewhat remarkable, to the language and spirit of the New Testament; we can hardly charge them with having lost the great idea of the kingdom of God.

SCRIPTURAL QUOTATIONS.

THE 1,410 Scriptural references to the kingdom which are made by the Fathers in their writings under consideration are distributed in 26 books, including three of the Apocrypha, 86 chapters, and 143 verses. Of the verses 118 are in the New Testament, 21 in the Old Testament, and 4 in the Apocrypha. Of the whole number of quotations, 745, or nearly 53 per cent. are from Matthew. Forty-two verses are quoted ten times or more each, as follows :

	Times		Times
Matt. 25:34 - - - -	95	Dan. 7:14 - - - -	23
John 3:5 - - - -	68	Matt. 13:52 - - - -	19
Matt. 6:10 - - - -	54	1 Cor. 6:9 - - - -	19
Matt. 6:33 - - - -	49	Matt. 3:2 - - - -	18
1 Cor. 15:50 - - - -	46	Matt. 5:10 - - - -	17
1 Cor. 6:10 - - - -	41	Matt. 19:24 - - - -	16
1 Cor. 15:24 - - - -	39	Rom. 14:17 - - - -	16
Matt. 5:3 - - - -	38	Matt. 4:17 - - - -	15
Matt. 19:12 - - - -	38	Matt. 8:12 - - - -	15
Gal. 5:21 - - - -	32	Matt. 13:11 - - - -	15
Col. 1:13 - - - -	32	Eph. 5:5 - - - -	15
Matt. 5:20 - - - -	31	Luke 1:33 - - - -	14
John 18:36 - - - -	27	Luke 9:62 - - - -	14
Matt. 8:11 - - - -	26	Ps. 22:28 - - - -	14
Matt. 16:19 - - - -	25	Matt. 21:31 - - - -	12
Matt. 5:19 - - - -	24	Acts 1:6 - - - -	12
Matt. 11:12 - - - -	24	Matt. 11:11 - - - -	11
Matt. 7:21 - - - -	23	Matt. 12:25 - - - -	11
Matt. 13:43 - - - -	23	Matt. 16:28 - - - -	11
Luke 17:21 - - - -	23	Matt. 18:3 - - - -	11
Ps. 45:6 - - - -	23	John 3:3 - - - -	11

The following twenty-six verses are quoted once each :

Numb. 24:7	Mark 1:15	Luke 19:11
Ps. 145:11	Mark 4:30	Luke 22:16
Dan. 4:3	Mark 10:24	Acts 8:12
Dan. 4:25	Mark 11:10	Acts 20:25
Dan. 6:26	Luke 8:1	Acts 28:23
1 Esdr. 4:40	Luke 9:11	2 Pet. 1:11
Wisd. 5:17	Luke 10:9	Rev. 5:10
2 Macc. 7:9	Luke 10:11	Rev. 11:15
Matt. 4:23	Luke 18:17	

Ante-Nicene Fathers whose writings, largely fragmentary, contain no reference to the kingdom of God.

Alexander of Cappadocia	Pamphilus
Alexander of Lycopolis	Pantænus
Anatolius	Phileas
Apollonius	Pierius
Aristo of Pella	Polycrates of Ephesus
Arnobius	Quadratus of Athens
Asterius Urbanus	Rhodon
Bardesan	Serapion of Antioch
Callistus	Theognostus
Claudius Apollinaris	Theonas
Dionysius of Corinth	Theophilus of Cæsarea
Malchion	Urban I.
Maximus of Jerusalem	Zephyrinus

INDEX OF REFERENCES* TO THE KINGDOM IN THE WORKS OF THE FATHERS UNDER CONSIDERATION.

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS.

(Total, 57.)

CLEMENT OF ROME: Ep. to the Corinthians, ch. 42, 50, (54)—3.

THE "SECOND EPISTLE OF CLEMENT," ch. 5, 6, 9, 11, 12,² (17)—7.

EPISTLE OF BARNABAS, ch. 4, 7, 8,² 21—5.

THE DIDACHÉ, ch. 8, 9, 10—3.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS: Judah, 22, 24; Joseph, 19; Benjamin, 9—4.

THE SHEPHERD OF HERMAS, Similitude, 9, ch. 12,⁴ 13, 15,⁵ 20,² 29, 31²—15.

IGNATIUS: Ep. to the Ephesians, 16; to the Philippians, 3; Martyrdom, 2; Spurious

Ep. to the Tarsians, 7; to the Antiochians, 14; to Hero, Introd.—6.

POLYCARP: Ep. to the Philippians, 2, 5—2.

PAPIAS, Fragments: In Euseb., Ch. Hist., 3, 39, 12; in Irenæus, Heresies, B. 5, ch. 33; in Photius (Lightfoot, Apos. F., p. 534). Cf. Maximus the Confessor in Lightf., p. 534, and Jerome, Illus. Men, 18—3.

ARISTIDES: Apology, 16—1.

EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS, ch. 9, 10—2.

MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP (Ep. of the Smyrnæans), ch. 20, 22²—3.

RELIQUES OF THE ELDERS IN IRENÆUS: In B. 4, ch. 27, 1—28, 1.

THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS AFTER THE APOSTOLIC.

GREEK.

JUSTIN MARTYR—Total, 36.

First Apology, ch. 11, 15,³ 16, 32, 61. Dialogue with Trypho, ch. 31,⁴ 32, 34, 38, 39, 45, 51,² 56, 63, 68, 76,³ (79), 105, 116, 117, 118, 120,³ 139, 140.² Fragment from Methodius on the Resurrection, in Photius.

IRENÆUS—Total, 106.

Against Heresies, B. 1, ch. 6, sec. 3; ch. 8, 3;² ch. 30, 13; B. 2, ch. 28, 3; ch. 32, 1; B. 3, ch. 6, 1; ch. 9, 2; ch. 11, 8; ch. 12, 13; ch. 16, 4; ch. 21, 4; ch. 21, 8; B. 4, ch. 8, 1,⁴ ch. 9, 1; ch. 13, 1; ch. 16, 1; ch. 18, 6; ch. 20, 5, 10,² 11,³ 12; ch. 21, 1; ch. 22, 2; ch. 24, 2; ch. 25, 3; ch. 27, 1, 2, 4;³ ch. 28, 2; ch. 29, 1; ch. 33, 11; ch. 34, 3; ch. 38, 6;² ch. 37, 7;² ch. 40, 2;⁴ B. 5, ch. 9, 1,² 3,³ 4;⁵ ch. 10, 1, 2;² ch. 11, 1,⁵ 2; ch. 12, 3; ch. 13, 2, 5; ch. 14, 1, 4; ch. 25, 3; ch. 26, 1,² 2; ch. 27, 1; ch. 28, 1; ch. 30, 4;² ch. 32, 1; ch. 33, 1, 2, 3;² ch. 34, 2,² 3; ch. 35, 1,² 2;³ ch. 36, 2, 3.³ Fragments: Frag. 9, 34, 36,² (42, repetition of 9), 50, 54, 55.²

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA—Total, 78.

Exhortation to the Heathen, ch. 1, 9,³ 10,² 11.³ The Instructor, B. 1, ch. 5;⁴ B. 2, ch. 1,³ 2, 3, 11, 13; B. 3, ch. 4, 7,² 11,⁴ 12. Miscellanies, B. 1, ch. 11; B. 2, ch. 19,² 20; B. 3, ch. 4,² 6,³ 7, 18;² B. 4, ch. 2, 6, 8, 17, 18; B. 5, ch. 1, 3, 12;² B. 6, ch. 11, 15; B. 7, ch. 12, 14, 16, 17. Who is the Rich Man that is Saved? sec. 2, 3, 4,³ 5, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21,² 24, 26, 29, 30, 31,² 32,² 42. Fragments, in Vol. 24, pp. 156, 169.

*When not otherwise described, references to pages are to the Clark and Christian Literature Company translations.

HIPPOLYTUS—Total, 51.

Refutation of All Heresies, B. 5, ch. 2, 3,⁶ 4; B. 8, ch. 3; B. 9, ch. 4; B. 10, ch. 30. On Christ and Anti-Christ, 5, 22, 26, 44, 59, 65. Against the Jews, 7. Against the Greeks, 1, 3. Against Noetus, 6. Fragments: On Genesis, p. 415, 422,² Vol. 6 (in Jerome, Ep. 36). (On Song of Sol., 440.) On Daniel, 446, 447, 460, 461,² 467,³ 468, 473, 474, 483, sec. 4.³ From a Homily quoted in Theodoret, Vol. 9, Pt. 2, p. 90. Disputed Writings, p. 104, 116, 122, 125,² 126,⁴ 127.²

ORIGEN—Total, 195.

On First Principles, B. 1, ch. 3, 6;² ch. 6, 2;² ch. 7, 5;³ B. 2, ch. 3, 1, 3, 7;³ ch. 10, 3;² ch. 11, 2, 6; B. 3 (ch. 1, 16, Lat.); ch. 6, 9; B. 4 (ch. 1, 2, Lat.), (3), 23 (25, Lat.). From the Commentary on John, B. 1, ch. 10, 23, 37,² 40,² 41; B. 10, ch. 1,² 8, 9, 10,² 11, 15, 16,² 28. From the Commentary on Matthew, B. 10, ch. 1,⁴ 2,⁴ 3,⁴ 4,⁴ 5,³ 6,⁴ 7, 8, 11,³ 12,⁴ 13, 14,¹² 15,⁴ 16, 23; B. 11, ch. 4,³ 16;² B. 12, ch. 11,² 14,¹⁰ 31,³ 32,² (33), 34,⁴ 35;⁶ B. 13, ch. 9, 14, 15,⁸ 16, 17, 18,³ 19,⁴ 25, 31; B. 14, ch. 7,⁷ 8, (12), 13,⁴ 14. Against Celsus, B. 1, ch. 6, 39, 56,³ (60), 66;³ B. 2, ch. 5, 38, 63, 78;² B. 3, ch. 40, 47, 59; B. 4, ch. 3,³ 10, 42;² B. 5, ch. 19, 58; B. 6, ch. 16,² 17, (31), 46; B. 7, ch. 23; B. 8, ch. 5, 11,⁶ 13, 38, 41, (68).

METHODIUS—Total, 20.

Banquet of the Ten Virgins, Dis. 1, ch. 1; Dis. 2, ch. 7; Dis. 6, ch. 3; Dis. 7, ch. 3, 5, 8; Dis. 8, ch. 4; Dis. 9, ch. 2. On the Resurrection, (ch. 3²), 13.³ In Summary by Photius, 5² (6³ is repetition). Oration on Simeon and Anna, ch. 13.² Oration on the Palms, ch. 5.³

THE APOCRYPHAL WRITINGS—Total, 30.

Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, ch. 9. History of Joseph the Carpenter, ch. 8, 26. Gospel of Nicodemus, Pt. 1. The Acts of Pilate, first Gk. form, ch. 3, 10, 11 (the same three in Lat. form); second Gk. form, ch. 3,² (ch. 9,² 11, Cæsar's Kingdom); Lat. form, ch. 14, Pt. 2. The Descent of Christ into Hades, first Lat. form, ch. 10 (second Lat. form, ch. 4). Narrative of Joseph of Arimathea, ch. 3,² 5.

NOTE.—The remainder of the references in the Apocryphal Writings, being without sectional divisions, are given according to the pages in Vol. 16 of the Clark edition of the Fathers.

The Avenging of the Savior, 254; The Acts of Peter and Paul, (260), 272, 275; Acts of Philip, 313; Acts and Martyrdom of Andrew, 339;² Acts of Andrew and Matthias, 352; Acts of Peter and Andrew, 371; (Acts and Martyrdom of Matthew, 374); Acts of Thomas, 402,² 410; Martyrdom of Bartholomew, 434; Acts of Thaddeus, 442; Acts of John, (448), 449; (Revelation of Moses, 465); Revelation of Paul, 479, 492; Revelation of John, 496 (502).

THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS—Total, 34.

B. 1, ch. 1; B. 2, ch. 6, 35, 55; B. 3, ch. 12,² 18;² B. 5, ch. 1, 4, 14, 16;⁴ B. 6, ch. 12, 15, 30; B. 7, ch. 24, 25, 26,² 32,² 35, 38, 41,² 43; B. 8, ch. 7, 10, 12, 15.²

THE CLEMENTINES—Total, 86.

A.—The Homilies (in Vol. 17): Hom. 1, ch. 6; Hom. 2, ch. 19,² 40; Hom. 3, ch. 5, 8, 18,² 19, 26, 28, (62); Hom. 8, ch. 21, 23; Hom. 9, ch. 3, 4, 6;² Hom. 10, ch. 13, 25; Hom. 11, ch. 26; Hom. 13, ch. 8, 14, 20, 21;² Hom. 15, ch. 7; Hom. 18, ch. 15, 16, 17;² Hom. 19, ch. 20; Hom. 20, ch. 2.³ The so-called Epistles: To James, ch. 11, (13), 14, 17; On Virginity (in Vol. 14), ch. 1, 2,³ 3,² 4, 9.

B.—The Recognitions (in Vol. 3), B. 1, ch. 6, 11, 24,² 42, 45, 49, 51,² 52,² 54,² 63, 69;² B. 2, ch. 20,³ 21,² 22, 28, 30, 46; B. 3, ch. 20, 28, 29, 38, 53, 54,² 67; B. 5, ch. 8, 9,² 10, 11, 12, 18; B. 6, ch. 9; B. 8, ch. 5; (B. 9, ch. 3); B. 10, ch. 2, 44, 45.

THE LITURGIES—Total, 20.

Of James, 36, 38, 43, 44, 49; of Mark, 4, 5,² 15,² 17, 18; of the Holy Apostles, 13, 16, 18,² 19, 20.³

MINOR ANTE-NICENE GREEK FATHERS.

(Total, 50.)

MELITO: Frag. on Faith, p. 127.

HEGESIPPUS (in Eusebius, Ch. Hist., 3, 20, 6): On the Relatives of Christ.

THEOPHILUS OF ANTIOCH (in Vol. 3): To Autolytus, 1, ch. 3.

CAIUS (in Eusebius, Ch. Hist., 3, 28, 2): Against Proclus.

DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA: On the Promises, 1, 3, 4; Ep. to Fabius, 5, 10.

JULIUS AFRICANUS: On Persian Chronology, p. 198.

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS: Among the dubious writings, Twelve Topics on the Faith, Topic 12;² First Homily, p. 118, 119; Hom. 2, p. 128; Hom. 4, p. 147, 148.

ARCHELAUS: Disputation with Manes, ch. 13,² 21, 23,² 24,⁶ 25,² 33, 37, 40, 49.

PETER OF ALEXANDRIA: Canonical Epistle, Canon 5, 8,² 9.

ATHENAGORAS: Plea for the Christians, ch. 18.

"Selections from the Prophetic Scriptures" (Anon.). (In Vol. 24.) Sec. 12, p. 120.

Syriac Documents: Teaching of Addæus, p. 30. Epistle, 132. Hom. by Mar Jacob, pp. 116, 120, 125. Martyrdom of the Holy Confessors, p. 145.

LATIN.

TERTULLIAN—Total, 161.

A.—Catholic Writings (before 202 A. D.): A Prescription Against Heretics, 13, 22. On Prayer, 5,⁴ 6,² 9. On Baptism, 13, 20. On Spectacular Shows, 30. On Patience, 11, 13. On Idolatry, 9, (12), 18. On Woman's Dress, 9,² To his Wife, 6, 8.

B.—Montanistic Writings: Against Marcion, B. 3, ch. 4, 7,² 20, 21,² 23, 24;⁷ B. 4, ch. 8, 14,⁵ 18² (*v.* footnote, p. 249 f.), 21, 23,² 24,³ 25, 26,³ 29,³ 30,⁸ 33,⁶ 35,⁷ 39⁸ (*v.* footnote, p. 365). B. 5, ch. 9, 10,¹⁵ 14. Against Praxeas, 4,² 13, 26. On the Scorpion's Bite, 6, 9, (10), 13. Exhortation to Chastity, 7. Answer to the Jews, 6,² 14.² On the Soul, 39, 55. On Flight in Persecution, 12. On the Flesh of Christ, 4. On the Resurrection of the Flesh, 26,² 27, 32, 33,⁴ 36, 41, 48, 49,⁷ 50,⁹ 51.³ On Fasting, 15,² On Monogamy, 3, 7, 8. On Modesty, 1, 14, 16,³ 17,² 21.²

CYPRIAN—Total, 142.

(His Life and Passion, by Pontius the Deacon, p. xxiv, Vol. 8.)—Epistles: Ep. 6, 5; Ep. 7, 7; Ep. 25, 3, 4; Ep. 26, 1; Ep. 51, 27; Ep. 54, 4; Ep. 55, 10; Ep. 61, 5; Ep. 62, 9,² 14; Ep. 69, 7; Ep. 71, 1; Ep. 72, (11), 16, 21, 22; Ep. 73, 9; Ep. 76, 2, 6,² 7²; Ep. 78, 2; Ep. 80, 2, 4. On the Dress of Virgins, 4, 5, 21, 23. On the Lapsed, 12. On the Unity of the Church, 4, 6, 14,³ 15, 19, 27. On the Lord's Prayer, 1, 7, 12, 13,¹⁴ 16, 19, 21,² 24, 30, 36. To Demetrianus, 20, 25. On the Pestilence, 2,² 18,² 22,² 26.² On Works and Alms, 4, 7, 8, 9,³ 13, 21, 22, 23, 26.

On the Advantage of Patience, 8, 15. On Jealousy and Envy, 12, 15, 18.² Exhortation to Martyrdom, 6, 7, 11, 12,² 13.² Testimony Against the Jews. Topic 23, B. 1, ch. 12, (15²), 23;³ B. 2, ch. 6, 10, (11²), 15, 26, 29,² 30; B. 3, ch. 1,² 11,² 16,² 25, 69; B. 4, ch. 19,² 20, 25,² 32, 44, 52, 60, 64, 65, 69, 96.² On the Glory of Martyrdom, 16, 18, 22, 24. On Chastity, 1, 6. Exhortation to Repentance, p. 269. Seventh Council of Carthage, 256 A. D., pp. 202, 203, 206. Vol. 13.

VICTORINUS—Total, 10.

Commentary on the Apocalypse: (On 1:5.) On 1:6. On 1:16. On 5:8, 9. On 7:2. On 14:15. On 15:2. On 19:11. On 20:8–10. On 21:16 f. (Cf. "Kingdom of Anti-Christ" *passim*.)

LACTANTIUS—Total 28.

The Divine Institutes, B. 1, ch. 5, 7, 11; B. 2, ch. 11; B. 4, ch. 4, 7, 12,⁴ 13,³ 20;³ B. 5, ch. 3, (6, 7, 8); B. 7, ch. 6, 19, 23, 26. Epitome, 42, 47,² 67, 72.² On the Way in which Persecutors Died, 16.

MINOR ANTE-NICENE LATIN FATHERS.

(Total, 12.)

MINUCIUS FELIX: Octavius, 18.

COMMODIANUS: Instructions in favor of Christian Discipline. To the Gentiles, 33. To the Jews, 38, 73.

NOVATIUS: On the Trinity, 10. On Jewish Meats, 5.

Treatise on Rebaptism (Anon.), 3, 9.²

By the Pseudo-Isidorus: Of Pontianus, p. 239. Of Anterus, 246. Of Fabian, 261.

THE NICENE AND POST-NICENE FATHERS.

GREEK.

EUSEBIUS—Total, 46.

(Prolog., p. 72.) Church History, B. 1, ch. 2, sec. 26;² ch. 3, 14; B. 2, ch. 14, 6; ch. 22, 5; B. 3, ch. 20, 6; ch. 24, 3; ch. 28, 2, 4, 5; ch. 37, 1; ch. 39, 12; B. 6, ch. 7, 2; ch. 41, 14; ch. 42, 5; B. 7, ch. 24, 5; ch. 25, 3,² 11; B. 8; ch. 4, 3; ch. 13, 1, 2. The Martyrs of Palestine, ch. 7, 1; ch. 11, 23. The Life of Constantine, ch. 3, sec. 15. (Cf. 4, 48.) (Oration of Constantine, ch. 19.) Oration of Eusebius on the Thirtieth Anniversary of Constantine's Reign, ch. 1, 6; ch. 2, 1,³ 4;² ch. 3, 2;² ch. 4, 1;⁴ ch. 5, 2, 5;⁴ ch. 6, 18; ch. 12, 4; ch. 17, 13, 18.

ATHANASIUS—Total, 68.

(Prolog. 21, 33, 36, 44, 62, 69, 74.) Against the Heathen, Pt. 2, ch. 30, 1, 2; ch. 37, 4. On the Incarnation of the Word, ch. 56, 3; ch. 57, 3. (Statement of Faith, 1.) On Luke 10:22, sec. 6. Defense Against the Arians, ch. 3, 47.² Defense of the Nicene Definition, ch. 4, 17. On the Opinion of Dionysius, 10. Life of Antony, 17,² 20,³ 45, 94. Defense of his Flight, 1. History of the Arians, 79. Four Discourses Against the Arians: Dis. 1, 12, 46,³ 47,² 48, 49,² 61; Dis. 2, 13,² 18, 52,² 61, 70, 76. (Pref. to Dis. 4.)² On the Synods, 25, 26,⁴ 49.² Letter to the Church at Antioch, 7. To the Bishops of Africa, 11. Letters, Easter of A. D. 330, 2, 7. (Of 332, 4, 3.) Of 333, 5, 3, 6. Of 334, 6, 1, 11, 12. Of 335, 7, 8,³ 10. Of 338, 10, 4, 5. Of 339, 11, 1, 6. Of 341, 13, 4.² Of 342, 14, 5. Of 368 (Ep. 40).² Of 371 (Ep. 43). Second to Lucifer (Ep. 51). To Serapion (Ep. 54).

EPHRAEM SYRUS—Total, 21.

From his Testament, p. 134. Nisibene Hymns, 36, 15 and 58, 9. On the Nativity, 1, 2, 4,² 7; 13, 3; 17, 1, 14. Hymns for the Feast of Epiphany, sec. 1, 8; sec. 5, 8, 9; sec. 7, 25; sec. 10, 9, 10; sec. 15, 11, 42, 52. Hymn on the Pearl (of the Faith), sec. 1, 1; sec. 4, 4. Homilies: On our Lord, 1,³ 51, 54. On Admonition and Repentance, 7. On the Sinful Woman, 5, 8, 15.

APHRAHAT—Total, 43.

Demonstrations: Of Faith, 20. Of Wars, 6,² 10, 14,³ (16), 21,³ 22,² 23,⁸ 24,⁹ Of Monks, 1,² 6, 18. On the Resurrection, 18, 21,² 22.² On Persecution, 21.² Of Death and the Latter Times, 24.³

BASIL—Total, 26.

Prolog. (26, 34), 51, 56, 57,³ 64. On the Spirit, ch. 15, 36 (*v. notes*, pp. 22, 28), ch. 29, 72.² Letters: To the Caesareans, sec. 7,⁶ 8, 12³ (*v. note*, p. 122). To Macarius and John, Ep. 18. To a Lapsed Monk, Ep. 44. To the Deaconesses, Ep. 105. To the Alexandrians, Ep. 139. To Bishops of the Sea Coast, Ep. 203. To Amphilocheus, Ep. 226, 3. To Bishops of Italy and Gaul, Ep. 243, 3 (*v. notes*, pp. 195, 250).

CYRIL OF JERUSALEM—Total, 53.

(Prolog. 16, 22, 32, 33, 47, 48, 60.) Procatachesis, 16. Catechetical Lectures, 1, 2; 2, 19;² 3, 4,² 8,² 10 (*v. note*, p. 20); 4, 15;² 6, 7; 7, 16; 8, 5² (*v. note*, p. 58); 11, 16;² 12, 18,² (23), 24;² 13, 30, 31; 14, 26; 15, 1² (*v. note*, p. 104), 2, 8, 17, 23, 26,² 27,⁵ 28, 31, 32,² 33;² 16, 20; 17, 11, 15, 27; 18, 28; 21, 2; 23, 13.⁴

GREGORY NAZIANZEN—Total, 17.

In Defense of his Flight to Pontus, 70. On his Father's Silence, 9, 19. On the Son, 17. Second on the Son, 4.² On the Holy Spirit, 28. On the Words of the Gospel, 20, 21 (*v. note*, p. 345). Oration on the Holy Lights, 16. On Holy Baptism, 3, 22,² 24, 45. The Last Farewell, 14. Epistle 4, Div. 2 (in answer to Ep. 14 of Basil).

GREGORY OF NYSSA—Total, 28.

Against Eunomius, B. 1, 42; B. 2, 11; B. 3, 2; B. 4, 2, 3, 9; B. 6, 4;³ B. 9, 3; B. 11, 3,² 5; B. 12, 1. Answer to Eunomius, B. 2, p. 296² (*v. note*, p. 256). On the Holy Spirit, pp. 321, 329.³ On Virginity, 12. On the Early Deaths of Infants, p. 374.² On Pilgrimages, p. 382.² On the Making of Man, (17, 2); 18, 9; 21, 4. On the Baptism of Christ, p. 519.

CHRYSOSTOM—Total, 694.

On the Priesthood, B. 3, 5. Letter to the Fallen Theodore, Ep. 1, 9,⁴ 12,² 15, 16, 19. Letter to a Young Widow, 3, 7. Homily on Ignatius, 4. Instructions to Catechumens, 1, 1,⁴ 3, 4; 2, 1. On Resisting the Temptations of the Devil, Hom. 3, 2, 3,² Against Marcionists and Manichæans, 2, 4.² On the Paralytic, 3. Second Homily on Eutropius, 6,³ 12, 15,² 16.³ Letter to Olympias, 3.² On the Statues, Hom. 2, 17, 24; 5, 3, 9, 12;² 6, 7; 7, (3), 4;³ 9, 11; 12, 17; 15, 2, 16; 16, 13,² 17;² 17, 15; 19, 15; 20, 24; 21, 20.

On Matthew: Hom. 1, (8, 12); 3, 9; 4, 16, 17;² 6, 1, (2), 9; 8, 6; 9, 8,² 10; 10, 2,² 3,² 5,² 6; 11, 3, 7; 13, 6, 8; 14, 2,² 4; 15, 2, 5, 7,³ 8; 16, 5,⁵ 6,³ 10,³ 17;² 18, 9;³ 19, 7, 10;⁴ 22, 2, 4;² 23, 9; 24, 1, 3;³ 26, 2,⁴ 4,² 5,⁵ 6;³ 27, 6,² 28, 6; 30, 6; 32, 2, 3, 6;³ 33, 7;² 35, 7; 37, 3,² 4, 5; 38, 1; 40, 3,² 4, 5; 41, (1³), 2,⁴ 4, 6; 43, 3, 7; 45, 1,² 3;

46, 1, 2,³ 3; 47, 1,⁷ 2,² 3,² 5,² 48, 9; 54, 3,² 9; 55, 8; 56, 1,³ 3, 9;² 57, 6,³ 58, 3,⁴ 4; 60, 2; 61, 1, 2,² 62, 3,² 4,² 6; 63, 2,³ 4,² 64, 1,² 3, 4; 65, 1, 2,² (3), 5; 66, 3,² 5; 67, 3; 68, 1, 3,² 5; 69, 1, (2), 4; 70, 2; 71, 1,³ 73, 1; 76, 5; 78, 1,³ 4; 79, 1,³ 2,⁸ 82, 2,² (3); 86, 1; 87, 2; 88, 1,² 3; 90, 4. On John: Hom. 3, 3, 6; 7, 2; 13, 4; 21, 1; 23, 3; 24, 2,⁴ 3,² 25, 1,⁴ 3; 26, 1; 28, 2,² 31, 1; 33, 3; 36, 2; 38, 4, 5; 42, 3,² 43, 2; 44, 1, 2; 45, 2, 3,² 48, 3; 49, 3; 51, 3,³ 54, 2, 4,² 59, 3, 4; 60, 4, 6; 63, 3,³ 64, 4; 65, 3; 66, 2,² 67, 1; 70, 1; 77, 1; 78, 4; 79, 1, 2, 5,² 83, 4,⁴ 84, 1,³ 2, 3; 85, 1,³ 87, 3,² 88, 3. On Acts: Hom. 1,⁴ 2,² 4, 6,⁷ (*v. note*, p. 46), 9, 13, 15, 16,² 17, 18,² 19, 23,² 24,² 29, 30, 31,² (*v. note*, p. 202), 36,² 40, 41,⁷ 43, 44, 45,³ 55,⁴ (*v. note*, p. 326). On Romans: Hom. 1, 3,⁴ 5,² 7, 9,⁴ 11,² 12,² 14,⁵ 15,⁸ 16³ (*v. note*, p. 478), 18,² 21, 23,³ 25,³ 26,⁵ 29, 30, 31 (*v. notes*, pp. 539, 543, 549, 561). On 1 Cor.: Hom. 2, 9,² (*v. note*, p. 8); 2, 11; 3, 5,³ 9; 4, 11; 5, 5, 6, 11; 7, 2; 9, 1, 10; 12, 5; 14, 3,² 5;² 15, 5, 6, 10, 11, 15,² 16, 8,⁵ 11; 18, 1,² 19, 7; (21, 4); 23, 8; (*v. notes*, pp. 139, 140); 27, 6, 7; 30, 9, (*v. note*, p. 196); 35, 11; 37, 3, 6; 39, 5, 6,³ 8,³ 9,² 11;⁵ 40, 1, 5,³ 41, 4; 42, 2,³ 3, 5; 43, 6,² 44, 7. On 2 Cor.: Hom. 3, 4, (5); 4, 7; 7, 8; 8, 4; 9, 2,² 4; 10, 2, 4, 5; 11, 4, 5, 6,² 13, 4,³ 19, 4,² 23, 1, 8; 26, 2, 4; 5; 29, 6,² 30, 4. On Gal., ch. 2; ch. 5.³ On Eph.: Hom. 1,² 3, 4,¹¹ 5, 8,² 13, 16,² 18,² 20, 21, 24. On Philip.: Introd., 4; Hom., 1, 2,² 3, 4,³ 6,⁵ 7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 15.³ On Coloss.: Hom. 2,¹³ 3, 8,² 10, 11.⁵ On 1 Thess.: Hom. 1,² 2, 3,⁵ 10, 11.² On 2 Thess.: Hom. 2,⁷ 4. On 1 Tim.: Hom. 6, 10, 11, 13,² 15,² 17. On 2 Tim.: Hom. 3, 5, 6, 9,³ 10.¹⁰ On Titus: Hom. 2,² 5, 6. On Philemon: Hom. 1, 3. On Hebrews: Hom. 1, 4; 3, 2, 3, 6; 4, 6,² 6, 1, 2, 7, 8; 7, 11; 8, 10; 9, 7; 11, 9; 13, 10; 15, 9; 18, 5,² 6,³ 19, 4,² 23, 3, 4; 24, 9; 25, 8; 28, 9; 30, 3; 31, 8; 32, 2, 6; 33, 1, 9.²

SOCRATES—Total, 7.

Church Hist. (Introd., p. 212), B. 1, ch. 26; B. 2, ch. 18, 19,⁴ 30.

SOZOMEN—Total, 3.

Church Hist., B. 2, ch. 27, 33; B. 3, ch. 14.

THEODORET—Total, 26.

Prolog., p. 15, 17, (19), 30. Church Hist., B. 1, 32; B. 2, 2, 6,² B. 4, 8,² B. 5, 11. Dialogues, pp. 170, 171, 173, 179, 202, 224.² Letters, 14, 21,² 60, 74, 91, 120, (145), 146.²

JOHN OF DAMASCUS—Total, 24.

On the Orthodox Faith, which is Div. 3 of his Fountain of Knowledge. B. 1. On the Trinity, ch. 8² (*cf.* original); B. 2, ch. (11), 11, 29; B. 4, ch. 15, (20), 25. Additional, from the Sacred Parallels, under the title, The Kingdom of Heaven, 18 references. See original. Of these, 14 are verses cited which are not included in the list of Scriptural quotations from the Fathers given above.

LATIN.

HILARY—Total, 74.

On the Trinity, B. 2, 33; B. 4, 35,² B. 6, 20, 33, 37,² 38² (*v. original*); B. 7, 6; B. 8, 23, 25; B. 9, 25,⁷ 26,³ 75; B. 10, 33, 34,⁵ 67; B. 11, 21,³ 22, 25,⁴ 29, 32,³ 37,² 38,⁵ 39;¹⁷ B. 12, 47. On the Synods, or, On the Faith of the Orientals, 34, 38. On the Psalms, Ps. 1, sec. 14. Additional, see on Matt. 12, 32; on Ps. 2, note 42; on Ps. 147, 15; on Ps. 148; *cf.* also on Matt. 5, 34, and Ps. 125. See the article *De Regno Christi a Regno Dei Patris Distincto* in the Benedictine Preface, pp. lxi-lxviii, ed. Paris, 1693.

AMBROSE—Total, 124.

Duties of the Clergy, B. 1, 13, 15, 16,² 21, 26, 30, 48, (49), 49; B. 2, 4, 6,² 7. On the Holy Spirit, B. 1, 3, 11; B. 2, 2, 7; B. 3, 10,² 17,³ 20,⁷ 21. On the Decease of Satyrus, B. 1, 51; B. 2, 94, 101,² 105, 116. Of the Christian Faith, B. 1, 1,³ 2, 4, 5; B. 2, 9, 12,² B. 3, 7, 11, 12²⁶ (*v. note*, p. 258); B. 4, 5,² B. 5, 5, 12,²⁵ 13, 17. On the Mysteries, 2, 4, 6. On Repentance, B. 1, 7,² 15; B. 2, 3, (4), 7, 11. Concerning Virgins, B. 1, sec. 6, 7, 11, 12. Concerning Widows, 8, 13,² Letters: Ep. 63, sec. 11, 93, 97,² 109.

JEROME—Total, 102.

Letters: Ep. 3, 5; 12,² 14, 1, 5, 6, 8; 16, 2; 22, 30, 32, 35, 40;² 43, 3; 45, 6; 46, 10; 48, 14; 51, 5;² 52, 12; 58, 3; 60, 3;⁵ 66, 8; 69, 6;² 71, 3; 79, 3;² 80, 3; 92; 118, 4;² 122, 3; 123, 11, 14; 125; 133, 3; 144, 8. Against the Luciferians, 4. Perpetual Virginity of Mary, 6. Against Jovianus, B. 1, 3, 4, 12,⁵ 26,² 35, 37,² 40; B. 2, 16,² 18, 19, 25, 27,⁴ 28,² 33, 37. To Pammachius against John of Jerusalem, 25, 34,² 36⁴. Against the Pelagians (Argument, p. 448), B. 1, 10,⁴ 16, 31;⁶ B. 2, 24, 25 (p. 471); B. 3, (6)², 15, 19³ (*v. note*, p. 497). Illustrious Men, 5, (18). Apology, B. 1, 31; B. 2, 18.⁶

RUFINUS—Total, 23.

Epilogue to Pamphilus's Apology for Origen, pp. 423, 427. Pref. to Trans. of Origen's First Prins., 428. Apology (Intro., 434), B. 1, sec. 8, 16, 32, 34. On the Apos. Creed, 6, 7,⁷ (14), 34⁶ (*v. note*, p. 556), 39, 46.

SULPITIUS SEVERUS—Total, 12.

Life of St. Martin: Pref. to Desiderius, p. 3. Sacred Hist., B. 2, ch. 3. Letters: Ep. 1 (disputed), ch. 2, 6; Ep. 2, ch. 2, 4,⁴ 5, 8.²

AUGUSTINE—Total, 1,310.

1. Early General Writings (174 references):

Soliloquies, B. 1, 3,² Confessions, B. 1, 16; B. 2, 2; B. 8, 1, 6; B. 11, 2;² B. 13, 12, 21. Christian Doctrine, B. 1, 19; B. 3, 3, 12, 17, 18, 25, 37; B. 4, 18. On the Catechising of the Uninstructed, 7, 17, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25. On the Creed, to Catechumens, 12,² On the Sermon on the Mount (in Vol. 6) (*v. notes*, pp. 3, 5, 6), B. 1, 1,³ 2,² 3,⁶ 4,⁵ 6, 8,¹³ 9,⁶ 10, 12, 15,⁶ 17, 18,² 19, 21, 23; B. 2, 4 (*v. note*, p. 38), 6,⁵ 7,² 10,² 11,³ 15,⁴ 16,¹⁸ 17,⁵ 25,⁸ On the Faith of Things not Seen, 5, 7, 9. On Lying, 36. On the Work of Monks, 2, 6,³ 8,² 9, 13, 35, 36, 40. On Continence, 9, 20. On the Good of Marriage, 24,² 35. On Holy Virginity, 7, 9, 13, 14,² 19, 21, 22,³ 23,³ 24,⁵ 25,² 26, 27, 29, 32,² 36,² 38, 47.

2. Anti-Manichæan (111 references):

On the Profit of Believing, 36. Morals of the Catholic Church, 17, 35. Morals of the Manichæans, (3), 5, 9, 12, 14. Faith and the Creed: In Retractations, ch. 10. On Two Souls, 12. Against Fortunatus, 1, 3,³ 7, 17, 19, 21. Against the Ep. of Manichæus called Fundamental, 9,² 13, 24,⁶ 25.² On the Nature of Good, 22, 48. Reply to Faustus, B. 2, 1, 6; B. 4, 1, 2,⁴ 3;⁵ B. 5, 9, 10; B. 6, 8;² B. 7, 2; B. 8, 2;² B. 10, 1, 3;³ B. 11, 3, 7,² 8;³ B. 12, (12²), 20, 32, 33, 42, 44;³ B. 15, 2;² B. 16, 20, 22, 24,³ 29; B. 17, 4;⁴ B. 18, 7; B. 19, 8, 24, 27, 30;⁴ (B. 20, 17;² B. 21, 14²); B. 22, 14, 17,² 41, 54,² 67, 76,² 80; B. 24, 1;² B. 28, 5; B. 30, 4; B. 33, 1,⁶ 2.²

3. Anti-Donatist (79 references):

(Intro., pp. 383, 385, 392.) On Baptism, B. 2, 14;² B. 4, 4,³ 5, 9,² 17,² 18,⁷ 19,⁹

- 21,⁸ 25; B. 5, 23; B. 6, 12,⁸ 25, 43; B. 7, 54. Against the Letters of Petilian, B. 2, 8,² 23,⁴ 43, 53, 55, 59, 61,⁵ 63, 72, 73, 85³ (*v. note*, p. 584), 97, 105,³ 109; B. 3, 7, 56.⁴ Correction of the Donatists, 1, (2).
4. Anti-Pelagian (243 references):
 Introd., p. 61. On Forgiveness of Sins and Baptism, B. 1, 15,² 21,² 24,³ 26,⁴ 30,⁵ 33,² 36,² 39, 42, 47, 55,² 58;¹⁰ B. 2, 1,² 41,⁶ 43, 57; B. 3, 6,⁷ 21. On the Spirit and the Letter, 48. On Nature and Grace, 9,² 26. On Man's Perfection in Righteousness, 15. On the Proceedings of Pelagius, 11, 13,³ 14,⁷ 15,⁷ 23,² 24,² 28,³ 57,² 62,³ 65.² On the Grace of Christ, B. 1, ch. 11, 32, 54. On Original Sin, B. 2, sec. 5, 12,² 19,³ 20, 21,² 23, 29, 45. On Marriage and Concupiscence, B. 1, 22,³ 38; B. 2, 5,² 8, 33,² 50, 51. On the Soul and its Origin, B. 1, 10,⁶ 13, 33, 34; B. 2, 14,⁸ 16,⁵ 17,⁴ 18; B. 3, 15,² 16,¹¹ 17,¹⁸ 19,¹³ 22;³ B. 4, 16, 38.² Against Two Letters of the Pelagians, B. 1, 11, 40;² B. 3, 14; B. 4, 21, 22,² 24, 28.⁴ From Ep., 215, 1. On Rebuke and Grace, 5, 14, 18,⁴ 34, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45. On the Predetermination of the Saints, 17, 25, 34,² 40, 42.⁴ On the Gift of Perseverance, 2, 5,² 6, 11, 27, 29,⁴ 35, 37, 55, 58, 61.
5. The City of God (105 references):
 (*V. note*, p. 1.) (*V. B. 1, 36; B. 4, 2, et saepe*). B. 4, 7, 28; B. 5, (16), 18, (19), 21, 24;² (B. 8, 24); B. 9, 21; B. 10, 32; (B. 11, 1; B. 12, 9); B. 13, 7; B. 14, (1), 2, (13, 28); B. 15, 1, (8, 18, 20, 26); B. 16, 24, 34; B. 17, 1,² 3, 4, 6,² 7,² 9,³ 10, 12, 15, 16,² 17; B. 18, (1), 11, (29), 31,⁴ 34,² (47), 49, 53; B. 19, (4, 5, 17); B. 20, 4, 7, 9,² 13,² (14, 16, 17), 23, 24; B. 21, 1,² 9,² 16, 23, 24,² 25,¹⁰ 26,² 27;⁴ B. 22, 1, 3,³ (6), 12, 19,³ 20, 23, 24,³ 29, 30.
6. On the Psalms (169 references):
 Ch. 2, 11; 7, 8, 14; 8, 2; 10, 3, 7; 11, 6; 12, 6; 14, 6, 8; 18, 16, 35; 22, 29;² 33, 10; 34, 1; 37, 10, Pt. 2, 13, Pt. 3, 5,² 10, 13; 38, 12; 39, 18; 40, 15; 41, 11; 43, 4; 44, 7, 13; 45, 12, 15,² 22; 47, 1, 10;⁴ 49, 3, Pt. 2, 3; 50, 9,² 11, 13;² 51, 19; 52, 2,³ 5,² 10,⁶ 11; (53, 8); 54, 3; 55, 13; 57, 7, 12; 60, 2, 4; 61, (4), 7; 62, 4,³ (9); 65, 1,² 9; 67, 8, 10;⁵ 68, 4, 21, (37); 69, 2, 30; 72, 3, 11, 17,² (18); 63, 5, 26; 64, 6, 20, 21; 65, 11; 76, (1), 11; 77, 6; 78, 2, 3, 28, 29, 33, (37); 79, 2; 81, 19,⁵ 20; 82, 4; 83, 2; 87, 4, 5;² 89, 35;² (91, 13); 92, 14; 94, 19, 23; 98, 8; (99, 11); 101, 2; 102, 2;² 103, 23;² 104, 20, 36; 105, 6; 106, 20, 32; 109, 1; 110, 5; 111, 5; 112, 3;³ 113, 1; 119, 15, 75, 150, 159; (126, 2); 129, 6; 142, 5; 143, 8; 144, 9; 145, 1, 4, 10, 11,¹² 12,⁵ 18; 146, 8;² 147, 8, 13, 21, 28; 149, 2, (3).
7. Later Miscellaneous Writings (429 references):
 Letters, 29, 5;³ 36, 8; 43, 27; 44, 4, 10;² 76, 1; 78, 1; 91, 3; 93, 19, 22, 30, 48;⁵ 102, 15, 19, 37; 130, 2,³ 21,² 22; (137, 16); 148, 7; 164, 11; 166, 1; 167, 3; 189, 3, 5; 220, 8. Sermons on N. T. Lessons, 3, 1,⁴ 6, 8,³ 9, 10; 6, 6,¹¹ 7,² 9, 19;² 7, 5,¹¹ 6, 7, 12, 13;² 8, 3,⁷ 5, 12;² 9, 4;⁵ 10, 8, 9,⁶ 10;² 12, 6,⁵ 7; 16, 2,⁵ 17, 7;² 21, (1), 2,² 4,⁴ 19,³ 20,² 25, (33), 36; 24, 1, 2,² 5;³ 25, 9;² 27, 13,⁴ 15; 28, 1,⁵ 4; 30, 3, (8); 32, 5; 33, 1; 35, 2,² 5,² 7;² 36, 4, 10; 37, 4, 5; 38, 18, (19), 21; 40, 5; 50, 1,² 3; 53, 6; 55, 9,² (11), 13; 59, 1,⁶ 2; 60, 1, 5,⁴ 62, 5;² 63, 1; 64, 5; 75, 3; 76, 1; 77, 1, 13; 78, 11; 79, 5; 80, 4; 81, 6; 85, 8; 87, 2, 6, 7,² 9. On the Gospel of John: Tractate 3, 21; 4, 4, 13; (7, 21); 8, 12; 9, 15;² 11, 1,² 3, 5, 6, 12; 12, 5,² 8; 13, 2,² 11, 14; 14, 8; 16, 6;² 19, 18; 21, 7, 13, 25, 2,⁹ 3, 19; 26, 7; 27, 12; 28, 9; 30, 7; 35, 7; 42, 10; 44, 6; 49, 12, 26; 50, 12; 51, 4; 52, 1; 55, 1,³ 63, 2,³ 64, 1; 67, 2,² 3;⁷ 68, 2;¹⁷ 73, 4;² 76, 3; 79, 2; 101, 4; 102, 3; 107, 2; 109, 4; 113, 2,²

5; 115, 1,⁵ 2,¹⁵ 3; 116, 1; 118, 4; 122, 2, 4, (7), 9;¹¹ 124, 5,² 7.² On the First Ep. of John, (1, 12); 2, 13; 3, 11; 4, 5; 6, 14³ (*v. note*, p. 500); 9, 2,² 8; 10, 9, 10. On the Harmony of the Gospels, B. 1, 3, 35; B. 2, 4, 5,² 12,⁴ 17, 19,⁴ 30, (38), 41, 45, 56, 61,² 71, 73, 77; B. 3, 3,² 8, 22; B. 4, 10.³ On the Trinity (in Vol. 3), B. 1, 8⁹ (*v. note*, p. 26), 9, 10,⁷ 11, 12, 13,⁵ B. 2, 18,⁵ B. 9, 10; B. 13, 15; B. 14, 19; B. 15, 18, 19. Enchiridion, (16), 21, 23, 30, 39,² 67,² 69,² 70, 80, 91,² 111, 112, 115,² 116. On the Good of Widowhood, 24. Against Lying, 24.² On Patience, 23, 24.

CASSIAN—Total, 71.

(*V. note*, p. 192.) Institutes, B. 4, 36, 38; B. 7, 15, 27; B. 12, 15. Conferences: First of Abbot Moses, 3, 4,² (5), 9,³ 13,¹⁴ 14,² 20. Second Conf., 2.² Of Paphnutius, 9; of Daniel, 10; of Serapion, 11.² First of Serenus, 5, 6. Second Conf., 14. First of Isaac, 19,⁴ 29. Second Conf., 6, 11. First of Chæremon, 6, 12.² Third Conf., 11. First of Nesteros, 9,² (10). Second Conf., 3. Of Piamun, 16;³ of Pinufius, 8,² 10. First of Theonas, 5,² 9. Third Conf., 15. Of Abraham, 26.² On the Incarnation, against Nestorius, B. 1, 3; B. 3, 12, 14,² B. 5, 7;² B. 7, 10, 23.

VINCENT—Total, 2.

A Communitary, 6, 26.

LEO THE GREAT—Total, 29.

(*Cf. Epp.* 56 and 162.) Sermons, 3, 2, 3; 9, 2;³ 10, 3; 19, 1; 21, 3; 22, 5;² 31, 2;² 33, 5;² 34, 2; 51, 2, 3; 54, 7; 61, 7; 66, 7; 70, 3; 73, 2; 82, 1; 90, 3; 95, 1, 2,³ 5.

GREGORY THE GREAT—Total, 45.

Pastoral Rule, Pt. 1, 3, 9; Pt. 2, 3, 4; Pt. 3, 3, 15, 27,² 28. Letters: B. 1, 43,² 62, 77; B. 2, 27, 36, 47;³ B. 3, 10, 65; B. 5, 18, 20,² 39; B. 6, 58; B. 7, 7, 26,³ 30; B. 8, (2), 33; B. 9, 109, 120; B. 11, 29, 45, (46), 65,² 66; B. 13, 1, 6, 31,² 39,² 42.

(Total number of references, 3,974.)

THE DIATESSARON OF TATIAN AND THE
SYNOPTIC PROBLEM

The Diatessaron of Tatian and the Synoptic Problem

BEING AN INVESTIGATION OF THE DIATESSERON FOR THE LIGHT
WHICH IT THROWS UPON THE SOLUTION OF THE
PROBLEM OF THE ORIGIN OF THE
SYNOPTIC GOSPELS

BY
A. AUGUSTUS HOBSON, PH.D.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGES
BIBLIOGRAPHY - - - - -	7, 8
INTRODUCTION - - - - -	9-32
1. Review of the Situation.	
2. Statement of the Problem of this Dissertation.	
3. The Text Employed, its Limitations and Value.	
<i>a)</i> General Order.	
<i>b)</i> Detailed Readings.	
4. Notes on Method.	
CHAPTER I. Tatian's Preference for One Source or Another -	33-40
CHAPTER II. The Plan of the Diatessaron - - -	41-45
CHAPTER III. Alterations in Order - - - -	46-49
CHAPTER IV. Additions and Omissions - - - -	50-54
CHAPTER V. Conflations - - - - -	55-61
CHAPTER VI. Rewriting - - - - -	62-67
CHAPTER VII. Incongruities and Repetitions - - -	68-74
CHAPTER VIII. Comparison of the Methods of Tatian and the Evangelists - - - - -	75-81

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Z.^c = ZAHN, TH. : *Theologisches Litteraturblatt*, January 3, 1896.

TEXTS USED IN VERIFICATION AND QUOTATIONS.

Cur. = CURETON, WILLIAM : *Remains of a Very Ancient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac* (London, 1858).

Ben. = BENSLEY, R. L. : HARRIS, J. R.; AND BURKITT, F. C. : *The Four Gospels in Syriac: A Transcription* (Cambridge, 1894).

Lew. = LEWIS, AGNES SMITH : *Some Pages of the Four Gospels Retranscribed; together with a Complete Translation* (London, 1896).

Pusey = PUSEY, P. E., AND GWILLIAM, G. H. : *Tetraevangelium Sanctum* (Oxford, 1901).

Tisch. = TISCHENDORF, C. : *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Editio Octava, Critica Major (Lipsiae, 1872).

This bibliography is not intended to be exhaustive, but to give the most important works, and those which should be used in conjunction with this paper. A number of old and now less important treatises might be added. For additional notices see the lists of Hill and Nestle.

INTRODUCTION.

I. THE facts concerning Tatian's *Diatessaron*, so far as they have been discovered, are well known to scholars. Since Th. Zahn's work (published in 1881) upon Ephraem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron*, and especially since Ciasca's publication of the Arabic *Diatessaron* (1888), much labor has been expended upon the problems connected with this important work of Tatian's. The latest, and perhaps the most complete, summary of results in the investigation of the literary notices of Tatian and his work, and as regards questions arising from such study, is to be found in Hjelt's work (see Hj.). Though this work is apparently indebted, to a great degree, to the earlier publication of Zahn, it is briefer than the latter and brings the discussion down to the present time. This recent statement makes it unnecessary to repeat the facts readily accessible in it. It will suffice to say that scholars have reached quite general agreement on a number of points,¹ which, so far as we need mention them, are these:² Tatian wrote a gospel (probably 173-75 A. D.), called *Diatessaron*, because compiled from our four canonical gospels. We have trustworthy remains of his work in Ephraem's *Commentary*, edited by Moesinger, and in the quotations of some of the Syrian Fathers, especially in those of Aphraates. Ephraem's *Commentary* is accessible only in a Latin translation of an Armenian version of it. Aphraates's quotations are consultable in Graffin's splendid new edition of that Syrian Father's *Homilies*.³ It is in these quotations alone that we have remains of the original Syriac *Diatessaron*.⁴ Both Aphraates and Ephraem wrote in Syriac during the fourth century, the latter about 350 A. D., the former a little earlier. In addition to these fragmentary remains of Tatian's gospel, there is the harmony of the gospels preserved in *Codex Fuldensis*, which is really a Latin adaptation of the *Diatessaron* made by arranging the Vulgate text in the order indicated by Tatian's gospel, but with considerable modification of that order. This Latin harmony was known as early as the first part of the sixth century, and was compiled

¹ The contention of W. R. Cassels (Ca.) adverse to the items here mentioned requires little attention, in view of the reply of J. R. Harris (Har.b).

² Hrk.c, I, pp. 486-96; also Hrk.a, pp. 213-18; and, for wider limits of date than are suggested above, cf. Hrk.c, II, p. 289. See also, upon all the facts mentioned, Hill, Hjelt, Zahn, and others, *op. cit.*

³ *Patrologia Syriaca*, Pars Prima, Tomus Primus.

⁴ That the *Diatessaron* was originally written in Syriac seems now to be generally believed. Har-nack (Hrk.b) followed by W. R. Cassels (Ca.), however, dissents.

probably somewhat earlier (*ca.* 400, according to Hj., p. 58). Still further, in the Arabic *Diatessaron* published by Ciasca we have a quite skilful and faithful eleventh-century translation of Tatian's work, made from a ninth-century Syriac manuscript, by the quite well-known Arabic writer Abu 'l Faraj 'Abdulla ibn-at-Tayib.⁵ This version is, with some limitations, a trustworthy representation of Tatian's gospel.⁶ These facts, generally assented to by those scholars who have given them consideration, give a solid basis and distinct point of departure for this dissertation.

2. The purpose of this paper is to investigate the relation of Tatian's *Diatessaron* to the four canonical gospels, which indisputably constitute the chief, if not the only, source of that work, with a view to determining how far this relation resembles that which, on a documentary theory of the origin of the synoptic gospels, is proved to exist between the resultant gospels and their sources, and whether this resemblance is such as to support or discredit that theory.⁷ We have in Tatian's work an attempt, made probably within one hundred, or at most one hundred and ten, years after the completion of our latest synoptic gospel, to compile from written sources an account of the life of Jesus—a gospel, if you please.⁸ It would seem, therefore, that we might expect this gospel to show phenomena that are likely to occur in gospels which are based on written sources. The degree of similarity between these phenomena and those which appear in a comparison of the synoptic gospels with their alleged sources ought, therefore, to give a helpful basis for determining the probability or improbability of the documentary theory as a sufficient explanation of the phenomena of the first three gospels.

3. This task necessitates as a preliminary matter the finding of sure

⁵ For a brief, yet satisfactory, presentation and discussion of available information concerning the Arabic *Diatessaron* see Hogg's treatment (Hg.).

⁶ For a contrary view see Hrk., I, p. 495. The whole matter is discussed below.

⁷ The documentary hypothesis is often alleged to be insufficient to account for the supposed deviations of the gospels from their alleged sources. The import of this objection is stated with commendable brevity by V. H. STANTON in his article on the gospels in HASTINGS'S *Dictionary of the Bible*: "It is said that the oral theory alone will account for the differences between the gospels." This objection, moreover, is the basis of the entire argument of one of the most recent attempts to support the oral-tradition theory. K. VEIT, in the second part of his *Die synoptischen Parallelen*, devotes his first chapter to a review of the present situation in regard to the synoptic problem, and also to an unfavorable criticism of every *Kombinationshypothese*. He assumes throughout his discussion in this chapter (see in particular pp. 6, 9, 10) that the differences of the several gospels from one another must, each and every one of them, have some specific explanation; and that, if the explanations which have been made by some on the basis of the "tendencies" of the several evangelists fail at any point, then some other than a documentary theory must be called in to solve the problem. The results of this investigation will have a direct bearing upon the weight which should be allowed this objection.

⁸ Syrian church fathers were wont to refer to the *Diatessaron* as a gospel. For the notices see Hj., pp. 30-47.

textual ground. The two terms to be compared in order to determine the relation of the *Diatessaron* to its sources are (*a*) the text of the gospels possessed by T^o and employed by him in the work of constructing D, and (*b*) the text which from these sources he constructed. If we possessed these, the one precisely as T had it, and the other precisely as T made it, all differences between them would be referable to T and would illustrate his method. But, in fact, neither of them is directly and exactly given in any existing document. In any comparison between the original text of the gospels, as this is presumably restored today, and the text of D, as we have it, allowance must be made, on the one side, for the possibility that T used a text of the gospels other than that which is today accepted as approximately original; and, on the other, for possible corruption of the text of the *Diatessaron* in transmission. The materials of which account must be taken, because of our uncertainty respecting the two elements of the comparison, are as follows:

I. THE GOSPEL TEXT
EMPLOYED BY TATIAN.

Possible sources:

- a*) The Greek gospels (and their variants).
- b*) The Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac versions.

II. THE ORIGINAL TEXT OF THE DIATESSARON.

I. Extant witnesses (arranged in the order of their respective ages):

- a*) Quotations in the *Homilies* of Aphraates.
- b*) Quotations in Ephraem's *Commentary*.
- c*) The gospel harmony in *Codex Fuldensis*.
- d*) The Arabic version of the *Diatessaron*.

2. Possible sources of corruption:

- a*) Later Syriac versions:
 - a*) Peshitta.
 - β*) Philoxeniana.
 - γ*) Harklensiana.
- b*) Arabic readings (due to):
 - a*) Arabic translator.
 - β*) Arabic versions of canonical gospels.
 - γ*) Errors of scribes of the Arabic *Diatessaron*.
- c*) Variants of the text of the Greek gospels.

^oThe following abbreviations will be used from this point on:

- A = the Arabic *Diatessaron*.
- E = Ephraem's *Commentary*.
- D = the *Diatessaron* (without reference to any particular witness).
- F = the gospel harmony in *Codex Fuldensis*.
- Aph. = quotations in the *Homilies* of Aphraates.
- T = Tatian.
- M = Moesinger's edition of Ephraem's *Commentary*.
- P = Peshitta Syriac version.
- S^s = Sinaitic Syriac Version.
- Sc = Curetonian Syriac version.
- S^φ = Philoxenian Syriac version.
- S^θ = Harklensian Syriac version.

For the symbols for the Syriac versions I am indebted to NESTLÉ's article "Syriac Versions," in HASTINGS'S *Dictionary*.

From the nature of these materials it is impossible to reconstruct either the precise text of the gospels as employed by T, or a complete and exact text of the *Diatessaron* as it left T's hands; nor is this necessary. If from the list of passages in which D differs from a standard Greek text we eliminate all passages of D whose variation from a standard text of the gospels may be due to a) or b) of Column I, or whose phenomena may be due to any of the sources mentioned in Column II, 2, the remaining peculiarities¹⁰ of D may be confidently ascribed to T's literary method. The construction of such a list, however, requires a comparative evaluation of the several extant witnesses of D. We will for convenience consider, first, what witness may be safely used for the determination of the general order of D, and then, how details of the text may be used with certainty.

a) The general order of D can be ascertained by a comparison of A and E. The other witnesses give but little help. In the nature of their evidence, the quotations in Aphraates's *Homilies* can give but supplementary testimony. Such as it is, it has been taken into account by Zahn in his reconstruction of D from E, and since that reconstruction has been used in this study, the said evidence of Aph. has been given sufficient consideration by us. F is the only other witness. Its general character all but excludes it from consideration as a chief witness, though at points it serves to corroborate E and A. When F is compared with E and A, it is clear that its author changed D by omitting and adding (*e. g.*, the section on the woman taken in adultery) paragraphs and by rearranging its order.¹¹ The suspicion against F, aroused by these facts, is enhanced by a comparison of the order in the *praefatio* with that of the actual extant text of F (see R.). Not only have the chapters of the text been differently numbered, but, if the *praefatio* really represents an older order of the text (Z.³, p. 301), additions (*viz.*, chaps. 21, 69 of the text), substitutions (chaps. 106, 107 of the text in the place of the repetition of chaps. 95 and 96 of the *praefatio*)—a repetition probably due, however, to the error of a scribe in copying the *praefatio*, in which case these chapters 106 and 107 are really

¹⁰ The terms "peculiarities," "deviations," "variants," used with reference to passages in D, connote throughout this discussion a comparison of such passages with the Greek gospels, unless some statement to the contrary is made.

¹¹ For a verification of the statements made in this paragraph, Appendix I of H.^a will be found most useful. I have verified the references there made, and with one exception there is no inaccuracy that affects this study. The exception is the attribution of A 6:23-24 (marginal number in Hg.) to F, chap. 80 (according to the chapter numbers of the text, not those of the *praefatio*), whereas F, chap. 80, is parallel to A 18:1-20 ff. The first-mentioned passage of A is omitted by F.

additions), and changes of order (*cf. praefatio*, chaps. 102-4, with the text, chaps. 103-5) have been made. Accordingly, both by such a comparison and by that of F with E and A, F is proved to be, as a whole, untrustworthy for the determination of the general order of D. Where it agrees with E and A — and this is the case in large part — it may be used as corroborative of them. If its evidence is opposed by E and A, combined or independent, it is generally to be rejected. E and F never, except possibly in one case (*cf.* pp. 10-14), combine against A. There are a few instances in which F corroborates A at least against the inferences drawn from E by Zahn (see discussion below). There are also some cases of differences between A and F, which have no corroboration in E for one or the other, because of E's generally fragmentary testimony to D. The quite invariable unreliability of the order of F, in contrast to the almost constant trustworthiness of that of A, is alone enough to give the preference to A rather than to F. But there are some other considerations that lead to the same conclusion. The passages involved are (1) A 6: 25-35 = F, chap. 56¹²; (2) A 6: 46-54 = F, chaps. 20, 49, 51; (3) A 7: 47-53 = F, chap. 70; (4) A 15: 27-32 = F, chap. 66; (5) A 44: 10 = F, chap. 155. If these passages are examined, it will appear that all except the last are in contexts of F which also present material in a different order from that of A, yet for the position of this contextual material A has the support of E. It would accordingly seem reasonable to suppose that, if Ephraem had seen fit to quote from the passages noted above (1-4), the position of these in A would have been supported by E just as the position of the material of their contexts is. An examination of the passages reveals also that the order of A is less probably due to a superficial worker than that of F. For example, it is easier to suppose A 44: 10 is in an original position and has been changed to that of F, chap. 155, than to explain the reverse process. The examination of these passages, therefore, added to the consideration of the general character of A and F respectively, leads inevitably to the rejection of F rather than A. A similar confidence in A is reached with regard to passages omitted by both E and F, but retained in A.¹³ At first sight, it might be supposed that the silence of both E and F is evidence against A, but the fragmentary character of E is in every case sufficient to account

¹² The numbers referring to A are those which appear in the left-hand margin of Hg. On the same side of the page Hg. has printed references to the corresponding pages of Csc. References to F are to the chapter numbering of the text. The sign = indicates throughout this paper parallel material, though in some citations the full limits of the parallels are not shown.

¹³ There are but three such passages; *cf.* footnote above, p. 12, and H.³, App. I.

for its silence, and omission is characteristic of F. Moreover, A's inclusion of the passages is difficult to explain on the ground of scribal error, for few scribes would have selected such unexpected positions. F therefore is to be allowed no independent weight against A, no matter which of the above classes of passages are considered. If this be true, then, any further comparison of F with other witnesses is unnecessary. This leaves us—since, as already stated, Aph. is practically taken into account below through our use of Z.^a—with only E and A to be compared.

In the comparison of these two it will be found most convenient to use Zahn's reconstruction of D as the summation of E's evidence. With such a method of procedure, the first fact that attracts attention is the remarkable agreement in order between E and A—a fact which at once, especially when the corroboration of F is remembered, establishes the validity of the general order of both. There are really only six passages where there is disagreement. To make this statement good, however, there must be taken into account, first, those passages to which Zahn has given, but on inference alone, a different position from that which they occupy in A. Zahn had for his placings no evidence in E, since the passages in question do not occur in E. He was led to arrange the passages as he did, because in our gospels they stand in connection with other passages which are quoted in E, but, as quoted are in no disagreement with A. Zahn's inference was natural in the absence of evidence from A, but is now not to be admitted to have any weight, especially since A is supported by F in its positions for some of these passages. There are, in all, seven sections in which Zahn's order rests solely on the inference referred to. These are: (1) A 5:33-41 = Luke 4:14b-22a = Zahn, § 32 = M., pp. 128-31;¹⁴ (2) A 7:46 = Mark 3:21 = Zahn, § 27 = M., pp. 111-13; (3) A 13:36, 37 = Mark 6:12, 13 = Zahn, § 24 = M., pp. 90-98; (4) A 14:43, 44 = Mark 6:30, 31 = Zahn, § 34 = M., pp. 132-36; (5) A 20:12-16 = Luke 11:37-41 = Zahn, § 77 = M., pp. 211-13; (6) A 27:24, 25 = Luke 12:47, 48 = Zahn, § 79 = M., pp. 213-18; (7) A 28:33-41 = Luke 12:13-21 = Zahn, § 54 = M., pp. 174 f. Of these passages, concerning which, let us remember, E is entirely silent, five—(1), (3), (4), (5), and (7)—are given the same position by A and F. This agreement without any adverse testimony of E, is conclusive against the mere inference of Zahn. Of the remaining passages one

¹⁴ For a convincing discussion of this section see H.3, App. IX. All references to Zahn's sections throughout our investigation refer to his reconstruction of D in *Forsch.*, I, pp. 112-219.

—(2)—is entirely omitted by F, and therefore is to be classed and disposed of together with the passages discussed above, in which A is to be accepted where E and F are silent. The only other passage—(6)—is differently placed by A and F, though the difference is not great (*cf.* A 26:43-45 and 27:24, 25 with F, chaps. 109 ff.) But, in so far as there is difference, A is to be accepted rather than F, on the principles determined in the preceding paragraph. We may, therefore, accept the testimony of A as to all seven of these passages rather than the inference of Zahn.¹⁵ But there is still another passage, not noted above, which needs separate treatment, because it rests on slightly more than inference. This is A 31:36-52 = Luke 19:11-27 = Zahn, § 80 = M., pp. 218 f. From the fact that Aphraates brings this passage into connection with the similar parable of the ten talents, and that F gives the passage in the same connection, Zahn concludes that, therefore, it had this position in the original *Diatessaron*. E is silent. F is to be given no more than its usual value. In regard to Aphraates it may fairly be urged that it would be natural to expect these parables to be combined in a homily even more than in a work like F, though, in the latter, the tendency to bring similar material together is marked. On the other hand, it is difficult to see why a scribe should separate the parables if they stood together in D, or why he should have put this one of the pounds at the particular point at which it occurs in A. A more reasonable explanation of all the evidence than that which Zahn gave to a part of it is that A correctly represents D, while Aph. and F are derived from such an order as that of A, and are due to the tendency to associate similar material. The conclusion is, therefore, to be accepted that Zahn's inferences, in all eight instances, are untrustworthy because of the lack of evidence. There is no reason to suppose that Zahn would have drawn such conclusions as he did, if he had had access to A. We may, accordingly, conclude that A correctly represents the order of D in the above passages.

We may, therefore, proceed to discuss the six passages mentioned above as raising real difficulties.

I. A 3:1-4:30, Luke 2:40-3:6 + Matt. 3:1-3 (*cf.* A 3:24-44), Zahn, § 7; M., pp. 36-40.¹⁶—The respective order of E and A is as follows:

¹⁵ Zahn has acknowledged the limitations of his work done before the publication of A. See Z.^b, pp. 618, 623.

¹⁶ Only those parts of the parallel passages of material are indicated which are needed for the investigation. *Cf.* footnote, p. 13.

E (1) Matt. 2:15.		(3) John 1:17; 1:14; 1:19-28 (partly).
A (1) Matt. 2:16-23.	(2) Luke 2:40-3:6 + Matt. 3:1-3.	(3) John 1:7-28.
E (4) Matt. 3:10.	(5) Luke 2:47-49.	(6) Matt. 3:4, 9. (7) John 1:29.
A (4) Matt. 3:4-10+ Luke 3:10-28.	(6) See (4).	(7) John 1:29 ff.

The chief point of difference is the position of A (2) and E (5), which are the same in regard to subject-matter. If E's (5) agreed with A's (2), there would be no difficulty, for (6) would then follow (4) immediately, and the transposition of Matt. 3:10 would be of very little significance, since all of E's quotations in (4) and (6) come from the same general section of Matthew. That E's position for (5) is correct is impossible to believe; for how could T have been led to insert the account of Jesus' visit to Jerusalem at twelve years of age, in the midst of the account of John the Baptist's ministry, and this, too, in such an order that John is made to begin his address to the Pharisees (Matt. 3:10), then this is broken by the account of Jesus' journey (Luke 2:47-49), then a description of John's raiment (Matt. 3:4) is introduced, and finally the words of John are resumed (Matt. 3:9 and John 1:29), at a point (Matt. 3:9) before the break above noted occurs (Matt. 3:10)? No explanation of such an order is possible. On the other hand, the order of the narrative in A is natural, and is supported by that of F. The only reasonable conclusion is that Ephraem's brief comment on Luke 2:47-49 (M., p. 40) has been displaced. The displacement is easily explained, if it be true, as has been suggested by Zahn (Z.^a, p. 51), that E represents, in its extant form, notes taken by some student as he listened to Ephraem's lectures. At any rate, it is impossible to accept E's order as original, and therefore the natural order of A, supported by that of F, seems to represent D correctly.

II. *A* 5:49-6:4 = *Luke* 5:1-11 = *Zahn*, § 14 = *M.*, p. 59.—Here, too, there is a real difference between E and A. The latter has the account of the miraculous draught of fishes in connection with the call of the first four disciples, before the account of Jesus' disciples' baptizing in Judea. In other words, A represents T as having brought Luke's account of the call of the four into connection with the account of Mark and Matthew, but without interweaving, and as having put the combined accounts before that of John 3:22-4:3a. On the other hand, the order of the quotations in E indicates that the accounts from the synoptic gospels followed that from John 3:22-4:3a. But E omits a considerable part of D here, and it is difficult to reconstruct, on the basis of its testimony at this point. Zahn says, referring to this por-

tion of E (§ 13, p. 128): "Der springende Charakter des Commentars macht die Wiederherstellung der Ordnung fast unmöglich." On the other hand, A gives the accounts just where we might expect them, and, so far as the material mentioned is concerned, is supported by F in so doing. This would lead to the conclusion that A is again correct.

III. *A* 14:9 (*cf.* *A* 8:47) = *Luke* 16:17 = *Zahn*, § 17 (*cf.* § 26) = *M.*, p. 65.—The difference here is not very serious. Zahn recognizes the possibility that Ephraem may have quoted here *Luke* 16:17 as a substitute for *Matt.* 5:18, which was in D at this point, and is so preserved by A (8:47). It is not at all clear even that E represents his quotation of *Luke* 16:17 as a part of the text of D. The passage is not quoted to be commented upon, but is introduced as illustrative material. It is certainly not violent, therefore, to suppose that Ephraem used in his lecture this quotation, which came to him more readily than *Matt.* 5:18, even though he was discussing the context of the latter. The probability that this is true is strengthened by recalling that the verses are not greatly, though, on close study, distinctly different. It is still further strengthened by the difficulty of supposing that T, working with written sources, should have made this substitution when, in a considerable part of the context of A 8:47 going either backward or forward, he was relying entirely upon Matthew (except for two small items not occurring at all in the first gospel). Again, F supports A at this point. Furthermore, there is some corroboration of A by Aph. While it is not a settled fact that Aph. used only D, it is certain that he quoted his gospel texts largely from it. It is, accordingly, significant that, while he has quoted or made recognizable allusions to the fifth chapter of Matthew fifty-nine times, and has quoted our very verse (18) twice, he never quotes nor alludes to *Luke* 16:17 in all his homilies.¹⁷ This is somewhat surprising if *Luke* 16:17 stood in his text of D where *Matt.* 5:18 now stands in A, and if *Matt.* 5:18 was thus entirely omitted from D. But, whatever conclusion we reach as to whether A is correct at 8:47 in having *Matt.* 5:18 rather than *Luke* 16:17, there is no evidence to raise a question of the validity of A in giving *Luke* 16:17 at A 14:9. The only question to be answered, therefore, is: Did T use *Luke* 16:17 twice, substituting it in the first instance for *Matt.* 5:18? A negative answer is probable in view of the above considerations. It was in all probability Ephraem who made the substitution, not Tatian.

¹⁷ The facts concerning Aphraates which are used in this paper have been ascertained by the present writer through an investigation of the marginal notes in Graffin's edition.

IV. *A 15:17-26* (cf. *A 12:40 ff.*) = *Luke 10:3-12* = Zahn, § 24 = *M.*, pp. 90-98.—The problem in this case is as follows: In the midst of a comment on Matthew, chap. 10—the speech of instructions to the Twelve as they are about to be sent out by Jesus—Ephraem quotes what is, at least apparently, *Luke 10:5*, and that, too, as a part of the text of *D* (*M.*, p. 92). This would suggest that *T* had interwoven with this speech the similar instructions to the Seventy recorded in *Luke 10:3-12*. This suggestion, adopted by Zahn, is further supported, according to Hill (Appendix IX), by some traces of conflation still to be found in *A* itself (viz., “two and two,” *A 12:43*; *Luke 10:1*; and “lambs,” *A 13:1*; *Luke 10:3*); and especially by the fact that *F* has still more of the interweaving at this point and omits *Luke 10:3-12* at the place where *A* (15:17-26) includes it. If *A* is to be preferred here, this array of evidence, which at least seems strong, must be disposed of. Yet the case against *A* is not so strong as it may at first seem. All of the items of evidence, when scrutinized separately, are found to have little, and some of them no, weight.

It is not at all clear that the quotation in *E* really represents a use of *Luke 10:5* by *T*. To determine this, the following columns will be found useful:

PARALLEL ACCOUNTS OF THE SENDING OF THE TWELVE.	E	ACCOUNT OF SENDING THE SEVENTY.
(Matt. 10:12.) εἰσερχόμε- νοι δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀσπά- σασθε αὐτήν.	(<i>M.</i> , p. 92.) In quamcum- que domum intraveritis pri- mum salutate domum (cited as text of <i>D</i>).	(<i>Luke 10:5</i> .) εἰς ἣν δὲ ἂν εἰσέλθητε οἰκίαν πρῶτοι λέ- γετε εἰρήνῃ τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦτοϖ.
(<i>Luke 9:4a</i> .) καὶ εἰς ἣν ἂν οἰκίαν εἰσέλθητε.	(<i>M.</i> , p. 63.) In quamcum- que domum intraveritis pri- mum dicite, pax huic domui (cited as an illustration).	

If we suppose that *T* used only the parallel accounts of the sending of the Twelve, we must conclude that he employed *Matt. 10:12*; modified its first member, under the influence of *Luke 9:4a*, from a participial to a finite construction; added *primum* (if *E* correctly represents the text of *D*), either according to a characteristic of his general literary method, or under the influence of the similar saying in *Luke 10:5*; and substituted *domum* for αὐτήν. If we suppose *T* used here *Luke 10:5*, we must note carefully that he changed the position of οἰκίαν in the first member, and omitted τοῦτοϖ and substituted *salutate* for λέγετε εἰρήνῃ in the second. On neither supposition do we get an

exact quotation. Taking the two members of the verse separately, it is to be noted that the first agrees with Luke 10:5, excepting the inexplicable change of order (unless appeal to T's literary habits is made);¹⁸ but it may also be assigned to Luke 9:4a, and that, too, with no unexplained element. The latter assignment is, accordingly, slightly more probable, because nothing remains to be explained. As regards the second member, if we assign it to Matthew, we must suppose either that E's text is unreliable, or that T added *primum* and substituted *domum* for *αὐτὴν*. If we assign it to Luke 10:5, we must conclude that Tatian was influenced by Matt. 10:12 in substituting *λέγετε εἰρήνην* for *ἀσπάσασθε* and in the omission of *τούτω*. Accordingly, it is all but impossible to determine which assignment of the second member is least beset with difficulties. On account of its greater general similarity to Matthew, however, the assignment in this direction is slightly more probable. Therefore, both the members, if considered separately, are more probably to be assigned to the parallel accounts of the sending of the Twelve (the first column above). Really, the only difficult element in such an assignment is *primum*, which occurs only in Luke 10:5 (account of the sending out of the Seventy). It is certainly precarious to conclude from the presence of this one word that the entire passage Luke 10:3-12 was conflated here in the text of D which E used. And this word, in this one verse, is the only testimony to such interweaving that E offers; for the quotation of Luke 10:6, which Zahn includes in this section, occurs in such a connection as to give no indication of the order of Ephraem's exemplar, being quoted (M., p. 105), as Zahn himself says, decidedly *ausser Zusammenhang*. But not only is E's positive evidence precarious; it is all but entirely negatived by a consideration growing out of the fact that E quotes Luke 10:5 in another form at a different point (M., p. 63; cf. p. 18). The exact quotation of this verse as illustrative material indicates that when Ephraem referred to the idea expressed in it, this idea was apt to occur to his mind in the form of Luke 10:5. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to suppose that this verse has influenced him in quoting D at the point under discussion. Such a supposition will remove every difficulty in the way of trusting A, *i. e.*, so far as E awakens distrust. The supposition is supported, moreover, not only by this double quotation of Luke 10:5, but also by Ephraem's notoriously general looseness in quoting (cf. H.^b, pp. 18-25).

¹⁸No appeal to T's literary habits can be made in this discussion either for one assignment or the other, since on this ground a case could be made out for either.

Besides this ground, E itself gives further evidence for distrusting it as a basis for a reconstruction of D at this point. Ephraem quotes Matt. 10:8b ("gratis accepistis, gratis date"), both in connection with his comments on the sending out of the Twelve (M., p. 91) and with those on the sending out of the Seventy (M., p. 115). This assignment of the quotations is indisputable. Analogously to the position of Zahn, it must be granted that this evidence proves a conflation at both points in D. But it is distinctly improbable that T harmonized and conflated these two sets of instructions, and then used the conflated passage twice. But the only other alternative is that E is not to be accepted as truly representing the text of D at this point. Though we have not been able with entire certainty to determine the source of the quotation which has been discussed at length, we have nevertheless, by these considerations, shown that it is improbable that E is at this place trustworthy. In this way, therefore, we have disposed of that part, at least, of the array of evidence against A which is supposed to be supplied by E.

The testimony of F, which is held to corroborate E, consists in the inclusion, amid the instructions to the Twelve, of Luke 10:7, and of the omission of Luke 10:3-12 where A presents it as a part of D. It is to be particularly noted that F does not support E in its quotation discussed above, upon which Zahn's reconstruction is chiefly based. On the other hand, in one point F agrees with A against E in quoting Luke 10:16 in connection with the instructions to the Seventy. E quotes it (M., p. 94, "qui vos spernit, me spernit"), but rather, it may be argued, as illustrative material than as a part of the text to be commented upon. If the quotation be held to be from Ephraem's exemplar at the point where he is expounding, there is certainly present the disagreement alluded to. The question, therefore, arises as to whether the phenomena of F really corroborate the evidence of E, if there be any, or are only examples of certain characteristics of the compiler of F. It is certainly characteristic of him to make additions and omissions of this kind. Moreover, the conclusion drawn from the omission of Luke 10:3-12 is greatly weakened, if not entirely invalidated, by the fact that not only these verses, which, on the view of Zahn and Hill, ought not to appear, but also verses 13-15, are omitted. E shows no indication that these latter were conflated with the instructions to the Twelve, but A gives their Matthean parallel after Luke 10:12 (A 15:28-30). Now, F agrees with A at this point in the use of the parallel from Matthew rather than the Lukan version, though it

has this material from Matthew in a different position. (This position, differing from that of A, agrees in no way with that of E.) Therefore, since the author of F habitually adds and omits, and since at this particular point he is proved to be altering D, without any possible agreement with E, in that he omits vss. 13-15, as A does, and gives the Matthean material in an unacceptable position, the phenomena of F should probably be reckoned as due to the compiler, and not to his text of D. We might conclude, accordingly, without further discussion, that, in view of F's partial support of A, and since the alleged evidence of F fails E at the critical point of the latter's quotation, therefore F does not corroborate E. But there are two other considerations. First, F's order has an intrinsic improbability. It represents T as having divided, if Zahn and Hill are correct, the speech containing the instructions to the Seventy; as having conflated one part with the similar speech to the Twelve in Matthew; as having changed another part to a position entirely out of its canonical connection; and as having left the mere end of this discourse (Luke 10:16 f.) at the point where A gives the whole speech. Such a procedure is inexplicable whether we view it independently or in the light of Tatian's method. Considered independently, no further remark is needed. On the other hand, Tatian has never elsewhere, so far as can be determined, proceeded so clumsily as the arrangement of F would indicate he had done. Second, F cannot be said to have at this point any thoroughgoing conflation, such as Hill seems to imply, and such as Tatian very often made, since its conflation consists simply in the addition of the one verse, Luke 10:7. Other material from the instructions to the Seventy might have been used, and, according to the general methods of T, evidence of which is still preserved in A, is to be expected in the conflation. These two considerations—the clumsiness and incompleteness of the work of the author of F upon the passages under discussion—strengthen the conclusion already reached, that the phenomena of F are due to the methods of the compiler of F. We have, therefore, no evidence with which to support E, even if the testimony of the latter be given weight.

There still remains the evidence of A, with reference to the conflation of the two discourses under discussion. The force of any allegation based on A, disappears as soon as the supposed testimony is examined. The use of "lambs" (Luke 10:3) as over against "sheep" (Matt. 10:16) is of little significance, since "sheep," not "lambs," is supported by E (M., p. 91, *oves*), and since the difference is but

slight in any case. The touch "two and two" is not due to Luke 10:1 as Hill apparently supposed, but to the Markan parallel account of the sending out of the Twelve (Mark 6:7). Both of these traces are absent from F. The evidence of A in favor of the alleged conflation is, therefore, *nil*.

Taken singly, the witnesses against the order suggested by A, one and all, may be disposed of. In combination, the evidence amounts to the united force of several rather remote possibilities. The evidence of E, which may quite reasonably be explained away by an appeal to Ephraem's looseness in quoting amounts to little more, even when this appeal be waived, than the presence of one word from Luke, chap. 10. The testimony of F, which is derived from the occurrence of phenomena very probably due to the compiler of the Latin harmony, does not corroborate E at the critical point, though the phenomena upon which it is based may be interpreted so as to give some plausibility to the conclusion drawn from the testimony of E. There can hardly be said to be any corroboration by A of any particular point of E or F, and only the most meager sort in any general way, viz., the possible significance of the use of "lambs." On the other hand, over against these remote possibilities of corroboration there are the slight disagreements of E and F, and the more pronounced difference between A and F, which were mentioned above. Therefore, even when we combine the evidence of the several witnesses, their corroboration is weakened by mutual disagreement, and the opinion of Zahn and Hill can be regarded as no more than possibly correct. Independently considered, the witnesses fall to the ground. The probable conclusion of the whole matter is this: The general excellence of A as a witness for the order of D—at most this is the only passage where A does not correctly represent D—makes it probable, in view of the weakness of the evidence of the other witnesses here that at this point as well as elsewhere A is to be trusted.

Whatever may be concluded, the extreme limit to be regarded in any appeal to these sections of A is this: We must not draw conclusions from the presence of Luke 10:3-12 in its present position in A. If this limitation be observed, we shall be safe in any other use of A. The only use of the section in this paper is that on p. 60, which is not invalidated by the above conclusion but would be made even more valuable, were the view just opposed correct.

V. A, *chaps. 25-27* = *Matt., chap. 18* = *Zahn*, §§ 45-50 = *M.*, pp. 162-65.—It was impossible for Zahn to reconstruct, from Ephraem's

fragmentary quotations, an order of T's distribution of Matt., chap. 18 which would have been compatible with the order in A. He recognized the difficulty of his situation when he says (*in loco*): "Die Zusammensetzung dieser Perikope ist nicht mit Sicherheit anzugeben." Had he had access to A, he would have seen that the quotations in E, though few, are in precisely the order which these texts occupy in A, though that order is quite remarkable. Instead, therefore, of conflicting with A, E gives to it peculiarly strong corroboration. Furthermore, so far as Matt. 18: 10, 11 is concerned, with which Zahn had such great difficulty (*vide in loco*), F also supports A's arrangement. These facts have only to be stated and it will be concluded that A is correct here.

VI. *A* 33: 1-17 = *Mark* 11: 10-26 = *Zahn*, § 61 = *M*, pp. 182-89.—In the arrangement of material here, E, A, and F each give a different order:

E.	A.	F.
1. The cursing of the fig tree.	1. The cursing of the fig tree.	2. The visit of Nicodemus.
3. The lesson.	2. The visit of Nicodemus.	1. The cursing of the fig tree.
2. The visit of Nicodemus.	3. The lesson from the tree.	3. The lesson.
4. The parable of the unjust judge.	4. The parable of the unjust judge.	4. The parable of the unjust judge.

The three witnesses agree in presenting Tatian as having brought together passages widely separated in our gospels and, therefore, in a general way A is supported as correct. The representation of A is that the fig tree was cursed (1) on a certain day in the evening of which Nicodemus made his visit (2). The next morning, as the disciples passed the tree on their way to the city and noticed its condition, Jesus drew the lesson (3) from it. To this lesson is attached the parable of the unjust judge (4). This order of events may easily be supposed to have been suggested to Tatian by his Markan source, in which 1 and 3 occur on successive days. A's order is, therefore, by no means impossible in the light of T's sources. Moreover, if A be supposed to preserve the original order, that of E and F may be explained as derivations. There would be the constant temptation to change the order of A by bringing together the separated elements 1 and 3. On the hypothesis that Mark was used by the author of the first gospel, precisely this change has been made by him. Ephraem and the author of F fell into this temptation. Ephraem made the combination of separated elements by putting 3 before 2; the author of F, by placing 2 before 1. The temptation in the case of Ephraem was especially strong,

since in lecturing it would be most logical and convenient to conclude the comments on both 1 and 3 before passing to the remainder of the passage. In the case of the not over-keen compiler of F the temptation was likely to be yielded to at once—possibly under the influence of Matthew—because of his inability to see the superior order which is preserved by A. In contrast to this ready derivation of E and F from A is the difficulty of supposing either E or F to be the original from which the other orders are derived. Indeed, there is an incongruity in E's arrangement, since it separates 3 and 4, though the presence of 4 in this part of D can be explained alone by its fitness immediately to follow 3. Besides these considerations, there is the evidence deduced by combining the several witnesses in groups of two. E and A agree against F in giving 2 some position after 1. A and F agree against E for the placing of 3 immediately before 4 and after 2. Thus for each of the elements of its order, save the separation of 1 and 3, A has the support of one of the other witnesses, while these other witnesses disagree as to all elements except 4, as to which all the witnesses agree. Therefore, since A is shown to be correct by its combinations with now E, now F, for the just-mentioned relations of items, and since E and F mutually disagree as well as differ from A as regards 1 and 3, and since A's order is intrinsically superior, while at the same time giving rise to the above-mentioned temptation to alter it, we are forced to conclude in favor of A in the whole arrangement.¹⁹ Whether, therefore, we examine A on its own merits, or group the witnesses, we are brought to the same result, viz., A's order correctly presents that of D.

We have now considered all of the six passages wherein the reconstructed text of D, made by Zahn, differs in order from A. On thorough investigation, it develops that there are few real differences, and, with one possible exception (IV, above), A is everywhere to be trusted as correctly preserving the order of D. We have, therefore, certain ground in A's order of sections.

b) We may, accordingly, turn our attention to the details of the text. Of the extant witnesses to the text of D A is the only one that can be used as a satisfactory basis for our study. The remains in E and Aph.²⁰ are too fragmentary for such use. F²¹ is in no sense a

¹⁹ For an extended, but not always convincing, discussion of all the differences between A and E see H. A., App. IX, to which the above examination is much indebted.

²⁰ The quotations of D in Syrian Fathers other than Aphraates have not yet been made accessible to any considerable extent. Zahn has made some references in his notes, and these have been considered herein. J. R. Harris (Har.) has collected from the writings of Ishodad quotations of E in which there are some remains of D. These quotations, however, hardly suggest that the results of this investigation would be appreciably affected by further discoveries in Syrian patristic literature.

²¹ The view of F now commonly held is that which was suggested above, viz., it is a secondary com-

translation of T's gospel, and is entirely untrustworthy for the recovery of details of text. The very fact that its author did not translate the text of D, but used the corresponding passages of the Vulgate Latin text, is enough to deprive this witness of any decisive weight in estimating the value of any particular reading. The additional fact of the undisputed incompleteness of F, when taken together with the foregoing, makes it quite impossible to regard F as either a satisfactory or complete basis for investigation (*cf.* Hj., p. 58). This conclusion leaves A as the only remaining extant witness which we can use for this purpose. This witness is a translation made directly from the original language of D, and preserves D, so far as can be determined, without any large omission. It is sufficiently satisfactory and complete, therefore, to serve as a basis with which to compare whatever evidence Aph. and E have to offer in determining the reliability of any given passage. In such a comparison, however, Aph. and E are generally to be regarded as better witnesses than A. There are two reasons for such an estimate: (1) both Aph. and E are much older than A; (2) their readings, together and independently, show themselves less influenced than those of A by the known sources of the transmissional corruption of D. Accordingly, if the testimony of E or Aph. for a given passage is contrary to that of A, the latter must be rejected, unless there is some specific reason for setting aside the former. Such reasons are sometimes to be appealed to; for example, the testimony of E or Aph. should be rejected when it, rather than that of A, has been influenced by known tendencies of transmissional corruption. We may, therefore, use A as our basic text, but we must give due consideration to Aph. and E.

But we must go further if we are to have perfect confidence in our text. A study of the text of D, whether as represented by E or A,²² in comparison with the text of Syriac and Arabic versions, and with variants of the Greek gospels; the consideration of the possible unfaithfulness of the Arabic translator; and the possibility of corruption in the transmission of A itself, create the necessity of considering how far the text of D, as we possess it, may be trusted.

pilation made by arranging sections of the Vulgate Latin text of the gospels, in the order in which the corresponding material stands in D. But the work was clumsily done and T's order has not always been followed with fidelity. Indeed, there are many serious departures. (See H.³, pp. 17-20; Z.³, pp. 298-313.) Later writers have not agreed with Zahn (p. 310) that "innerhalb einzelner Perikopen ist selbst die feinere Mosaikarbeit des Originals, wenn auch unvollkommen, in F wiederzuerkennen." Zahn's opinion is based upon a fragmentary comparison of E and F. Had he been able to use A, his conclusions could scarcely have been different from that of scholars who have written since Ciasca's publication of A (*cf.* Hj., p. 58).

²² For an investigation with E as the basis, see Z.³, I, pp. 220-38; with A as the basis, see Sel.

Such consideration leads at once to an estimation of the amount of influence exerted upon the text of D by Syriac versions which are admittedly later than D. There has been noted a marked tendency to harmonize the text of D with these versions, in particular P. It follows, therefore, that any passage whose phenomena—deviations from our gospel text—are the same as those of the corresponding passages of these versions must be set aside, so far as our study is concerned, since any deviation from the Greek gospels which may appear in such a passage may be due to the influence of these later versions, not to Tatian. I have collated all the passages used in this paper, and their variations from the gospels can in no case be referred to the influence under discussion. For collation with P, I have used the Syriac text of Pusey. A comparison with S^ϕ is impossible, since there is no certainly attested witness for the gospels of this version. The only information of such a witness that we possess may be stated in two sentences. First, Bernstein (*Das Evangelium des Johannes*, 1853, referred to by Nestle in the article "Syriac Versions" in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*) claims that the text of this version exists in Cod. A₂ of the Bibliotheca Angelica at Rome. Second, Isaac N. Hall published in 1884 a work, *Syriac Manuscript Gospels of a Pre-Harklensian Version, etc.*, maintaining²³ that there were manuscripts in this country that contain the gospels of S^ϕ. Such information, however, furnishes no accessible text of S^ϕ for the gospels. In spite of the consequent impossibility of a comparison with this version, however, no great uncertainty will attend our results. S^ϕ never exerted a large influence in any direction, so far as the gospels are concerned. Witness its failure to be preserved, and the fact that the Harklensian revision of it entirely usurped its place. Moreover, by the sixth century, in which S^ϕ had its origin, and probably its brief life, D had probably been driven from public use, at least in other than Nestorian churches (*cf.* H_j, pp. 25-49 *passim*) and, since in this case D would be less often copied, there would be relatively small chance of any corruption of D. Still further improbability of any considerable influence of S^ϕ upon D may be inferred by analogy from the very small influence of S^θ, of which mention is made below. There is, therefore, almost no probability, not to say possibility, that S^ϕ affected D in transmission to any appreciable extent. We need not, accordingly, be deeply concerned at our inability to make use of it. With

²³C. R. GREGORY, *Textkritik des Neuen Testaments*, II, 501-5, does not commit himself with reference to Hall's view, but implies that he thinks it is plausible.

respect to S^θ Sellin (Sel., p. 237) says that its influence may be detected "wenn auch nur in geringem Grade." In his treatment of the matter, he presents only twenty passages (Tabelle III) from the whole range of D in which there may be an influence of S^θ.²⁴ None of these passages will be found among those which we use below in illustrating T's method. Our results have been still further guarded by an examination of all passages in the light of the variants of S^θ which are noted in Tisch.²⁵ Accordingly, in the passages which are used below to indicate T's literary habits we may be sure there are no traces of the influence of S^θ. With regard, therefore, to the harmonization of D with all three of the later Syriac versions, our results have been safeguarded.

But besides the tendency to harmonize in this way, there has been noted another—the filling in of words, phrases, and sentences originally omitted in D, and the excising of words, phrases, and sentences originally contained in D to conform in both cases to the Syriac separate gospels. The knowledge of this, however, can affect our results in only one direction. It cannot shake our confidence in the passages, which we have used, for these passages present, not agreements, but disagreements with the text of the separate gospels. It can lead only to the very obvious conclusion that where D differs from the text of the Greek gospels either by omission or addition, and such differences cannot be explained as due to any specific textual influence, they are to be ascribed to Tatian, for it is contrary to the tendency of the scribes to let such differences remain. We are aided, then, rather than limited, in our work by the knowledge of this tendency. We may pass on, therefore, at least without any fear that it can vitiate our results. Indeed, we may feel confident that our results are not invalidated by any corrupting influences proceeding from the later Syriac versions.

There is ever present, however, the possibility that A has been corrupted by influences to which it is liable as an Arabic version of D. As a translation A is but one remove from the original, for, as noted above, recent scholars of prominence, with the exception of Harnack, agree that T composed D in Syriac.²⁶ Moreover, the faithfulness of

²⁴ Sellin refers to the Harklensian version as the Philoxenian, apparently following the suggestion of the title of WHITE's edition of S^θ. He nowhere states that he is using White, but seems to reveal it in this note: "P=Phil.; wo die Uebersetzung White's falsch ist" (p. 240).

²⁵ Tischendorf designates S^θ in the edition of his work which I have used as syr^p, but cf. GREGORY, *Prolegomena*, p. 824, footnote.

²⁶ "Es darf hiernach als bewiesen angesehen werden, dass das dem Tatian zugeschriebene Diatessaron von Haus aus ein syrisches Buch war" (Z.³, p. 238; cf. HJ., pp. 22, 23).

this direct translation is attested by those who have investigated the subject thoroughly. Harnack, to be sure, throws suspicion upon this faithfulness. He describes A, along with two other elaborations of D (see Hrk.^c, I, pp. 495 f.)—the Latin, viz., F, and the alleged Greek fragments which are supposed, but without warrant, to have been the basis of Nachtigall's translation—as *sehr frei*. It is quite impossible, however, to believe that this opinion rests upon such thorough investigation as the great Berlin scholar is wont to prosecute before reaching his conclusions. How he could arrive at such a conclusion as that just stated, when there is no Greek witness²⁷ to D, which on his theory would be the original, is certainly difficult to conceive. The mere fact that he classes A with F without any distinction—not to mention the association of A with Nachtigall's work—and estimates their value as translations in the same generalizing terms, will show at once to anyone who studies the subject that his statements are based on no thorough digestion of the facts gained by such investigation. Sellin says (Sel., p. 243) of the Arabic translator: "Der Uebersetzer verfährt also nicht knechtisch aber *treu*." In this judgment Hjelt concurs (Hj., pp. 65–70). Moreover, in addition to the opinion of scholars, further confidence is given by a consideration of the excellent abilities of the well-known translator, Ibn-at-Tayib. This confidence, and the fact that each passage used below has been examined to determine that its peculiarities are not due to the exigencies of the Arabic language, free our conclusions from uncertainty with regard to the possibility that the text has been corrupted by translation. But the possibility of a corruption of the text of A under the influence of Arabic versions has still to be considered. The variant readings of the two manuscripts of A show no marked tendency to harmonize A with the Arabic versions.²⁸ Indeed, no specific similarity between the text of A and the peculiar readings of these versions has been pointed out by scholars. But whatever the possibility of such harmonization, its effect has been eliminated for us by a comparison of our passages with Arabic variants noted in Tisch. As in the comparison with the Syriac versions, the principle has been adopted here also, that a possible influence of the version is enough to exclude passages agreeing with it in any of its peculiarities. As concerns the transmission of A, as affected by other influences than the

²⁷ The translation—published by OTTMAR NACHTIGALL (1523)—of alleged Greek fragments can scarcely be used as such. Harnack himself implies doubt as to the character of this work (see Hrk.^c, I, pp. 495, 496). For a full discussion see Z.^a, pp. 313–28.

²⁸ But cf. the adverse, but unsupported statement of Hj., p. 61.

Arabic versions of the separate gospels, it seems to have been free from any considerable impurity. To be sure, the two manuscripts of A, when compared with each other, show some different readings, but these are quite unimportant in character, since they can generally be explained by appealing to the simplest kinds of scribal error and affect only a very few of the passages used below. Such as they are, they are consultable in Csc., and in every passage which we consider their bearing upon our conclusions may be estimated. Whether, therefore, we consider the value of A as a translation, or the transmission of A under the possible influence of Arabic versions and other sources of corruption, we are able to proceed, with proper limitations, free from any appreciable uncertainty because of the possibility of corruptions in A from such influences as might have been exerted upon it as an Arabic translation.

Now that we have considered Syriac versions and Arabic influences, there remains in Column II, 2, above, (p. 11) but one item—Greek variants. There is always the possibility, though this is often slight, that any extant variation of the Greek gospels may have influenced the transmission of D in any or all of its witnesses. This has made it necessary to compare every passage with the variants to the text of the Greek gospels in Tisch., and to exclude all whose peculiarities agree with any of these variants.

The conclusion that we may now draw with reference to the influence of the transmission of the texts of D upon our results is this: A has preserved a text which must be limited, if results based upon it are to be received with confidence. But it is possible to make every limitation that safety demands, and such limitations have been made in this investigation. The portions of text which have been used below are in all probability absolutely free from every kind of influence which can be proved or inferred to have corrupted D in transmission.

But if the certainty that our text is pure is to be paralleled by a similar certainty as to the conclusions derived in our study of that text, we must give some consideration to the items of Column I above. The larger part of our work is to determine what phenomena in our text are due to T's literary method. It can be accomplished only when we have eliminated all the phenomena due to the possible influence of the other two sources—the variants of the Greek gospels, and of the Sinaitic and Curetonian Syriac versions—upon the texts which Tatian used as a source. A comparison of the text of D with the corresponding portions of the Greek gospels will reveal how far T

deviates from his sources, provided these deviations cannot be attributed to some outside influence such as those discussed above. In such a comparison, however, we cannot confine ourselves to any particular form of the Greek text, but must take into account every extant variation of any given passage; for we cannot be absolutely sure that any such variant was not in T's exemplars.²⁹ Any deviations that remain after taking into account these variants must be admitted not to be due to T's Greek sources. There is, nevertheless, one further consideration. The four gospels differed from each other. This fact makes it impossible to decide in some instances whether certain deviations of D from the text of a gospel, which at a given point is his chief source, are really due to T, or are to be attributed to another of the gospels. In such a case we cannot tell whether T has changed his one source, or has simply mixed material from two or more. It is necessary, therefore, to proceed on the basis that every passage in D that is like any one of the sources must be assigned to that source. This may eliminate true examples of T's method of alteration — with our method of procedure we still have illustrations of conflation — but it is the safest course to pursue. This is the last limitation with regard to T's Greek exemplars that we need to make.

We may pass on, then, to consider those passages of D in which there is agreement with the text of the S^s and S^c. The chronological relation of these versions to D is still *sub judice*.³⁰ But whatever the outcome of the investigation of this relation may prove to be, it cannot affect our discussion. If we suppose D later than S^s and S^c, and that T used them for his work, we must exclude all variations of D which agree with these versions as not due to T's literary method but to his exemplars. Or, if we suppose D to be older than S^s and S^c, we have to reckon the agreeing passages as at least possibly harmonized with later versions and so for the sake of certainty exclude them, as illustrations of T's method. In other words, these versions must be viewed, on our second supposition, as bearing the same relation to D as do P, S^φ, and S^θ; and must be treated accordingly. We are therefore in either supposition under the necessity of excluding these passages. Accordingly, the quotations from D used below have been col-

²⁹ On this ground it makes no practical difference what edition of the Greek texts is quoted below, since only those passages have been used that have no variants for the words affecting the illustration. Tischendorf's text has as a matter of fact been quoted as the logical accompaniment of the use of his apparatus. (See, however, note, p. 60.)

³⁰ The latest statement on this question is that of Hjelt, who concludes that the text of D indicates that it originated after S^s, but before S^c. For a summary of opinions see N.

lated with S^s and S^e, and the necessary exclusions have been made.³¹ This limitation made, we have left in our text only phenomena due to T's literary method.

The results of the entire discussion of the text of D, as regards detailed readings, may be summarized in the statement of a few principles to be applied in the use of each passage cited below. In every case the testimony of all the witnesses—save that of F, which “hat . . . natürlich so gut wie nichts zu bieten” (Hj., p. 58)—must be considered and the limitations discussed above applied. A, however, is the basis. The other documents are to be used as corroborative or as checks. Where A is supported by E and Aph. we are on quite certain ground. The reading is almost equally certain where A is supported by either of the other two when the non-corroborating witness is silent. A unsupported is trustworthy if E and Aph. are silent, and if the limitations noted above are diligently applied. The combined testimony of A and Aph., and sometimes the independent evidence of A, if unquestioned on other grounds, cannot be rejected because opposed to E, for Ephraem's looseness in quoting is notorious (H.^b, pp. 18–25), and because E sometimes shows corrupting transmissional influences where the others do not. Thus any reading may be confidently accepted if it has the support of A, Aph., and E; or of A with either E or Aph. in the absence of adverse testimony from one or the other; or of A alone in the absence of contrary evidence; or of A and Aph. against E; or sometimes of A against E. The application of these principles leaves almost no margin for error in the details of the text. We may be sure, therefore, that we have as great certainty in our use of details as in that of general order.

4. The method of procedure to be followed in our discussion has been, for the most part, already incidentally indicated in the preceding investigation of our text. Some further notes will be useful. The Greek quotations herein used are from Tischendorf's *Ed. VIII., Critica Major* (cf. footnote, p. 30). No Arabic or Syriac texts have been printed. The passages quoted from A are taken from Hogg's translation, which is better than either Ciasca's Latin or Hill's English rendering—Hill's is directly dependent upon Ciasca's—and is therefore the best existing translation of A in an easily accessible language. The translation in each of the passages quoted has been verified, and but slight and few changes have been found necessary. References to Syriac texts may be tested, by any who do not use the Syriac itself, by examining the Latin

³¹ The texts used in this collation are (x) Cur., (2) Ben., and (3) Lew.

translation of P accompanying the edition of that version, which is mentioned above in a footnote and in the bibliography; the English rendering of Cureton accompanying his edition of the Old Syriac; and the English translation of S^s, which has been made by Mrs. Lewis, and which accompanies her retranscription of some of the pages of this version. The reference numbers to A have been explained above. In the right-hand margin of the pages of Hogg's work are printed the numbers assigning the portions of text to the several gospels, which numbers appear in the Arabic text as printed by Ciasca. Caution is necessary, however, for these references are not always exact in details. Examination is in every case necessary to determine the correctness of the assignment.

CHAPTER I.

TATIAN'S PREFERENCE FOR ONE SOURCE OR ANOTHER.

WE are now in a position to proceed with the investigation of the manner in which T treated his sources in composing D, and on the basis of such an investigation to determine the degree of similarity between his method and that which according to the documentary theory of the relation of the synoptic gospels to one another, was employed by the authors of the resultant gospels. The bulk of our work will be concerned with T's method. This must be determined first. A comparison of it with that ascribed to the synoptists will be reserved for the last chapter.

The first step in our investigation will be to discover whether Tatian gave primary authority to one of his sources or to another, and if so, to which one. Zahn (*Z.*^a, pp. 260-63) favors the view that he followed John most closely, and this opinion is concurred in, but apparently without independent investigation, by Hill and B. W. Bacon (see *H.*^a, p. 27, and *Ba.*). On the other hand, G. F. Moore claims that this opinion is not correct, but rather Tatian follows Matt. (see *Mo.*). Zahn's view has been overstated by Hill and Bacon, and apparently misapprehended by Moore. Zahn says: "Er hat seine Schema vom Gang der öffentlichen Wirksamkeit Jesu, wie gezeigt wurde und eigentlich selbstverständlich ist, sowie Jemand den Versuch einer Verarbeitung aller vier Evangelien macht, hauptsächlich aus Johannes gewonnen" (p. 261). But the context shows quite clearly that Zahn hardly meant more than that Tatian got from John his chronological data for the construction of his work. He implies this quite distinctly by the statement, which occurs a few lines below the passage quoted above, viz.: "Also mit einem Wort das ganze chronologische Fachwerk hat er aus Johannes." Outside of these data, according to Zahn, preference was given no more to John than to the other evangelists. "Aber dem Johannes wie den Synoptikern gegenüber geht er von der Voraussetzung aus, dass jeder Evangelist sei es aus Unkenntnis des geschichtlichen Sachverhalts, sei es in Rücksicht auf sachliche Verwandtschaft, und lehrhafte Zweckmässigkeit vielfach eine andere Anordnung als die der zeitlichen Abfolge der Ereignisse gewählt habe." Yet these passages (and perhaps similar remarks) have been interpreted to mean that, not only in the gen-

eral chronological scheme based on the data of the feasts, but in details of arrangement as well, T followed John quite rigidly. On this understanding of Zahn—or rather misunderstanding—Bacon has maintained that the apparent changes in the order of Johannine material in D are not changes at all, but reflect the order of John in T's exemplar. He contends that in this order there is external evidence for that arrangement of the fourth gospel which, on internal evidence, certain modern scholars have proposed as original for the fourth gospel. Such are the views which have been held with respect to Tatian's attitude toward his several sources.

To arrive at a correct conclusion as to whether T preferred one source consistently, it will be necessary to set forth the evidence and let the foregoing opinions, or any others, stand or fall in the light of it. The gospel of John, on account of the views connected with it, will be treated separately. The synoptic gospels may be considered together.

The evidence regarding these latter is abundant and clear. Only samples of it need be cited. Mark is preferred to Matthew in A 20:17-37. Thus we have Matthew subordinated. Matt. 8:14-17 (= A 6:48-52) is brought in D to the same position which is given to the parallel material in Mark and Luke, and the Matthean account of the healing of the paralytic, who was borne by four, is similarly subordinated, since it has the same position as in Mark and Luke. On the other hand, Matthew's testimony controls the placing (A 11:24-12:32) of Matt. 8:18-9:26 = Mark 4:35-5:43 = Luke 8:22-56 + Luke 9:57a, 59-62 (this last being introduced in a striking way), since all this material is given before Mark 3:31-4:20 and its Lukan parallel. Thus Mark and Luke are subordinated to Matthew. Luke alone is likewise subordinated to Matthew in the internal structure of the account of the temptation. All three synoptics are subordinated to T's general plan by his giving to (Matt. 8:2-4 =)³² Mark 1:41-45a = Luke 5:12-16, a position (A 22:1-8) quite original with himself. Other examples of this variety of preference and subordination could be given, but it is unnecessary. It is clear enough from these that no one of the synoptists is given constant preference. A graphic idea of T's treatment of the gospels in this respect can be gotten, almost at a glance from H.³, Appendix II, where he has printed in *italics* the numbers referring to gospel material which is represented by parallels only (especially if Appendix I be compared). If some of the passages there given be examined along with those presented above, it will be

³² Not used in T's conflation.

found that T's preferences now for one gospel, now for another, extend both to details within sections and to the order of the sections. Since this is true of the subordination of Matthew as well as of that of Mark and Luke, G. F. Moore's view must be pronounced incorrect. Tatian prefers Matthew no more than Mark or Luke as his constantly pre-eminent source. The result of a consideration of the synoptic gospels is, therefore, quite clear.

To determine T's attitude toward Johannine material, a much more detailed investigation is necessary. It will be conducive to clearness to prosecute the study in two stages, the first in regard to the order, and the second in regard to the inner composition of sections. With respect to order, Zahn is correct in saying that T got his chronological data from John. But such a statement has no more significance than to say that Tatian accepted the historical validity of John's statements concerning the feasts. It is difficult to see from which other of his sources T would have derived these items if he wanted to use them. But even this small amount of accuracy, which attaches to the statements of Zahn and those who follow him, must be granted only with a modification. As is shown by the analytical outline of D given in the next chapter, the scheme of feasts is reconstructed by T. The Passover of John 2:13 is not the first Passover in Jesus' career, but the second. Accordingly, it must be said that, though T does draw the items concerning the feasts from the only one of his sources which contained them, nevertheless he subordinates even these to a plan which he himself has conceived after a study of the gospel history. Furthermore, even in their reconstructed order T does not use these items as the articulations of the parts of his gospel. The language of Zahn, therefore, even when interpreted in the least rigid way, conveys an impression, as it apparently did to Hill and Bacon, not supported by the evidence of D itself. It is scarcely true that "*das ganze chronologische Fachwerk hat er aus Johannes.*" Zahn's opinion, therefore, must be modified, and even when modified, scarcely approaches an exact expression of the truth concerning T's attitude toward his sources.

Yet, in spite of this, Bacon has used Zahn's statements as the basis of his own supplementary view. Assuming that he had correctly understood Zahn's language, and that, so interpreted, it was correct, he has proceeded without any detailed support of his general ground to draw his conclusion. This conclusion assumes that T was not skilful enough to see the fitness of the order which he gives to the

several sections, and therefore the order given must be that of his exemplar. But such an assumption, even when flanked by Bacon's argument that no other church father ever perceived this fitness, is scarcely permissible. Tatian's acuteness with regard to the only specific passage concerned will be discussed below, but here it is to be noted that in many other directions as well it is quite remarkable. He has succeeded quite as well as most modern harmonists (*cf.* H.³, App. I), and better than many. He may not have solved his problems to the satisfaction of everyone any more than harmonists usually do, but that he in general perceived the problems, no one who reads the *Diatessaron* can deny. It is not enough to show, as Bacon thinks he has done, and as indeed is here and there true,³³ that Tatian was not as acute as some modern scholars in regard to this point or that. Such procedure does not prove inherent incapacity. To be sure, T was not omniscient, but does this prove that he was unable to see what, save for Bacon's assumption, the arrangement of Johannine material in D shows that he did see? If a man's acuteness is to be judged by his ability to see everything, and if he is to be condemned without further hearing because he fails here and there, what modern scholar's acumen will stand unimpeached under the test? If T was dull, this must be proved, not assumed. Such evidence as Bacon produces is insufficient against that which meets one on nearly every page of D, and which can be seen, almost at a glance, from the outline in the next chapter.

But, aside from this lack of positive evidence for the support of the assumption that T was dull, there are difficulties which lead to a negation of Bacon's proposition which he bases on Zahn's statements. These difficulties are entirely overlooked by Professor Bacon, yet, in the light of the evidence, are quite insuperable. For his theory to be valid, the order of Johannine material in D, the "external evidence," must agree with the reconstructed order of John supported by the internal evidence of the fourth gospel. This agreement must be complete, else the theory will fall to the ground, since, if it be incomplete, there is no way of determining where Tatian changed the order of his exemplar, and where he did not. Admit that he changed any passages, and you must admit more than the possibility of his having changed others. Since this is true, the difficulties mentioned above show two things: first, that in one direction the "external evidence," which Bacon claims, proves too

³³ Note in particular Tatian's failure to perceive the difficulty which exists between the synoptic and Johannine accounts as to the date of the crucifixion.

much; second, that in another direction it does not prove enough. It proves too much, for Tatian's arrangement differs at many points from an order which might be expected from the internal evidence of the fourth gospel. And not only does the order presented by D differ from the modern scholars' reconstructed arrangement of John, but this order of D has in it phenomena (abruptness and lack of transition) which, according to modern critical science, would lead immediately to a reconstruction of it. For example, how can we grant the presence in the original John of such abruptness, such lack of transition, as, on the hypothesis that D preserves the original Johannine order, exists between John 6:71 and 4:4? ³⁴ How could John 4:45b have connected John 5:47 and John 7:1? How could we explain the presence of John 5:1 (A 30:31) between John 7:31 (A 28:32) and the repetition of this verse at A 34:48, or even its presence between the first occurrence of 7:31 and the next Johannine verse (7:32) of A, in case we were able to satisfy ourselves as to the repetition? Or, even if we eliminate John 5:1 by supposing that this verse of A (30:31) is to be assigned to John 2:13, ³⁵ nevertheless the presence of any such statement would raise the same difficulty. Or, if we could take an additional step—which, however, we cannot—and rid our text of any statement such as this which implies a journey from and a return to Jerusalem between the utterances of two closely connected verses (John 7:31 and 7:32), how could we explain the still remaining difficulty of the connection of John 7:31 (A 28:32) and John 2:14 (A 32:1)? As we look at this cumulative pyramid of impossibilities connected with this one point—not to speak of the other occurrences of abruptness—we are brought face to face with the insuperableness of the difficulties in the way of Bacon's view. But even were we able to give satisfactory explanation to these matters, we would still have to face the quite impossible task of explaining how the original order of John in T's exemplar, got into its present arrangement in our fourth gospel. Many a modern scholar has been staggered by his inability to give explanation of how the material of the fourth gospel became disarranged from the order of John reconstructed by critics, and got into that of our extant gospel. But

³⁴ D presents Johannine material in the following order. John 1:1-5 + (1:6 omitted) 1:7-28 + 1:29-31 + 1:32-34 + 1:35-51 + 2:1-11 + 3:22-4:3a + 4:46-54 + 2:23b-25 + 6:1-71 (with this section synoptic material is conflated) + 4:4-45a + 5:1-47 + 4:45b + 7:1 + 7:2-10a + 7:10b-31 + 5:1 (?) + 2:14-22 + 3:1-21 + 7:31-52 (note the repetition of vs. 31). From this point on there is no difference between T's order and that of our fourth gospel. The + sign indicates intervening synoptic material.

³⁵ For a full discussion of this matter see chap. vii, below.

in the case of a change from the order presented by D, the problem is far more difficult. Bacon attempts no explanation. Whether, therefore, we consider simply the existence of the deviations of D's order, which are not paralleled in that made on the internal evidence of John, or the nature of these deviations in themselves and in relation to the present order of the fourth gospel, we reach the irresistible conclusion that Bacon's hypothesis will not stand. And not only is this true. The lack in the "external" evidence prevents it from proving enough. In all the points involved, save one, viz., the transposition of John, chaps. 5 and 6, the order preserved in D differs from that constructed on the internal evidence of the fourth gospel. In the face of this fact, therefore, as well as before the consideration of the number and nature of D's deviations, the view which we are opposing falls.

But against this conclusion it may be argued that in the transposition of chaps. 5 and 6 at least we have "external" corroboration of the view of some modern scholars. But the validity of this objection cannot be maintained. If it is shown that T changed his exemplar constantly, then it is certainly probable that in this one place the transposition is due to his conception of the fitness of the order, not to his exemplar. As said above, *ex hypothesi*, no changes are to be admitted, or all differences of order are to be attributed to T's alterations. This general argument, moreover, is strengthened by several examples of Tatian's acuteness. The first is his clear recognition that the agreement of much of the discourse material in Matthew and Luke was significant. Such passages T assigned to the same occasion; not, as many do, to different connections. He brings together the Matthean and Lukan versions of the Sermon on the Mount, and much other material as well. (Cf. H.^a, App. I and II.) In this matter, at least, he antedates many moderns; and this fact disposes of Bacon's general argument against T's acuteness. In addition to this, however, Tatian shows himself keenly alert at precisely the time when he is determining the position which he will give to chap. 5. The visit to Jerusalem of John, chap. 5, has been determined by Tatian to have preceded that of John 2:13. He therefore is compelled to transpose the clause, John 4:45^b, to a position after chap. 5, because until this latter has been presented there has been given no account of Jesus' being at Jerusalem. In placing chap. 6 he has done precisely what we should expect of him. He has conflated it with the parallel synoptic material and, having done this, has given

to the whole account a position suggested by his synoptic sources. Therefore, in the light of his treatment of these two chapters, there is no more ground for Bacon's view than in the case of any part of John. The transposition just discussed falls into line with all the rest of the evidence, and if it did not, it would hardly be sufficient ground for the theory that Bacon has advanced.

The sum of the whole matter is that Bacon has assumed too much on the basis of a misunderstanding of Zahn's language. The facts³⁶ brought out in our discussion are too considerable and important to allow the acceptance of his theory. They clearly show that Tatian reconstructed his Johannine material, rather than that he persistently followed the order of the fourth gospel.

This conclusion with reference to general order is paralleled by that which is to be drawn from the evidence concerning T's use of Johannine material in the inner composition of sections. An investigation of the passages of A where T has identified John's accounts with those of the synoptists will at once reveal the subordination of the former to the latter. These passages are as follows: the account of John the Baptist's ministry (A 3: 37—4: 27; *cf.* A 4: 28—41 and 5: 4—20); the feeding of five thousand (A 18: 21—43); the triumphal entry (A 39: 18—45); the anointing at Bethany (A 39: 1—17), the Last Supper (and connected events and speeches, A 44: 10—47: 44); the arrest of Jesus (A 48: 22—43); events immediately following the arrest (A 48: 44—49: 18); the trial before Pilate (A 49: 43—51: 6); the crucifixion (A 51: 15—52: 13); and the burial (A 52: 21—44). In every case, save one, there is not the slightest trace of a complete preference for John, and in almost all of the instances there is decisive evidence of a subordination of Johannine to synoptic material or to T's own general plan. The usual method of procedure was to use one of the synoptics for the framework of a narrative or discourse, to fit other material into this, and to employ from John in this process only such as is peculiar to the fourth gospel. The evidence leads us to a conclusion precisely the reverse of the proposition that T preferred John to the other gospels.

The above views concerning T's attitude toward his sources, as regards both the general order and inner composition of sections, must therefore be pronounced incorrect, or modified according to the evidence which has now been presented.

The result of the investigation with which this chapter began has, for the most part, been incidentally shown in the foregoing refutation

³⁶ Bacon nowhere presents the facts, and that he had them before him is hard to believe.

of current views. We may here notice the specific phenomena of T's method in choosing material from his several sources. T followed no gospel constantly as his primary source. But, on the basis of a study of all four gospels, he adopted a general plan to which he subordinated the material furnished by each of his sources. This subordination extends to both the general order and the inner composition of sections. As regards his use of the synoptic gospels, it is to be said that sometimes he used a given source without alteration, excepting a few expressions here and there; in some other passages, he added to his preferred source from his rejected source only such material as was not in the former;³⁷ and in still other cases he simply substituted one account for the other, with little or no change; *vide, e. g.*, the last two items of the account of the temptation (A 4: 43—5: 3), where Matthew is the source for one and Luke for the other; or consider the substitution (A 13: 39—14: 14) of Luke 7: 18—35 for Matt. 11: 2—19, with almost no Matthean influence, save in the addition of Matt. 11: 12—15, which is peculiar to the first gospel. The gospel of John is treated in general in precisely the same way as those of the synoptists. In both the choice of material and its arrangement T is guided by his own historical judgment as to what is correct. His choice of Johannine material illustrates, for the most part, the phenomenon of the addition of material peculiar to one source, which addition is made to that source which is being generally followed at any given point. Almost any conflation of John with the other gospels will illustrate this; *e. g.*, A 39: 1—17. There is also the phenomenon of introducing long, unbroken sections from a single source. Such are the characteristics of Tatian's preferences in the use of his sources.

³⁷ Examples of this and the other phenomena mentioned may be seen in the passages of the synoptists referred to above in the discussion of order (p. 34), as well as in almost any conflation of A.

CHAPTER II.

THE PLAN OF THE DIATESSARON.

THE results of the investigation of the preceding chapter serve as a basis for the determination of what Tatian's plan was. Until we had reached some conclusion as to what general attitude toward his sources he assumed, we were in no position to present the scheme of his work, as D itself reveals it. Now, however, we may proceed without fear of being confronted with conclusions drawn from any of the views presented above. The apparent plan of T's gospel is as follows:

I.	INTRODUCTORY - - - - -	A 1:1—3:36
1.	The eternal Logos - - - - -	1:1—5
2.	Birth and childhood of John the Baptist - - - - -	1:6—81
3.	Birth and childhood of Jesus - - - - -	2:1—3:36
a)	Annunciation to Joseph - - - - -	2:1—8
b)	Infancy of Jesus - - - - -	2:9—47
a)	Birth - - - - -	2:9—28
β)	Circumcision - - - - -	2:29
γ)	Presentation in the temple - - - - -	2:30—47
c)	Childhood of Jesus - - - - -	3:1—36
a)	Visit of the magi - - - - -	3:1—12
β)	Flight into Egypt and return to Nazareth - - - - -	3:13—23
γ)	Life of Nazareth - - - - -	3:24
δ)	Visit to Jerusalem - - - - -	3:25—35
ε)	Growth of Jesus - - - - -	3:36
II.	EVENTS INTRODUCTORY TO THE CAREER OF JESUS - - - - -	3:37—5:20
1.	John the Baptist's advent and preaching - - - - -	3:37—4:27
2.	Baptism of Jesus - - - - -	4:28—41
3.	Temptation of Jesus - - - - -	4:42—5:3
4.	Call of the first disciples - - - - -	5:4—20
III.	JESUS' PUBLIC MINISTRY - - - - -	5:21—38:47

(The account in this section gives a series of journeys each of which follows a period of activity at the place from which Jesus starts and to which he returns.)

1.	Journeys with Cana as headquarters - - - - -	5:21—6:35
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PERIOD I.

a)	Jesus' arrival at Cana, and first miracle - - - - -	5:21—32
b)	His widespread fame - - - - -	5:33, 34
c)	Visit to Nazareth - - - - -	5:35—41

- d*) Beginning to preach - - - - - 5:42-43
e) Call of the four - - - - - 5:44-6:4
f) Continuation of tour in Judea - - - - - 6:5-19

PERIOD II.

- a*) Return from Judea to Cana, and performance of second
 miracle - - - - - 6:20-34
b) Preaching tour in Galilee - - - - - 6:35
 2. Journeys with Capernaum as headquarters - - - 6:36-27:47

PERIOD I.

- a*) Removal to Capernaum, performance of miracles, call
 of Matthew - - - - - 6:36-54
b) Tour of Galilee - - - - - 7:1-10

PERIOD II.

- a*) Return to Capernaum, and curing of the paralytic borne
 by four - - - - - 7:11-24
b) Call of Levi and feast at his house - - - - - 7:25-36
c) Sabbath controversies - - - - - 7:37-53
d) Withdrawal from Capernaum - - - - - 8:1-17
e) Call of the Twelve - - - - - 8:18-25
f) Sermon on the Mount - - - - - 8:26-11:2
g) Descent from the mount - - - - - 11:3

PERIOD III.

- a*) Return to Capernaum, the centurion's servant, the
 widow of Nain's son - - - - - 11:4-23
b) Pressing call for disciples - - - - - 11:24-30
c) Departure to the other side of Galilee, and stilling of
 the tempest - - - - - 11:31-37
d) The Gadarene demoniac - - - - - 11:38-52

PERIOD IV.

- a*) Return from Gadara to Capernaum - - - - - 12:1-32
b) Blind men and a dumb demoniac cured - - - 12:33-39
c) Sending out of the Twelve - - - - - 12:40-13:29
d) Visit to Mary and Martha - - - - - 13:30-35
e) Visit of John the Baptist's messengers - - - 13:36-43
f) Discourse on John the Baptist - - - - - 13:44-14:14
g) Warnings to scribes and Pharisees - - - - - 14:15-42
h) Return of the Twelve - - - - - 14:43, 44
i) Jesus at Simon the Pharisee's - - - - - 14:45-15:11
j) Widespread belief in Jesus - - - - - 15:12-14
k) Sending out of the Seventy - - - - - 15:15-16:12
l) Effort of Jesus' mother and brothers to see him - 16:13-18

<i>m</i>) Tour of Galilee - - - - -	16:19-21
<i>n</i>) Parables by the seaside - - - - -	16:22-17:35
<i>o</i>) Rejection at Nazareth - - - - -	17:36-53
<i>p</i>) Death of John the Baptist - - - - -	18:1-20
<i>q</i>) Retreat of Jesus from Herod's power - - - - -	18:21-24
<i>r</i>) Feeding of the five thousand - - - - -	18:25-46
<i>s</i>) Jesus' walking on the sea - - - - -	18:47-19:13
<i>t</i>) General healing activity - - - - -	19:14, 15

PERIOD V.

<i>a</i>) Return to Capernaum and rebuke of sign-seeking	19:16-20:11
<i>b</i>) Jesus at dinner, unwashed hands - - - - -	20:12-45
<i>c</i>) Withdrawal toward Tyre and Sidon, the Syro-Phœnician Woman - - - - -	20:46-58
<i>d</i>) Journey through the Decapolis - - - - -	21:1-7
<i>e</i>) Continuation of this journey through Samaria; the Samaritan woman ³⁸ - - - - -	21:8-46
<i>f</i>) Return to Galilee (but not to Capernaum) - - - - -	21:47-49
<i>g</i>) Healing of a leper in a Galilean village - - - - -	22:1-8
<i>h</i>) Journey to Jerusalem; the infirm man at Bethesda - - - - -	22:9-55
<i>i</i>) Return to Galilee; a mountain miracle - - - - -	23:1-4
<i>j</i>) Feeding of the four thousand - - - - -	23:5-12
<i>k</i>) Pharisees and Sadducees demanding a sign - - - - -	23:13-25
<i>l</i>) Blind man at Bethsaida - - - - -	23:26-30
<i>m</i>) Peter's confession at Cæsarea-Philippi - - - - -	23:31-24:1
<i>n</i>) The transfiguration - - - - -	24:2-24
<i>o</i>) Descent from the mount, and reception of warning concerning Herod - - - - -	24:25-29
<i>p</i>) Demoniac boy - - - - -	24:30-47
<i>q</i>) Jesus' forecast of his death and resurrection - - - - -	24:48-52

PERIOD VI.

<i>a</i>) Return to Capernaum; ambition of the Twelve - - - - -	25:1-3
<i>b</i>) The stater in the fish's mouth - - - - -	25:4-7
<i>c</i>) Jesus questioned as to the relative greatness of the Twelve; discourse on humility ³⁹ - - - - -	25:8-26
<i>d</i>) Journey into Perea; question about divorce - - - - -	25:27-42
<i>e</i>) Jesus and the children - - - - -	25:43-46
<i>f</i>) Parables of Grace - - - - -	26:1-33
<i>g</i>) Parable of the Unjust Steward; parable of the Talents - - - - -	26:34-27:29

³⁸ Zahn designates this thus: "Reise durch Samarien [nach Jerusalem]" (Z.^a, p. 258). But this is a journey from the Sidonian region to Galilee.

³⁹ The arrangement of these sections is interesting. Item *a*) brings Jesus and the Twelve back to Galilee, while *b*) is strikingly inserted between *a*) and *c*).

- h) Return to Galilee (not to Capernaum; cf. 27:40), and
discourses on the slain Galileans and the fig tree - 27:30-39
i) The woman healed on the sabbath - - - 27:40-47
3. Journeys to and fro between Perea and Jerusalem - 28:1-38:47

PERIOD I. JOURNEY TO ATTEND A FEAST.

- a) Jesus' colloquy with his brothers - - - - 28:1-8
b) Journey through Perea to feast at Jerusalem - - 28:9-41
c) Return to Perea; rich young man; discourse on
riches - - - - - 28:42-29:42
d) Jesus at the chief Pharisee's house - - 29:43-30:30

PERIOD II. JOURNEY TO ATTEND FEAST OF UNLEAVENED BREAD.

- a) The journey - - - - - 30:31-31:52
a) The start - - - - - 30:31
β) Cleansing the lepers - - - - - 30:32-39
γ) Jesus' forecast of his death - - - - - 30:40-45
δ) Request of the sons of Zebedee - - - - - 30:46-52
ε) Consequent anger of the Ten - - - - - 31:1-14
ζ) Jesus and Zaccheus at Jericho - - - - - 31:15-24
η) Blind Bartimæus - - - - - 31:25-35
θ) Parable of the Ten Shares - - - - - 31:36-52
b) At Jerusalem (during and subsequent to the feast) 32:1-37:42
a) First day of the feast - - - - - 32:1-23
Cleansing of the temple; widow's two mites; parable of
the Pharisee and Publican; retirement to Bethany.
β) Second day - - - - - 32:24-33:1
Cursing the fig tree; visit of Nicodemus; retirement to
Bethany.
γ) Third day - - - - - 33:2-34:45
Lesson of the fig tree; challenge of Jesus' authority; his
reply; plots; questions of Pharisees and Sadducees.
δ) Teaching of subsequent days; its results - - 34:46-53
ε) Seventh day - - - - - 35:1-37:24
Attempt to arrest Jesus; question of Jesus to Pharisees;
discourse on light; man born blind; discourse on the Good
Shepherd.
ζ) Discourse of Jesus at the Feast of Dedication - 37:25-42
c) Journey from Jerusalem to Perea; raising of
Lazarus - - - - - 37:43-38:41

PERIOD III. THE LAST JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM - - 38:42-47

IV. CLOSING EVENTS OF JESUS' CAREER - - 39:1-55:17

- I. Passion Week - - - - - 39:1-52:44
a) Anointing at Bethany - - - - - 39:1-17

<i>b</i>)	Triumphal entry - - - - -	39:18-45
<i>c</i>)	Jesus in the temple - - - - -	40:1-4
<i>d</i>)	Visit of Greeks - - - - -	40:5-23
<i>e</i>)	Jesus' daily retirement to Bethany - - - - -	40:24, 25
<i>f</i>)	Jesus' arraignment of the Pharisees - - - - -	40:26-41:15
<i>g</i>)	Beginning of plots - - - - -	41:16-26
<i>h</i>)	Saying concerning the destruction of the temple, and its consequences - - - - -	41:27-32
<i>i</i>)	Discourse on the destruction of Jerusalem - - - - -	41:33-43:58
<i>j</i>)	Jesus' prediction of death; plots; Judas's complicity - - - - -	44:1-9
<i>k</i>)	Washing of the feet of the disciples - - - - -	44:10-33
<i>l</i>)	Passover supper and farewell discourses - - - - -	44:34-47:44
<i>m</i>)	Betrayal and arrest of Jesus - - - - -	48:1-43
<i>n</i>)	Flight of the disciples - - - - -	48:44-48
<i>o</i>)	Peter's first denial - - - - -	48:47-55
<i>p</i>)	Examination before Annas - - - - -	49:1-6
<i>q</i>)	Peter's second denial - - - - -	49:7-18
<i>r</i>)	Trials before Caiaphas, Pilate, Herod, and Pilate again - - - - -	49:19-51:6
<i>s</i>)	Judas's remorse - - - - -	51:7-14
<i>t</i>)	Crucifixion - - - - -	51:15-52:23
<i>u</i>)	Burial - - - - -	52:24-39
<i>v</i>)	The guard - - - - -	52:40-44
2.	Life after death - - - - -	52:45-55:17
<i>a</i>)	Resurrection - - - - -	52:45-53:31
<i>b</i>)	Subsequent appearances - - - - -	53:32-54:48
<i>c</i>)	Ascension - - - - -	55:1-17

Such is the schematic conception of Jesus' life which T seems to have had. He seems to have followed his sources for the main stages of the gospel history, allowing rearrangement only within the larger divisions. But he deviates from them in one remarkable instance. After omitting all account of a distinct early Judean ministry, he creates a later one, which consists in a non-canonical Passover week and an implied sojourn in Jerusalem through the following winter (A 30:31-37:42).

CHAPTER III.

ALTERATIONS IN ORDER.

A PERUSAL of the plan in the preceding chapter reveals at once the truth of Zahn's remark, already quoted, but which will bear repetition here: "Aber dem Johannes wie den Synoptikern gegenüber geht er [T] von der Voraussetzung aus, dass jeder Evangelist, sei es aus Unkenntnis des geschichtlichen Sachverhalts, sei es in Rücksicht auf sachliche Verwandtschaft und lehrhafte Zweckmässigkeit vielfach einer andere Anordnung als die der zeitliche Abfolge der Ereignisse gewählt habe" (Z.³, p. 261). Indeed, the extent to which T, on the basis of his conception of the evangelists' method of dealing with their material, modified the order of his sources is probably even greater than Zahn supposed. There may be produced examples of every possible kind of deviation from the order of our gospels—changes in the order of paragraphs, of sentences and clauses, and of words and phrases.

There are numerous alterations in the order of paragraphs. A most striking example is the distribution of Matt., chap. 18, through A 25: 8—27: 29. The following will indicate this: Matt. 18: 1=A 25: 8; Matt. 18: 3=A 25: 10; Matt. 18: 6-8=A 25: 13-18; Matt. 18: 9a=A 25: 20; Matt. 18: 13=A 26: 5; Matt. 18: 14=A 26: 7; Matt. 18: 23-35=A 27: 1-13; Matt. 18: 15-22=A 27: 16-23; Matt. 18: 10, 11=A 27: 28, 29. The remainder of the sections, which are involved here, is partly made up from material parallel to the omitted parts of Matt., chap. 18, but the great mass of remaining narrative is not thus from parallel sources, and this material gives to the several parts of Matt., chap. 18, an entirely different setting from that which they have in the first gospel. Another remarkable instance of alteration of order is found in A 22: 1-7. Here is put the account of the healing of a leper just after that of the journey through Samaria (which ends with John 4: 45a) and just before the journey to Jerusalem recorded in John 5: 1. The last synoptic material used by T preceding this account, which is taken from Mark, chap. 1, and Luke, chap. 5, is Mark 7: 31-37, and the next following is Matt. 15: 29-38, the last part of which is parallel to the Markan material immediately following Mark 7: 31-37. This arrangement gives the incident a position different from

that in any of the sources, viz., between Mark 7: 37 and 8: 1. Again, the addition of John 1: 35^f to the end of the account of the temptation (A 5: 4) gives an impression of the sequence of events not gained by the independent consideration of John 1: 35, 43; 2: 1. Another change is that of the position of the visit of Jesus to Mary and Martha. From its collocation in D with events transpiring in Galilee, and from the absence of any indication that Jesus left Galilee to make this visit, the conclusion is naturally drawn that T thought of Martha and Mary as living in Galilee, or, at least, that he failed to see this implication of his arrangement. Just why T inserted this account here it is difficult to say; but this much is quite certain: the procedure is in line with the subordination of Luke's Perean section to Mark and Matthew, generally characteristic of T. As already indicated in the previous chapter, T has made the journey through Samaria (A 21: 8 ff.) to be, not from Judea to Galilee, but from Tyre and Sidon, through the Decapolis. The general direction and the destination of the journey are not changed, but the point of its departure and the period of Jesus' activity in which it was made are altered. The warning given Jesus concerning Herod (A 24: 27-29), put by Luke in the Perean period (Luke 13: 31 ff.), is introduced just after the account of the descent from the mount of transfiguration, and just before that of the healing of the demoniac boy. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of the phenomenon now being illustrated is the displacement already referred to, viz., the bringing together of the synoptic and Johannine accounts of the cleansing of the temple, of the visit of Nicodemus, and also of much of the material which our gospels present in connection with the Passion Week; and the making of this combined matter into an account of a week of activity and of a long sojourn at Jerusalem—the beginning of this account being connected with a Feast of Unleavened Bread, the second in the career of Jesus as conceived by T.⁴⁰ Still another illustration, and one almost incapable of explanation, is found in T's position for the Johannine account of the washing of the disciples' feet, viz., before the account of the preparation for the paschal supper (A 44: 10-33). Other examples need not be given. These will suffice to show the freedom with which T treated his sources with respect to the arrangement of sections.

These disarrangements of paragraphs, in the nature of the case, and as has incidentally appeared, cause differences in the order of events. But there are also alterations in the order of events not so

⁴⁰ See chap. vii, the discussion of A 30: 31.

caused. For example, the omission of the first part of Matt. 2:1 (A 3:1), and the substitution for it of the simple "And after that," give a unique sequence of events. By this change the visit of the magi is represented as having taken place after the return to Nazareth (and yet the visit is paid at Bethlehem). This would seem to imply that T held the view afterwards maintained by Ephraem and other Syrian Fathers, possibly, at least in part, on the basis of precisely this passage in D, that the visit of the magi occurred when Jesus was two years old (see Har.^c, pp. 37-39). Only by attributing to T such a view can there be explained what otherwise is a very crude and incongruous collocation of material, one not paralleled for crudity elsewhere in D. Yet, at the same time, there should probably be ascribed to T, on this hypothesis, the idea that Jesus' parents returned to Bethlehem. Another alteration in order not to be accounted for merely by the rearrangement of sections is to be seen in A 6:46. The isolation of this verse is due to T's failure to identify Matthew and Levi. The order of these events, irrespective of changes in the order of sections, deviates from that of the gospels. This shows quite clearly that T felt free to rearrange as he saw fit both sections of material and the sequence of events.

There is a similar freedom in the treatment of sentences and clauses. In A 5:43 Markan material is put into Matthean order. Examine the following:

MARK 1:15.	A 5:43.	MATT. 4:17b.
ὅτι πεπλήρωται ὁ καιρὸς καὶ ἤγγικεν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ· μετανοεῖτε καὶ πιστεύετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ.	"Repent ye and believe in the gospel. The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of heaven has come near."	μετανοεῖτε· ἤγγικεν γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.

A comparison of these three columns quickly reveals the alteration in D. Again, A 14:41, 42 shows Matt. 12:22, 23 to have been transposed to a position after Matt. 12:37 (= A 14:36). This transposition is supported by the testimony of E, for Ephraem quotes (M., p. 112) Matt. 12:32 (= A 14:31) before he mentions (M., p. 113) Matt. 12:22. Matt. 18:10, 11 are transposed to a position after all the remaining material of this chapter of the first gospel (A 27:28, 29). This transposition also is supported by E (see M., pp. 164, 165). John 12:16 (= A 39:25) is transposed to a position before John 12:12 (= A 39:34), and John 12:9-11 are put between John 12:2 and 12:3 (= A 39:2-6). The latter transposition is supported by E, in which John 12:10 precedes 12:5 (M., p. 205). In A 49:9 a part of Matt.

26:73 is inserted between Matt. 26:71 and 26:72. Matt. 26:59-68 (=A 49:21-41) and its parallels are transposed and made to follow Matt. 27:1b (which is used rather than Mark 15:1). The order of the several items of Mark 11:12-19, as it appears in D (A 32:1-27), is as follows: Mark 11:16 (+ insertion of Mark 12:41-44) + 11:19a + 11:12-15a.

Definitely attested examples of altered order of words are comparatively less numerous. Almost all the possibilities in the different orders for words are exhausted by either T's sources, as we possess them, or by the variants of their transmitted texts. The limitations which we have placed upon our text for the sake of certainty preclude, therefore, all but a few instances. Under the circumstances, however, it is surprising that there are any. Those of which we may be certain are as follows:

- 1 { Luke 1:50, *eis γενεὰς καὶ γενεὰς τοῖς φοβουμένοις αὐτόν.*
A 1:51, "them who fear him through the ages and the times."
- 2 { Luke 9:11b, *καὶ τοὺς χρεῖαν ἔχοντας θεραπείας ἴατο.*
A 18:26, "And he healed those having need of healing."

NOTE.—This example is especially interesting, since Luke 9:11 is repeated with the order of the Greek (*cf.* A 32:23).

- 3 { Mark 10:46, *ὁ υἱὸς Τιμαίου Βαρτιμαῖος, τυφλὸς προσαιτῆς, ἐκάθητο παρὰ τὴν ὁδόν.*
A 31:26, "And there was a blind man sitting by the wayside begging,
. . . . Timæus, son of Timæus.

NOTE.—The order of A is supported by E (M., p. 181).

- 4 { Luke 18:11, *ἄρπαγες, ἄδικοι, μοιχοί.*
A 32:18, "the unjust, the profligate, the extortioners."

These passages show that Tatian was capable of changing the order of words, and had we more of the certainly original text of D, there would in all probability be a great many more such passages.

The foregoing discussion reveals that there are in the *Diatessaron* examples of every kind of change in order. T has quite freely altered the order of paragraphs, events, sentences and clauses, and words and phrases.

CHAPTER IV.

ADDITIONS AND OMISSIONS.

As we take up the consideration of additions and omissions, we should remember what was said above concerning the tendency of corruption, in the transmission of D, to delete additions and supply omissions. It was concluded that, unless there was some specific evidence against the passages that present such phenomena, all additions and omissions must *a priori* be ascribed to T. The following examples have been put to the test in every way that was suggested in our introductory discussion of the text, and they stand approved :

Additions of words and phrases are :

1. A 6 : 53 = Mark 1 : 33, "of Jesus."
 2. A 18 : 12 = Mark 6 : 22, "of the company."
 3. A 20 : 40 = Mark 7 : 19, "entereth" (second occurrence).
 4. A 28 : 45 = Matt. 19 : 18, "commandments" (after the relative pronominal adjective).
 5. A 30 : 13 = Luke 14 : 18, "The first said *unto them*, Say to him."
- NOTE.—The words *italicized* constitute the addition.
6. A 29 : 31 = Matt. 20 : 5, "And sent them" (one word in Arabic).
 7. A 49 : 19 = Luke 22 : 66, "all the servants."
 8. A 50 : 42 = Matt. 27 : 30, "from his hand."
 9. A 51 : 6 = John 19 : 16, "according to their wish."
 10. A 51 : 9 = Matt. 27 : 5, "and died."

NOTE.—E supports this (M., p. 240). This addition has fallen away from A.

11. A 52 : 4 = John 19 : 30, "everything."
12. A 52 : 36 = Mark 15 : 47, "that was related to."

NOTE.—This is possibly an interpretation of the Greek article.

13. A 55 : 16 = Mark 16 : 20, "from thence."

There is no need to carry the list farther, though this might be done.⁴¹ The number is sufficient for our purpose.

Added clauses and sentences are :

1. A 14 : 17 = Matt. 12 : 24, "which is in him."

⁴¹ Here, as in some of the other lists, no attempt has been made to be exhaustive. The completeness of each list will be indicated as it is presented. The present writer has himself collected numerous other examples, and still others may be gotten by the study of Appendices I-III of H.^a These illustrations, however, must, if they are to be accepted as valid, be sifted by the processes used in this discussion. The lists which have been printed herein give a sufficient number of examples to determine T's literary methods.

2. A 16:23 = Matt. 13:2, "and when the press of the people was great upon him."
3. A 20:14 = Luke 11:39, "and ye think ye are cleansed."
4. A 20:20 = Mark 7:4, "what was bought."
5. A 20:52 = Matt. 15:25, "have mercy upon me."
6. A 23:25 = Matt. 16:12, "which he called leaven."

NOTE.—This is a mere interpretative addition.

7. A 25:6 = Matt. 17:26, "Simon said unto him, Yea. Jesus said unto him, Give thou also unto them like the stranger."

NOTE.—E supports this by direct quotation (M., p. 161).

8. A 26:7 = Matt. 18:14, "that have strayed and for whom he seeketh repentance."

NOTE.—Aph. (column 354)⁴² supports this. The Arabic is, word for word, like the Syriac, except that it has instead of the Syriac participle a finite verb ("he seeketh").

9. A 29:23 = Luke 16:28, "lest they also sin."

NOTE.—Aph. supports this reading (column 907).

10. A 31:26 = Mark 10:46, "his name was."

NOTE.—This has the support of E (M., p. 181).

11. A 48:51 = John 18:17, "I mean Jesus of Nazareth."

12. A 48:55 = Matt. 26:58, "of what would happen."

13. A 49:7 = John 18:25, "when Jesus went out."

There might be added here at least ten more examples, but this will suffice. It is plain that T added both words and sentences.

When we pass from these varieties of addition to that of material, we are on different ground. On the whole, T seems to have regarded the four gospels as furnishing all the material that should be used. Indeed, he may not have had any other extensive accounts of Jesus' life. And yet there are indications that he added some items from sources outside of his four main documents. If E gives a more original reading (M., p. 240) than A 51:9, then Acts 1:18 probably influenced D at this point. Again, at a point corresponding to A 45:16, 1 Cor. 11:33 was used by T, if the reading supported by Aph. (column 518) is correct. There is also evidence that T used an apocryphal saying at a point corresponding to A 20:23. The evidence consists in the addition in E (M., pp. 137, 138) of these words, "et qui blasphematus Deum, crucifigatur." Zahn thinks (Z.^a, p. 241) this is apocryphal, and there is no reason for saying that it is not. The added words may be an invention of T's, but, if so, they are unlike most of

⁴² All citations of Aph. refer to the numbers of the Latin columns of Graffin's edition.

his additions,⁴³ which are usually interpretative, or at least may be explained as not unnatural expansions of his text. Zahn's suggestion may, therefore, be correct. But if this view is not correct, that concerning another passage in E certainly has probability. The passage is "ex lumine super aquas exorto et ex voce de caelo delapsa cognovisset" (M., p. 43; *cf.* Z.^a, p. 241). It seems to indicate quite clearly that there was in Ephraem's exemplar of D some reference to the apocryphal story concerning the light which appeared on the waters of the Jordan when Jesus was baptized.⁴⁴ The sanction of the story for T's mind is suggested and, at the same time, the whole hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that Justin Martyr, whose pupil T was, knew and used this story.⁴⁵ Hill doubted the correctness of Zahn's suggestion that there was such an item in D (H.^a, pp. 36, 37), but J. R. Harris (Har.^c, p. 43) has produced evidence of quite decisive value for the settlement of the question. Ishodad, a Syrian Father, directly ascribes the story to D. Zahn's view, based alone upon E, is thus supported from this unexpected quarter. To this example of the use of extra-canonical material we might add T's use of Mark 16:9-20, if we could be sure that it was not in his exemplar—assuming that this section is unauthentic. But whether the inclusion of this material from Mark be regarded as an addition or not, it is quite certain that there are traces of material supplied by other sources than our four gospels.

But Tatian not only added, he also omitted, material. Omissions of words and phrases occur as follows:

1. A 1:42, 60; 2:9; 4:35; 8:9. These passages correspond respectively to Luke 1:41, 59; 2:1; 3:21; 6:12. In all five of these passages there is omitted *ἐγένετο*.

NOTE.—It should perhaps be said that some late manuscripts also omit this at Luke 2:1, but the chance of such a reading being the source of the phenomena of A at this point is so remote that the example has been allowed to stand, though, strictly, this is contrary to our usual method of procedure.

2. A 1:45 = Luke 1:44, *ἰδοὺ γάρ*.
3. A 2:1 = Matt. 1:18, *Ματίας*.

NOTE.—But E has this word (M., p. 20), and this fact throws suspicion upon the omission, though this suspicion may be dispelled. Ephraem's tendency to quote loosely and under the influence of the separate gospels, as well as the textual

⁴³A 25:6 presents another saying that might on this same ground be assigned to an apocryphal source. *Cf.* p. 51.

⁴⁴FUL. gives the following as containing the story: "the Gospel of the Ebionites," "the Preaching of Paul [or Peter]," "the Pseudo-Cyprianic De Baptismata,"

⁴⁵See *Dialogue with Trypho*, chap. 88.

principle stated at the beginning of this chapter, argue strongly for the correctness of A. E, not A, seems to present at this point a text which has fallen in with the general transmissional tendency to fill in omissions.

4. A 2:42 = Luke 2:34, ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ.

NOTE.—The evidence for this omission is derived from E (M., p. 23). Ephraem gives a turn to his comments on this passage which would be difficult to understand, were we to suppose these words stood in his text. This fact is quite decisive. Some manuscripts omit ἐν, but none the entire phrase.

5. A 4:12 = Matt. 3:4, περὶ τὴν ὁσφὺν αὐτοῦ.

6. A 4:35 = Luke 3:21, καὶ προσευχομένου.

7. A 7:37 = Matt. 12:1 and Luke 6:16, ἔτιλλον.

NOTE.—The latter part of this verse is certainly from Luke, for there is no reference in Matthew to rubbing. The omission is, therefore, as indicated. E again throws suspicion upon this example by quoting "coeperunt spicas evellere et fricare et edere" (M., p. 61). But, again, this may be transmissional corruption, particularly since P, which Ephraem undoubtedly knew, has this reading.

8. A 21:48 = John 4:44, αὐτός.

9. A 53:26 = Matt. 28:11, πορευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἰδοῦ.

NOTE.—P omits ἰδοῦ, but none of the remainder.

Omissions of clauses and sentences are:

1. A 8:53-56 = Luke 12:57, τί δὲ καὶ ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν οὐ κρίνετε τὸ δίκαιον.

NOTE.—S^a and S^c both omit τί, but nothing else.

2. A 9:30 = Luke 11:1, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ προσευχόμενον ὡς ἐπαύσατο.

NOTE.—S^a and S^c omit ἐγένετο only.

3. A 24:6 = Luke 9:31a, οἱ ὀφθέντες ἐν δόξῃ.

4. A 30:32 = Luke 17:11a, c, καὶ ἐγένετο . . . καὶ αὐτὸς διήρχετο διὰ μέσον Σαμαρίας καὶ Γαλιλαίας.

5. A 32:1-27 = Mark 11:18, καὶ . . . αὐτοῦ.

NOTE.—This verse is entirely omitted in the rearrangement of Mark 11:12-19, and the distribution of it through the section of A indicated. It should be noted that the parallel of the verse is used at an entirely different point (A 34:46). The omission here is, nevertheless, a true example of the excision of a verse from the source which was in use, for it can scarcely be shown that T regarded Luke 19:47 as parallel. Indeed, just the opposite conclusion is implied by the position of Luke 19:47 (A 34:46) relative to other contextual Markan matter.

6. A 32:13 = Mark 12:42b, ὃ ἐστιν κοδράντης.

7. A 32:26 = Matt. 21:19, καὶ ἐξηράνθη παραχρῆμα ἡ συκῇ.

NOTE.—E refers to the withering of the fig tree, but does not quote (M., p. 183). This may not signify more than that Ephraem knew the separate gospels.

8. A 39:15, 16 = Mark 14:8a, ὃ ἔσχεν ἐποίησεν.

9. A 46:53 = John 16:10, καὶ οὐκέτι θεωρεῖτέ με.

This list might be prolonged.⁴⁶ But of the omissions of longer sections of material there is only one certain example, viz., the omission of the genealogies. The evidence that these did not appear originally in D is conclusive. There is (1) the express testimony of Theodoret (*Ad Her.*, 1:20, written in 453 A. D.). (2) There is no comment upon them in E. (3) The genealogies are given in the Borgian manuscript of A after A 55:17 (the end of D proper) and with the title *The Book of the Generations of Jesus* (H.^a, pp. 3-5; Hg., n. 55:17). Another omission besides this might be claimed, viz., of the pericope upon the adulterous woman, if it were not for the probability that this section was not in T's exemplar (*cf.* its absence from Syriac versions).

But if there are no other long sections than those mentioned which are omitted entire, yet attention must be called to the mass of unused parallels. In this connection, the dropping out of items of material, not elsewhere included in D, which are due to these omissions of parallels, are of peculiar interest. Examples of the omission of items due to this and other causes are as follows:

1. A 7:13-17. The fact that it was four men who bore the paralytic drops out through the use of the Lukan rather than the Markan account.
2. A 8:1. Matt. 12:14 is used instead of Mark 3:6, and thereby is omitted the fact that the Pharisees consulted the Herodians in their attempt to do away with Jesus.
3. A 14:44=Luke 9:10. There is neglected here the fact that it was to Bethsaida that Jesus withdrew.
4. A 24:26 drops out the entire verse, Mark 9:16, the question of Jesus.
5. A 33:52-55=Luke 20:16b. The reply (and its introduction) of those listening to Jesus is omitted.
6. A 39:26-28a omits the reference of Mark 11:4 to the colt's being tied to a door in the street.

These examples (the list might be lengthened) might have been included in the other lists of omissions. They have been separated to show that, even where parallel material had been used, items of information are involved in T's omissions. We have, therefore, found that T omitted words and phrases, clauses and sentences, at least one long section, and a mass of parallel material, in all of which omissions neglect of substance was involved.

⁴⁶ Further examples may be found, as suggested above, in H.^a, App. II and marginal notes to the text (*cf.*, *cf.*, pp. 178, 179). The following may be profitably examined: A 45:19-22 (= John 13:33-36) and A 49:44 (= John 18:28b). See also footnote, p. 50.

CHAPTER V.

CONFLATIONS.

WE may now take up the consideration of phenomena which are quite inevitable where an author desires to preserve the language of his sources fully and, at the same time, not to lose any of the differing items. T has shown himself quite skilful in the intricate interweaving of elements drawn from his several sources. The following passages will show this:⁴⁷

A 12:6-10.—(Mark 5:21a.)⁴⁸ "And when Jesus had crossed in the ship to that side, a great multitude received him | (Luke 8:40b, 41a) and they were all looking for him. And a man named Jairus, the chief of the synagogue, fell down at Jesus' feet and besought him | (Mark 5:23a) much and said unto him, | (Luke 8:42a) 'I have an only daughter and she is come nigh unto death; | (Matt. 9:18b, 19) but come and lay thy hand upon her and she shall live.' And Jesus arose, and his disciples and they followed him. | (Mark 5:24b.) And there joined him a great multitude and they pressed him."

A 17:8-18.—(Matt. 13:31a) "And he set forth to them another parable, | (Mark 4:30a) and said, (Luke 13:18) 'To what is the kingdom of God like and to what shall I liken it | (Mark 4:30b) and in what parable shall I set it forth? | (Luke 13:19a) It is like a grain of mustard seed which a man took | (Matt. 13:31b) and planted in his field | (Mark 4:31b) and, of the number of things that are sown in the earth, it is smaller than all of the things that are sown, which are upon the earth, | (Matt. 13:32b) but when it is grown it is greater than all the herbs | (Mark 4:32b) and produceth large branches | (Matt. 13:32c) so that the birds of heaven make their nests in its branches.'"

NOTE.—Attention should be constantly paid to the bringing over of material from Luke's Perean sections to another connection.

A 11:38-45.—(Luke 8:26, 27a) "And they departed and came to the country of the Gadarenes, which is on the other side, opposite the land of Galilee. And when he went out of the ship to the land there met him | (Mark 5:26) from the tombs a man | (Luke 8:27c) who had a devil for a long time and wore no clothes, neither dwelt in a house but among the tombs. | (Mark

⁴⁷ All assignments to the gospels have been made after an examination of each passage. The references in Ciasca's edition of A (which are followed by Hill and Hogg) are not always to be trusted. No detailed consideration has been given to the text of A in the following examples, because the possible corruptions of text could not affect the result aimed at in presenting the illustrations. A difference of reading here and there would not have any effect upon the general result.

⁴⁸ The assignments include all material that follows until the next reference number is reached.

5: 3*b*, 4*a*) And no man was able to bind him with chains, because any time that he was bound with chains and fetters, he cut the chains and loosened the fetters. | (Luke 8: 29*c*) And he was snatched away of the devil into the desert | (Mark 5: 4*b*, 5*a*) and no one was able to quiet him. And at all times, in the night and in the day, he would be among the tombs and in the mountains; | (Matt. 8: 28*b*) and no one was able to pass by that way; | (Mark 5: 5*b*–7*a*) and he would cry out and wound himself with stones. And when he saw Jesus at a distance, he hastened and worshipped him and cried with a loud voice and said, | (Luke 8: 28*b*) 'What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of the Most High God? | (Mark 5: 7*c*) I adjure thee by God, torment me not.' | (Luke 8: 29*a*) And Jesus commanded the unclean spirit to come out of the man, etc., etc."

NOTE.—This passage illustrates the conflation of all three synoptic gospels.

The examples thus far given will suffice to show how the text of D reads where there is intricate conflation. The intricacy is shown also by the following arrangement of reference numbers without the actual quotation of the text:

A 39: 13–15 is made up of material from Matthew, Mark and John, arranged in the following order: Matt. 26: 9; Mark 14: 5*b*; Matt. 26: 10*a*; Mark 14: 6*b*; John 12: 7*b*; Mark 14: 7; Matt. 26: 12; Mark 14: 8*b*.

A 41: 33–41.—Here we have material from the three synoptics: Mark 13: 3*a*; Matt. 24: 3*b*; Luke 21: 7*b*; Matt. 24: 3*c*; Matt. 24: 4*a*; Luke 17: 22*b*; Matt. 24: 4*b*, 5*a*; Luke 21: 8*b*; Mark 13: 6*b* (or Matt. 24: 5*b*); Luke 21: 8*c*; Mark 13: 7*a*; Luke 21: 9*b*; Matt. 24: 6*c*; Luke 21: 10*b*, 11. The intricacy here is remarkable. A number of the passages designated contribute only one or two words. Note, in particular, the unexpected introduction of Luke 17: 22*b* (Perean section). The dislocation of this single item is suggestive as to limits to which a compiler will go in bringing small details from afar to serve in the composition of any section.

A 45: 23–28 gives a conflation of material from all four gospels: Matt. 26: 31, 32; John 13: 36*a*; Matt. 26: 33*a*; Luke 22: 33*b* (Lord), (or John 13: 37*a*); Matt. 26: 33*b*; Luke 22: 33*c*; John 13: 37*b*, 38*a*; Mark 14: 30*b*; Luke 22: 34*b*; Mark 14: 31*a*; Matt. 26: 35*a*; Mark 14: 31; Matt. 26: 35*b*. Here, also, some of the passages referred to contribute but one or two words.

Sufficient variety is given by these examples⁴⁹ to show that the degree of intricacy in conflating, and the remoteness of the conflated elements from each other in the written sources, are practically unlimited except

⁴⁹ Others may easily be had by examining almost any page of D.

by T's desire to present a tolerably smooth reading. This limit even is removed sometimes by the use of connectives.⁵⁰

There are, however, a number of passages which contain scenes very strikingly placed. They will yield additional evidence as to the distance from which minute items may be brought, and at the same time will show how little one source may contribute at any given point. Luke 4 : 14a is inserted (A 5 : 21), into Johannine material (between John 1 : 51 and 2 : 1), and is put to good service in getting Jesus from Judea to Galilee. In the light of the sources, this is noteworthy. Tatian identifies the return to Galilee after which, according to John, Jesus performed his first miracle at Cana, with the return immediately after which, according to Luke, the Galilean ministry began, and he obviates the difficulty which is thus raised by the consideration of the Johannine Judean ministry, by postponing the use of all the material relating to this. By making this identification, it was possible to use Luke 4 : 14a as an excellent transition from John 1 : 51 to John 2 : 1 and the rest of what follows in D. But such use of this verse separates it completely from its Lukan context. In Luke the verse forms the transition from the accounts of the baptism and temptation of Jesus to the general summary of his widespread work and fame at the beginning of the Galilean ministry. In D it constitutes the transition from the account of the interview between Jesus, Philip, and Nathaniel to that of the wedding incident at Cana, and in so doing it raises a difficulty in regard to the point of departure for the reckoning of the chronological significance of "the third day" (John 2 : 1). The verse in its present situation is, therefore, quite noteworthy. Another passage worthy of remark is A 6 : 22-25. After giving in A 6 : 20, 21, the Johannine version of the occasion, and in A 6 : 22 the statement of the fact of Jesus' withdrawal from Judea, T omits the last item of John 4 : 3 ("and departed again *into Galilee*"), postponing the information as to Jesus' destination. T apparently decided to use the synoptic statement concerning the destination, and this use all but compelled the inclusion of the synoptic introduction to this statement, viz., the synoptic version of the occasion of the withdrawal. As a result, we have this order : the Johannine statement of the occasion and fact of departure, then the synoptic statement of the occasion, fact, and destination of the withdrawal. This arrangement preserves all of the material, but it is rather repetitious. T has gone quite far in his effort to preserve the items from the several sources. Another striking sentence is A 6 : 46.

⁵⁰ Cf. Hill's marginal notes to his text.

His failure to identify Matthew and Levi probably led T to isolate Matt. 9 : 9^b as he has done here. In so doing he has given the verse a position unlike that which it has in the first gospel. An illustration of the phenomenon to which attention was called (p. 55), viz., of the introduction into Matthean and Markan material of items from Luke's Perean section, is given in A 16 : 38 (Luke 10 : 23^b). John 4 : 45^b, (A 23 : 3), which assigns the cause of the reception of Jesus by the Galileans (John 4 : 45^a) is postponed not only to a point after the addition of much synoptic material, but also to a position after the introduction of the whole of John chap. 5 (*cf.* above, p. 37). This postponement, therefore, amounts really to the introduction of a remotely situated item of one source into material from another, especially since this verse is connected in D with Matthean matter. Finally, note the insertion of Mark 16 : 12^b into the otherwise unbroken Johannine account (A 54 : 36). Tatian, accordingly, was wont to transfer, from one account to another, the smallest of items, and that, too, no matter how remote these items were, in the original sources, from the material into which they were to be inserted.

The variety of combinations of larger sections of material is as great as that of the intricate interweaving of smaller items. There are instances of every possible combination of the gospels with one another. The following list includes not only combinations of parallel passages, but also the collocation of passages, one after the other, which concern different events or contain different discourses.

Combinations of two gospels are :

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Matthew and Mark (A 5 : 42-48 ;
24 : 20-24 ; 25 : 27-46). | 4. Mark and Luke (A 14 : 43-48 ;
32 : 12-26). |
| 2. Matthew and John (A 41 : 1-15 ;
28 : 1-14 ; 51 : 1-14). | 5. Mark and John (A 19 : 14-16 ff. ;
54 : 25-38). |
| 3. Matthew and Luke (A 4 : 45-52 ;
11 : 1-23 ; 14 : 37-42). | 6. Luke and John (A 5 : 21-41 ;
28 : 15-41 ; 34 : 46-53 ; 41 : 16-26). |

Combinations of three gospels are :

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Matthew, Mark, and Luke (A 7 : 1-36 ;
13 : 27-43 ; 14 : 2-30). | 3. Matthew, Luke, and John (A 4 : 1-26 ;
6 : 25-35). |
| 2. Matthew, Mark, and John (A 19 : 1-13). | 4. Mark, Luke, and John (A 44 : 41-50). |

There are instances also of the combination of the four gospels (*e. g.*, A 4 : 28-52 ; 18 : 22-50 : 32 : 1-21). The number of illustrations may be increased, for the several kinds of combination, from H.^a, App. I. The variety of combination is sufficiently indicated by those given.

T's method in combining and conflating so variously was generally

to identify material in his several sources as referring to the same occasion, and then to interweave if he thought it possible, and, if not, to put the passages in juxtaposition to one another. He carried out this procedure, preserving material even at the cost of repetition and contextual inconsistency. Take, for example, the account of John the Baptist's ministry (A 3:37—4:27). The narrative begins with Luke 3:1-6, with which Matt. 3:1b-3a is interwoven. This carries the account through the announcement of the advent and preaching of John and the identification of him according to the synoptists. Then is added John 1:7-28, after which the synoptic account is resumed without any attempt to harmonize A 4:2-11 and 4:24-26. This failure to harmonize is probably due to the fact that, in the Johannine account, the Baptist addresses the representatives from Jerusalem, but in the synoptic narrative his words are directed to the people. Again, Matthew's account of the call of the four disciples is followed by that of Luke without any attempt to harmonize the two narratives (A 5:44-6:4). Attention may also be called again to A 6:20-25, where T gives both the Johannine and the synoptic version of Jesus' withdrawal from Judea. Another striking combination without harmonization is to be found in A 44:11-40 f. Here we have John 13:1-20 followed by the synoptic account of the preparation for and of the actual progress of the paschal supper (the parallel Johannine material is connected with the latter element). The result is that we have a partial account of the supper in the incident of the feet-washing, and then follows the account proper of the passover meal.⁵¹ This and the preceding examples make T's method clear. He combined and conflated as he saw fit, attempting to preserve as much material as possible, even though such preservation involved lack of harmonization, repetition, and incongruities (*cf.* chap. vii).

In addition to the above, there is another characteristic of T's method which should be indicated. This is the enrichment of discourses found in one source with material occurring in more distributed connections in another. Especially important and instructive are the quite numerous cases in which he has enriched Matthean discourses with matter from Luke's Perean section. Moreover, it is to be noted that in some instances this enrichment is so extensive that not only the discourses which appear in the sources (*e. g.*, Matthew) are greatly lengthened, but new

⁵¹ T may have been led to this arrangement by the phrase, "before the Feast of the Passover," and by interpreting "at the time of the feast" to mean the general period rather than the actual time of the supper.

ones are created by the combination of less extended passages. Examine the following :

1. *A 8 : 26—10 : 48, the Sermon on the Mount.*—The material from the several sources is arranged as follows : Matt. 5 : 3–10 ; Luke 6 : 22*a* ; Matt. 5 : 11*b*, 12 ; Luke 6 : 24–27 ; Matt. 5 : 13–16 ; Luke 8 : 17 (or Mark 4 : 22 ?) ; Mark 4 : 23 ; Matt. 5 : 17–25*a* ; Luke 12 : 58*b* (Perean) ; Matt. 5 : 25*c*–42 ; Luke 6 : 30*b*, 31 ; Matt 5 : 43–46 ; Luke 6 : 32*b*–36 ; Matt. 5 : 47, 48 ; Matt. 6 : 1–8 ; Luke 11 : 1*b*, 2*a* (Perean material ; note this remarkable introduction of the narrative setting for the Lord's Prayer) ; Matt. 6 : 9–18 ; Luke 12 : 32, 33*a* (Perean) ; Matt. 6 : 19–23 ; Luke 11 : 35, 36 (Perean material ; note T's acuteness in these Matthean and Lukan passages) ; Matt. 6 : 24–27 ; Luke 12 : 26 (Perean) ; Matt. 6 : 28–31 ; Luke 12 : 29*b* (Perean) ; Matt. 6 : 32–34 ; Matt. 7 : 1 ; Luke 6 : 37*b*, 38 ; Mark 4 : 24*b* (note, with reference to the use of Mark here, and also in respect to the preceding instance of such use, that the material introduced is that which is not included in Matthew's version of the parables by the sea) ; Luke 18 : 8*b* (or Mark 4 : 25 ?) ; Luke 6 : 39–42 ; Matt. 7 : 6 ; Luke 11 : 5–13 (Perean) ; Matt. 7 : 12–16*a* (note the repetition of the "golden rule" in the same discourse ; cf. A 9 : 11) ; Luke 6 : 44 ; Matt. 7 : 17, 18 ; Luke 6 : 45 ; Matt. 7 : 19–23 ; Luke 6 : 47, 48 ; Matt. 7 : 25–27. Some of the material added to Matthew is parallel to the rejected portions of the first gospels, but most of it is not such.

2. *A 12 : 44—13 : 29, discourse to the Twelve.*—Here there is introduced material, not only from the parallels to Matthew in Mark and Luke, but also from Luke's Perean section, viz., Luke 12 : 3*b*, 4*a* (A 13 : 12, 13) ; Luke 12 : 5*a*, *c* (A 13 : 14) ; Luke 12 : 51–53 (A 13 : 20–22). If the view of Zahn and Hill is correct, that T conflated with this discourse the similar instructions to the Seventy (Luke 10 : 3–12), then this additional Perean material must be reckoned with at this point.

3. *A 13 : 44—14 : 40, the discourse on John the Baptist.*—There is introduced here, beside parallel material, the following from Luke's Perean section : Luke 16 : 16 (A 14 : 5) ; Luke 16 : 17 (A 14 : 19). There is also used Luke 6 : 45*a* (A 14 : 34) from Luke's version of the Sermon on the Mount. There is, moreover, added at the end of the discourse Luke 12 : 54, 55 (Perean) ; Matt. 16 : 2*b*, 3*a* ; Luke 12 : 56 (Perean, with possibly the conflation of Matt. 16 : 3*b*).⁵² Other examples are not necessary, as an examination of the other discourses taken from Matthew reveals that they have been enriched in the same way as those discussed.

⁵² The material is difficult to assign here on account of the condition of the Greek text. Our assignment has been made on the basis of Westcott and Hort's text. In all of the assignments in this chapter this edition has been used in conjunction with that of Weiss (in part).

Examples of discourses which have been very greatly extended and of those which have been created almost entirely are:

1. *A 29:14-42*.—Here is quite an extended discourse made by bringing together Luke 16:19-31 and Matt. 20:1-16. It is to be noted, in addition, that T apparently considered this speech to be a continuation of the discourse on riches that precedes it in D. Thus, were it not for the narrative parenthesis of A 29:12, 13 (only two verses; cf. introduction of narrative setting of the Lord's Prayer, p. 60), we should have a continuous discourse extending from A 28:42 to A 29:42, in which T has gathered a considerable part of Jesus' teaching on riches. If this be the case—and it probably is—we have here an illustration of the bringing together of more or less isolated teachings to make a single formal discourse.

2. *A 29:43-30:30*.—The discourse at the table of one of the chief Pharisees is greatly lengthened by the conflation of Luke 14:1-24 with Matt. 22:1-14.

3. *A 26:34-27:29*.—A discourse to the disciples is constructed by adding to Luke 16:1-12 the following: Matt. 18:23-35; Luke 17:3, 4; Matt. 18:15-22; Luke 12:47-50; Matt. 18:10, 11. Note the way in which T has manipulated the material of Matt., chap. 18. Note also that he has broken up this discourse in Matt., chap. 18, and distributed its material in two of the sections of D (A 25:8-25 and A 26:1-27:9). T seems to work both by integration and disintegration.

4. *A 33:1-25*.—Here T has constructed a discourse on prayer, and has included, in the following order, these passages: Mark 11:19, 20; Matt. 21:20*b*; Mark 11:21-23; Matt. 21:21*b*, 22; Luke 17:5-10 (Perean); Mark 11:24-26; Luke 18:1-8.

The above examples are a striking commentary upon the possibilities of conflation of written sources. Nothing that has been alleged of our gospels will go beyond the limit here indicated.

CHAPTER VI.

REWRITING.

IN this chapter we are to take a step farther and consider phenomena which are occasioned by an attitude of mind precisely the opposite of that which is everywhere present in the making of confluations such as have just been discussed. In the latter case there is constantly present the desire to preserve as much of the material as possible just as the sources offer it. In the case of the phenomena about to be considered there is a disregard for the exact literary form of the material. These phenomena are to be described by the term "rewriting."

We will first present examples of rewritten words. These are of two kinds—those which show change in the grammatical forms of words, and those which illustrate the substitution of synonymous expressions. The following list presents examples of the alteration of grammatical forms of words:

1. A 13 : 41, Luke 7 : 21, "Spirit" for *πνευμάτων* is used.

NOTE.—The only evidence which is adverse to the use of this example is the omission in S^s of the diacritical mark for the plural. But the manuscript is defective here, and therefore little force can be given to the omission.

- 2 } A 39 : 22, "send them hither" (Arab. 2d pers. dual imperat.).
 { Matt. 21 : 3, *ἀποστείλει*. Mood, person, and number are affected.
- 3 } A 30 : 52, "My Father hath prepared."
 { Mark 10 : 40, *ἡτοιμάσται* (Matt. 20 : 23), *ὑπὸ πατρός μου*. The conflate reading of A has a change of voice.
- 4 } A 4 : 51 has a subjunctive clause of purpose for *δίδωμι* (Luke 4 : 6).
 { Change of mood.
- 5 } A 51 : 34, "Hath been written."
 { John 19 : 22, *γέγραφα*. Change of voice and person.
- 6 } A 28 : 28, "Truly this man has been known."
 { John 7 : 27, *τοῦτον οἶδαμεν*. Voice, number, and person are affected.
- 7 } A 46 : 14, "that I should be reckoned."
 { Luke 22 : 37, *ἐλογίσθη*. Person and probably the tense have been changed, for the Arabic imperfect refers to the future, *i. e.*, from the standpoint of the writing of the Scripture referred to. This change may be due, however, to a misreading of the equivalent Syriac verb on the part either of the Arabic translator or some previous scribe of D. Such a misreading would not be unlikely. Indeed, some scribe has been

guilty of this confusion in writing his manuscript of P. We can allow this example, therefore, only conditionally.

- 8 { A 46:48, "I go."
John 16:5, *ὑπάγεις*. Person is changed.
- 9 { A 10:14, "Give that ye may be given."
Luke 6:37b, *δίδετε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν*. The mood is changed by subordinating the second verb of the Greek, in a subjunctive clause of purpose. This instance is noteworthy, for in the preceding clause, "release and ye shall be released," no such change is made.
- 10 { A 17:9, "shall I set it forth."
Mark 4:30, *θῶμεν*. Change in number.

NOTE.—A suggestion of this change is found in several late MSS. of the Latin version of our gospels. That they could have influenced D in transmission is a possibility almost too remote for notice.

- 11 { A 18:26, "healed" (Arab. imperfect of past customary action).
Luke 9:11, *ἔλατο* (variant *ἔλασσο*). Whichever reading be adopted for the Greek text, the resultant text is hardly the same as that of A. The significance of the Arabic reading is enhanced by the fact that in the rendering of Luke 9:11 at A 32:23 Ibn-at-Tayib has used the perfect tense.

This list shows the remarkable variety in the alterations of grammatical forms.

We may now present examples of the substitution of synonymous words and phrases:

- 1 { A 29:23, "go."
Luke 16:28, *ὅπως διαμαρτύρηται αὐτοῖς*.

NOTE.—Aph. is not to be accepted as testimony against A at this point (*cf.* column 907 of Aph.), for the quotation in the homilies is quite clearly influenced by P. It is difficult to explain the derivation of the reading of A from that of Aph. (supposing the latter to be the original). The similarity of the reading of Aph. to that of P (for Luke 16:28) is enough to show how the text of Aph. reached its present form. Either Aphraates himself in quoting from, or some later scribe in copying, the homilies was influenced by P.

- 2 { A 39:41, "take possession of" (= Vat. MSS.), "drag" (= Borgian MS.).
Luke 19:44, *ἐδαφιοῦσιν*.

NOTE.—The difference in the Arabic manuscripts does not affect the point, unless Hogg is right in his suggestion that the reading of the Borgian manuscript, "drag," could easily have arisen from the change of a single diacritical mark in the Arabic word for "destroy." If this is true, our example is not valid. But Hogg does not indicate what Arabic word he refers to, and the only one which I could conjecture as possible from the change of the diacritical point (*chrr*) does not mean "destroy," if the authorities I have used are correct.

- 3 { A 43:8, "judge."
 { Matt. 24:51, διχοτομήσει.

NOTE.—E reads, "Eum abscindet medium et separabit eum (M., p. 218). This reading can hardly be accepted as original so far as *abscindet* is concerned, since the tendency would be to harmonize the reading presented by A with that of the separate gospels. The addition of *et separabit eum* may well be accounted original, and, if so, is one of T's additions.

- 4 { A 43:48, "ye cared for;" A 43:51, "we cared for."
 { Matt. 25:36, ἤλθατε; Matt. 25:39, ἤλθομεν.

NOTE.—The testimony of Aph. (column 902), which is adverse to A at this point, cannot be allowed decisive force. Either Aphraates is using the separate gospel (of P) for his quotation of this passage, or the text of his homily has been influenced by P. A's reading cannot be derived from that of Aph. Besides, it is T's habit to make such interpretative changes, not only in such a passage as this, but also in others.

- 5 { A 45:23, "ye shall deal treacherously" (Hogg renders "desert").
 { Matt 26:31, σκανδαλισθήσεσθε.

- 6 { A 1:51, "embraceth."
 { Luke 1:50, a copula is to be supplied.

- 7 { A 5:8, "his place."
 { John 1:39, ποῦ μένει.

- 8 { A 9:1, "to God."
 { Matt. 5:33, τῷ κυρίῳ.

- 9 { A 1:51, "throughout the ages and times."
 { Luke 1:50, εἰς γενεὰς καὶ γενεὰς.

NOTE.—The Syriac versions are unlike the Greek here, but A's reading could scarcely have arisen from their influence.

- 10 { A 9:16, 17, "where is your superiority?"
 { Luke 6:33, 34, ποῖα ὑμῖν χάρις ἐστίν.

NOTE.—There is possibly here a trace of the influence of Matt. 5:47 (τί περισσὸν ποιεῖτε), especially in the form presented by P, where the Syriac equivalent of "superiority" appears. Such an influence, however, could not be appealed to, to explain "where," and therefore the change in this word is due to T.

- 11 { A 15:49, "if he is not able."
 { Luke 14:32, εἰ δὲ μήγε.

- 12 { A 17:47, "Naaman, the Nabathæan."
 { Luke 4:27, Ναυμὰν ὁ Σύρος.

- 13 { A 25:20, "seduce."
 { Matt. 18:9 (or Mark 9:47), σκανδαλίζει.

- 14 { A 25:38, "hath exposed to adultery."
 { Mark 10:11, μοιχᾶται.

15. A 4:13 (Matt. 3:4). We know, on the express testimony of Ishodad, whose statement has influenced that of Bar Salibi and Bar Hebræus, that the reading of D was "honey and milk of the mountains," which is not preserved in A. This is a substitute for ἀκρίδες καὶ μέλι ἄγριον. T seems to have allowed his Encratite views to influence him here.⁵³

This list does not exhaust the number of examples, but shows clearly enough T's literary methods with respect to rewritten words.

Examples of rewritten sentences are :

- 1 { A 3:1, "After that."
Matt. 2:1, τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐν ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως ἰδοῦ.

NOTE.—The purpose and significance of this change has already been discussed (p. 48).

- 2 { A 4:51, "which is delivered unto me that I may give it to whomsoever I will."
Luke 4:6, ὅτι ἐμοὶ παραδέδοται καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν θέλω διδωμι αὐτήν.
A 7:37, "And while Jesus was walking on the sabbath day among the sown fields, his disciples hungered, and they were rubbing the ears with their hands and eating."
3 { Matt. 12:1, Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐπορεύθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς σάββασιν διὰ τῶν σπορίμων. οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπείνασαν καὶ ἤρξαντο τίλλειν στάχνας καὶ ἐσθίειν.
Luke 6:1b, καὶ ἤσθιον ψύχοντες ταῖς χερσίν.

NOTE.—Tatian has here both conflated and rewritten his material. Some, but not all, of his variations may be due to S^c. Compare S^c for Matt. 12:1: "And at that time Jesus was walking on the sabbath among the corn, and his disciples were hungry and began plucking ears and rubbing them in their hands and eating." If S^c is later than D in origin, it may have been influenced here by T's gospel.

- 4 { A 15:50, "So shall every man of you consider, that desireth to be a *disciple to me*; for, if he renounceth not all that he hath, he can not be my disciple." (The words italicized may be due to P, but no others.)
Luke 14:33, οὕτως οὖν πᾶς ἐξ ὑμῶν ὃς οὐκ ἀποτάσσεται πᾶσιν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν οὐ δύναται εἶναι μου μαθητής.
5 { A 16:17, "And he beckoned with his hand, stretching it out toward his disciples and said."
Matt. 12:49, καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν.
6 { A 19:9, "And when Jesus came near he went up unto them into the boat, he and Simon, and immediately the wind ceased."
Mark 6:51 (cf. Matt. 14:32), καὶ ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πλοῖον καὶ ἐκόπασεν ὁ ἄνεμος.

⁵³ For a suggestive discussion of this passage, and for the quotation from Ishodad, see Har.c, pp. 17, 18.

NOTE.—E gives a reading for this verse of D according to which it seems to have been even more recast by T than appears from a consideration of A's text alone: "Cum venisset Dominus et cum Petro navem ascendissit, ventus cessavit et quievit" (M., p. 136).

- 7 { A 24:6, "And they thought [the disciples] that the time of his decease was come."
 Luke 9:31, ἔλεγον [Ἡλείας καὶ Μωυσῆς] τὴν ἑξοδὸν αὐτοῦ.
- 8 { A 39:22, "We seek them for our Lord and straightway send them hither."
 Matt. 21:3b, ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν χρεῖαν ἔχει· εὐθὺς ἀποστελεῖ αὐτοὺς (Mark 11:3) ὧδε.
- 9 { A 51:6, "Then Pilate commanded to grant their request and delivered up Jesus to be crucified."
 Luke 23:24, καὶ Πειλᾶτος ἐπέκρινεν γενέσθαι τὸ αἶτημα αὐτῶν (John 19:16) τότε οὖν παρέδωκεν αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς ἵνα σταυρωθῇ.
- 10 { A 51:31, "And Pilate wrote on a tablet *the cause of his death* and put it on the wood of the cross above his head. And there was written upon it," etc. The words italicized may be due to P.
 John 19:19, ἔγραψεν δὲ καὶ τίτλον ὁ Πειλᾶτος καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ· ἦν δὲ γεγραμμένον
 Matt. 27:37, καὶ ἐθήκεν ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένην.

In this final example we have a striking instance of the employment of both conflation and rewriting:

- 11 { A 24:3, 4 (Luke 9:29a) "And while they were praying, Jesus | (Matt. 17:2a) changed | (Luke 9:29) *and became after the fashion of another person* | (Matt. 17:2b), and his face shone like the sun and his raiment was | (Mark 9:3a) very white | (Luke 9:26 according to the Syriac versions) like snow | (Matt. 17:2c) and as the light *of the lightning* | (Mark 9:3b) so that *nothing* on earth can whiten like it." The passages italicized are without exact equivalents in the Greek, but are somewhat like the verses to which they are assigned.
- Luke 9:29, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ προσεύχεσθαι αὐτὸν τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἕτερον καὶ ὁ ἱματισμὸς.
- Matt. 17:2, αὐτοῦ λευκὸς ἐξαστράπτων. καὶ μετεμορφώθη ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔλαμψεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, τὰ δὲ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο λευκά.
- Mark 9:3, ὡς τὸ φῶς. καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο στίλβοντα λευκὰ ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, οἷα γλαφεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς οὐ δύναται οὕτως λευκᾶναι.

This last example is a fitting climax to the others which precede. No matter how many more we should add—there are other examples—they could not show any more clearly than those above how freely T rewrote some of his sentences.

There are in D, strictly speaking, no rewritten paragraphs. T's regard for his sources was apparently too great to allow him to reject

the literary form of an entire paragraph and to give its substance a new dress. The nearest approach to a rewritten section is found in those where the interweaving, conflation, and rewritten sentences (the last more or less scattered) give the sections an entirely different form from that which the same material had in any one of the sources (*e. g.*, A 24: 1-16, and 39: 1-17). Yet it must be said that such sections do not present precisely the phenomenon of rewritten paragraphs, such as are alleged to be present in the synoptic gospels. We must, therefore, be content with noting the near approach just indicated, and with stating the absence of the real phenomenon.

CHAPTER VII.

INCONGRUITIES AND REPETITIONS.

A PHENOMENON which is usually given considerable weight by critics in determining whether a literary work is a compilation or not, consists in the occurrence in the work of contextual incongruities; *i. e.*, the occurrence of statements which are, to a greater or less degree, inconsistent with other statements in the context. T's gospel offers a good opportunity, since we possess his sources, for testing whether such a phenomenon is to be expected in compilations. It will be reassuring to those critics who have used this phenomenon as a criterion to find that in even so skilful a compilation as D there are a number of instances of incongruity.

1. *A 4:10, cf. 25.*—In 4:10 John the Baptist is made to say, "This is he who, *I said*, cometh after me and was before me," etc. No such saying, however, has been given before in D. Then in 4:25 is presented the saying which is apparently referred to in 4:10. The incongruity arises from the juxtaposition of two unharmonized sections from different sources.⁵⁴

2. *A 4:42; cf. 5:4, 21.*—In 4:42 Jesus is declared to have returned from the Jordan, and in 4:43 the account of the temptation begins. Yet in 5:4 ff. Jesus is still represented as in the company of the Baptist, and in 5:21 the statement of his return to Galilee is made. This statement suggests to the reader of D that "the third day" of 5:22 is not to be reckoned from the baptism. Probably T had some reason for supposing that Luke 4:1 (A 4:42) did not refer to a return to Galilee, as the source of A 5:21 is Luke 4:14; but the assumption that Jesus was still with John, though possible, is hardly suggested by the sources, and it produces an incongruity in the narrative, since there is no statement of a movement on the part of Jesus from the place of temptation to the Jordan.

3. *A 6:20-25.*—The awkwardness of this passage has been discussed above, p. 57.

4. *A 18:1-5, cf. 20.*—Herod, marveling at what he had heard of Jesus, joins in the opinion, according to this passage, that John the Baptist had risen from the dead (18:1-5). Yet in 18:20 Herod is still undecided as to who Jesus is and desires to see him. A comparison

⁵⁴ If T's text of John agreed with that of W. H., this incongruity is due to the corruption of D.

with the sources at once reveals the cause of the incongruity, viz., incompletely harmonized juxtaposition.

5. *A 44:10-34*.—Reference has already been made to the peculiarities of this passage (p. 59, above).⁵⁵ It suffices here to note that the account of the Last Supper begins at 44:10, is then diverted immediately to the account of a meal apparently preceding the paschal supper; then the account begun in 44:10 is resumed again.

6. *A 49:44*.—Tatian failed to see the chronological incongruity between John 18:28 and the synoptic account of Jesus' trial and crucifixion. The difficulty is made more outstanding by the combination of the two narratives.

7. *A 54:23, 24*.—Again T has failed to perceive what is now generally held to be an incongruity in the unified development of the entire fourth gospel, viz., the indication, in John 20:30, 31, of the close of the book.⁵⁶

These incongruities could be discovered, for the most part, even if we did not possess T's sources, and they, therefore, illustrate exactly the incongruities usually alleged to be present in works which are supposed to be compilations.

The presence of incongruities in D suggests that there will be found in it also that other phenomenon so generally found in works alleged to be compilations, viz., repetition. The list below will illustrate the number and variety of the occurrences of this phenomenon:

1. *A 4:10, cf. 25*.—We have in these two passages really the same saying from different sources, though T has given it a different setting in the two passages. Indeed, the accounts 4:2-11 and 4:24, 25 seem to refer to the same facts, but T is no duller in keeping the narratives separated than almost all modern harmonists.

2. *A 5:33, 34; cf. 7:8*.—The statement concerning the widespread fame of Jesus is twice used, and in both cases seems to be derived from Luke 4:14b, 15. (Luke 4:37 is also similar, though its parallel (Mark 1:28) is not, and may be the source for one of the occurrences, though this is not likely.)

3. *A 6:22; cf. 25*.—The fact of withdrawal from Judea to Galilee is used twice. In the first, the point of departure is emphasized; in the second, the point of destination is expressed. *Cf.* p. 57.

4. *A 6:36; cf. 7:25*.—The call of Matthew and that of Levi are not identified, as it is now usual to do.

⁵⁵ For a discussion, from a somewhat different standpoint from that taken here, of some of the passages in this list and one other, see pp. 57 f. above.

⁵⁶ For two additional examples of incongruity see footnotes, p. 72 and p. 73.

5. *A 7:9; cf. 25*.—The call of Levi is given twice, once from Mark 2:14 and once from Luke 5:27. There is possibly a hint as to how this repetition arose in E, whose reference to Jesus' choice of *Jacobum publicanum* (M., p. 58) may indicate that this was the reading in D at a point corresponding to A 7:9. There is authority (especially the "western" text) for such a reading in Mark 2:14, and it is more than possible that such a reading was present in T's exemplar of Mark, since the text of D shows a decided affinity to "western" readings. The fact that F omits the material of A 7:9 may be explained by supposing its author, knowing the better reading for Mark 2:14, perceived the repetition. If the reading of his exemplar of D was "Levi," the perception of this was easy. If, on the other hand, his exemplar had not become corrupted, as A has (assuming the correctness of our supposition), and read "Jacob," his Latin text of the separate gospels would correct this reading. Yet, over against the whole supposition is the fact that the reference in E is not a direct quotation, and its reading may be due to Ephraem's, not to Tatian's, knowledge of the separate gospel texts.

6. *A 8:44; cf. 13:11; cf. 41:19*.—In these passages the same saying is repeated from Mark 4:23; Matt. 10:26, and Luke 12:2, respectively. It is alleged that Matthew has repeated sayings from two different sources, but T goes even farther in thus using the same saying from three sources.

7. *A 13:12; cf. 41:20b*.—Luke 12:3b is used at both the points indicated. E has at a place corresponding to A 13:12 substituted Matt. 10:27b for Luke 12:3b. This is another case where E's text has been influenced by a separate gospel. Either Ephraem's exemplar had already been influenced; or his own knowledge of the gospel text⁵⁷ suggested this quotation to his mind; or else the text of E has been corrupted. E gives a reading in line with the general harmonizing corruptions in D, while A preserves an unharmonized text.

8. *A 18:2; cf. 5*.—In 18:2 the people are made to say that Jesus is John the Baptist risen from the dead, where Luke 6:7 is the source. In 18:5 Herod says the same thing, and here the source is Matt. 14:2.

9. *A 18:3; cf. 23:33*.—The expression "others, Jeremiah" drawn from Matt. 16:14b is used in both the places indicated.

10. *A 18:26; cf. 32:23*.—At both points Luke 9:11b appears.

⁵⁷ For a discussion of such a knowledge on the part of Ephraem see Z.a, pp. 61-63.

11. *A* 22:9; *cf.* 30:31.—According to the assignment of material in Ciasca's Arabic *Diatessaron*, which is adopted on the margin of the text of both Hogg and Hill, there is a repetition here of John 5:1. But the assignment of 30:31 to John 5:1 can hardly be correct. The verse in *A* agrees with John 2:13, which is nowhere else used, and differs from John 5:1 in the exact identification of the feast mentioned as the Feast of Unleavened Bread. To be sure, there is a variant of John 5:1 which makes this identification, and it might be said that this was the reading of T's exemplar. But the use of John 5:1 at *A* 22:9 without such identification disposes of such a suggestion at once, for it is quite incredible that T should have given John 5:1 in two forms from the same exemplar. Besides, had such a reading been in T's copy of John, it could hardly have failed to influence his conception of the chronology of Jesus' life; and, therefore, how can we think that T would have thus dallied with John 5:1 so as to give it two very distinct forms? In the face of these considerations, and since we have a reasonably close agreement between John 2:13 and *A* 30:31 (closer than that between John 5:1 and *A*), Ciasca's assignment is without probability. Moreover, the comparatively near occurrence in the context of D (*A* 32:1) of John 2:14, which is the next following Johannine passage, points to John 2:13 as the source of *A* 30:31 rather than to John 5:1. Still further there is no explanation, on Ciasca's assignment, of T's construction of the following narrative, which is concerned with what, at first sight at least, is an uncanonical Judean ministry. Such an explanation⁵⁸ is possible if the assignment herein suggested be accepted.

To support our explanation we may appeal to the larger context. Throughout 28:1—38:47 T deals with a period of Jesus' career in which Christ seems to have made a number of journeys to and fro between Perea and Jerusalem (*cf.* the outline, chap. ii). In 28:42 it is recorded that Jesus returned from Jerusalem, whither he had gone, according to *A* 28:9 ff. From 28:42 on, T describes Jesus' Perea activities, drawing largely upon Matthew and Mark for his framework, but weaving into his account Lukan material. In this account, two discourses (28:42—29:42 on riches, and 29:43—30:30 warnings given at the Pharisee's table)⁵⁹ were put, when T was

⁵⁸ So far as I have been able to discover, there has been no attempt made to explain T's remarkable collocation of the material which follows *A* 30:31 (*cf.* the outline above, chap. ii). The explanation here given fully satisfies the demands of probability.

⁵⁹ For the suggestion that the first of these discourses was actually thought of by T as a single speech, see above, p. 61.

brought in the use of his material to Mark 10:32.⁶⁰ This verse implies a visit to Jerusalem. A passage (Luke 17:11-19) in the section of Luke which was being used in the construction of the narrative here was naturally connected with this journey, and was used before Mark 10:32, because it did not fit well at any subsequent point. T then continued his work with his Markan material. He includes Mark 10:32 ff. (interweaving Luke 18:31-34), which distinctly represents Jesus as referring to his passion, which was imminent.⁶¹ He then continued with Markan and Matthean material. Without going into detail, we may note that he gives an account of the journey, which, in the synoptists, is that which precedes the passion week. The decision to use this material in this position then brought T to the consideration of the accounts of the cleansing of the temple and of the triumphal entry. The account of the latter was reserved as the most fitting introduction to the narrative of the last Passover, and in particular to John 12:17 (*cf.* A 39:18-40:4). This reservation may have been suggested to T, in the first instance, by the fact that the fourth gospel separates the account of the triumphal entry from that of the cleansing of the temple, and this latter account seemed to T to be fittingly identified with that of the synoptists. The identification of the Johannine and synoptic accounts of the cleansing of the temple thus resulted, on the one hand, in the separation and postponement of the account of the triumphal entry. On the other hand, it determined for T that the whole of his narrative, beginning at a point corresponding to A 30:32 and continuing down to the harmonization of these two accounts of the cleansing of the temple, must refer to that journey to Jerusalem which is recorded in John 2:13 f., since it was with this journey that John connects the account of the cleansing. He, therefore, retraced his steps and inserted John 2:13 before his first reference to the journey (A 30:32 = Luke 17:11) which had yet been made. He added to John 2:13, as a connective to what preceded, the words "And after that."⁶² Then he co-ordinated and conflated, at the proper points, the whole Johannine narrative contained in John 2:13-3:21, except the passage John 2:23-25 which had already been used, with the significant omission of John

⁶⁰ Mark seems to be the starting-point for all of T's work here.

⁶¹ Yet the passion is a year off, according to the indications in D (*cf.* the continuation of the above discussion). This chronological incongruity might be added to the list at the beginning of this chapter.

⁶² These are the words which probably led to the assignment of this verse to John 5:1. With this explanation of them there is no further need to consider that assignment.

2:23a,⁶³ at A 15:12-14. T then had his co-ordinated and conflated account connected with a Passover feast. He continued his narrative of the activities of Jesus at this feast by the use of material from the synoptics, and at one point in this procedure was led to differentiate the Passover here concerned with that of the passion week. At the very beginning of the section of D which we are discussing (A 28:1—38:47), T had used a part of John, chap. 7 (7:2-31), breaking off with vs. 31 at A 28:32. He was undoubtedly watching for a good opportunity to resume the use of Johannine material, and such an opportunity seemed to him to be offered at the point corresponding to A 34:48, for John 7:31 joins well here. Once the Johannine narrative was resumed, there did not seem to T that there was any suitable place to break it until the end of John, chap. 11 was reached, and therefore the entire section (John 7:31—11:57) is incorporated, with the introduction of only one brief passage of synoptic material (Matt. 21:41—46; A 35:17-22), which is inserted *in toto*. But this long passage from the fourth gospel contained John 10:22, which refers to Jesus' presence in Jerusalem during the winter. In view of the development of the preceding narrative, this referred to the winter after the Passover of A 30:31. T was, therefore, compelled to regard the Passover, referred to in John 12:1, to which he came in his study at the end of John, chap. 11 (included above), as one year later than the feast to which he has referred in A 30:31. When this conclusion was reached, the material from Luke 9:51-56 was inserted before John 12:1 as an introductory statement (A 38:42-47; cf. 39:1),⁶⁴ and then the account of the passion week was compiled.

Such a procedure as this, which has been suggested, is the only one, so far as the present writer has been able to discover, which will explain the remarkable arrangement which T has given his material. The length of our discussion of this one passage (A 30:31), in which a repetition of John 5:1 is alleged to be present, is justified by the importance of correctly assigning this verse in order to understand T's arrangement of material in A 28:1—39:17. The result for the subject of this chapter is that there are three reasons for assigning A 30:31 to John 2:13 rather than to John 5:1. These reasons are (1) the closer

⁶³ This statement would have been incongruous at A 15:12, since the context here does not represent the scene of Jesus' activities at Jerusalem.

⁶⁴ This place would seem to be a better one for Mark 10:32 ff., which really creates an incongruity where it stands (A 30:40 ff.), on account of the postponement of the fulfilment of Jesus' prediction for a whole year. This incongruity might be added to the list above.

agreement of A 30:31 with John 2:13; (2) the proximity of John 2:14 to A 30:31 in the context of D; and (3) the possibility of explaining T's arrangement if John 2:13 be the source. These reasons seem conclusive. A 30:31 then is to be assigned to John 2:13.

We may resume our presentation of doublets in D.

12. *A 28:32; cf. 34:48.*—In both places John 7:31 is used.

13. *A 45:27; cf. 49:17.*—Here Mark 14:30*b* is twice employed.

14. *A 54:14; cf. 55:5.*—John 20:21*b* is used at both points.

We have thus thirteen illustrations (deducting No. 11) of T's use of the same material more than once. In one instance, he uses the same saying three times, and each time it is drawn from a different source. On the other hand, he employs passages twice from the same source. He also gives double accounts because of incomplete harmonization, and this too where the passages, in their entirety, are identified as referring to the same event or speech. Both the number and variety of our illustrations are, therefore, great.

CHAPTER VIII.

COMPARISON OF THE METHODS OF TATIAN AND THE SYNOPTISTS.

THE greater part of our investigation has now been completed. We have discovered the characteristic of T's literary methods. It still remains for us to compare these characteristics with the phenomena which appear in a comparison of the synoptic gospels with one another. What degree of similarity is there between the two? This is the main question of our problem. We have found in D, which is indisputably compiled from written sources, examples of almost every sort of phenomenon which are generally alleged to be present in works supposed to be compilations. Moreover, these phenomena are just such as are alleged to be present in the synoptic gospels. T worked out a plan for his gospel, to which he subordinated the material of his sources, choosing material now from one document, now from another. Likewise the synoptists clearly adopted plans for their respective gospels, and exercised discretion in the arrangement of the material which they drew from their sources. The plan adopted by T follows the main divisions of Jesus' life as represented by our gospels, but with the striking difference of the omission of an early Judean ministry and the practical creation of a later one. In this respect, accordingly, T was freer in his method than the authors of Matthew and Luke, who, though adding the infancy sections, follow the main divisions of Mark with respect to other material.⁶⁵

In the working out of his plan T made alterations affecting the order of paragraphs, events, sentences, and words. Here, too, T is freer with his sources than the synoptists are with theirs, save possibly with reference to the order of words (see below, pp. 77, 78). The order of sections and events in Matthew and Luke is much nearer to that of Mark⁶⁶ than T's arrangement is to any one of his sources. In the change in the order of sentences, too, T goes farther than the synoptists, unless we except Matthew. But with regard to the changed order of words the case is, as intimated above,

⁶⁵ Note, however, Luke's lengthening of the Perean journey, which may be considered analogous in freedom to the arrangement of T just referred to, unless Luke has merely slipped in a document *in toto* at this place.

⁶⁶ This statement is made on the supposition that Mark was used in some form by Matthew and Luke, but the validity of the comparison with T which is involved would not be affected if we related the synoptic gospels in a different way, since the general order of all three is so similar.

slightly different for there are relatively fewer certainly attested examples of this phenomenon in D than in the synoptic gospels. This point will be further considered below (pp. 69, 70). For the present all we need state is that there are occurrences of this phenomenon in D as well as in the synoptic gospels. In this fact we have an important datum. It is in reference to the occurrence in the gospels of precisely such minute and, as it were, unconscious changes that the objection mentioned above (footnote, p. 10) is most vehemently urged. Yet here are examples in a document which we know to have been compiled from written sources. And we may add to such considerations that of the similarity of T's additions to those of the synoptists. They are parallel in variety, and possibly T's outnumber those of the authors of the first three gospels. In some of T's additions which are derived from other sources than the four evangelists we have an exact analogy to those small items which occur here and there in our first gospel, and whose sources are so hard to discover. The omissions of D are numerous and varied in nature. No sort of omission which can be pointed out in the synoptic gospels fails to find a parallel in D. Words and phrases, sentences and clauses, parallel material (which sometimes had a form different from that of the material used), items of material in rejected parallel accounts, and even one long section (or if both genealogies are counted, two), are omitted. In conflating, T goes to much greater limits than any of the synoptists. And yet his method is directly illustrative of theirs. This is particularly true of that phase of his method to which attention was called above (chap. v), viz., the enrichment and creation of discourses from more or less scattered passages of discourse material. The illustrations of T's method in this respect which have been presented above will be especially interesting to those who hold that the authors of the first and third gospels had a source which is represented, at least in large part, by the Perean section of Luke, and that this source furnished much of the enrichment in the discourses of the first gospel. These illustrations are also just as apt for any who should hold that the author of Matthew used Luke directly. In either case, the enriching process of the author of the first gospel has been carried one step farther by T. He has continued the process by adding more of the Lukan material to a substantially Matthean basis. The study of T's version of the Sermon on the Mount, not to consider any other discourses, will amply substantiate this statement. When we pass from the

consideration of conflation to that of rewriting, we find once more in D illustrations of phenomena which are alleged to be present in the gospels. Every kind of rewriting is illustrated except that of paragraphs rewritten entire.⁶⁷ In particular are to be noticed the changes in grammatical forms and the substitution of synonymous words and phrases. But in the case of contextual incongruities, the number of instances in D is comparatively greater than in the synoptic gospels. Indeed, there are few occurrences of such a phenomenon in the synoptists. T has, too, a greater variety of repetitions than the first three evangelists (*cf.* p. 74, *supra*). In whatever direction we turn, therefore, whatever species of deviation from sources we seek, we find in D illustrations of the phenomena (saving rewritten paragraphs) which are alleged to occur in the first three gospels. Indeed, in some respects T handles his sources more freely than the synoptists. Furthermore, the illustrations show a similarity between the methods of T and the synoptists, not only in including every category of phenomena, but also in that for some of these phenomena specific explanations may be found, while others can appeal for explanation only to general literary habit. In the case of many of T's characteristics, it can be quite clearly seen how he was led to pursue the course adopted. But in others (*e. g.*, the change in order and the rewriting of words) no such explanation is forthcoming. It is, accordingly, all but impossible to avoid the conclusion that the similarity of the phenomena in D to those in the synoptic gospels is, with the one exception noted, complete.

But over against this completeness there may be raised an objection. The paucity of examples of omitted paragraphs and of altered order of words, together with the complete absence of rewritten sections, it may be said, makes the similarity incomplete. But the paucity alluded to is only relative, and cannot be said to constitute a real difference in method. In the case of omitted paragraphs, the difference is, at least to a certain extent, only apparent, not real. The phenomenon does not occur much more frequently in the gospels than in D. So far as we can be certain of their sources, our evangelists omit sections rarely. They seem to have had almost, if not quite, as great a desire as T not to omit any section found in their sources. The fact that the latter omitted the genealogies shows that his mind was not immovably set against such a procedure. On the other hand, it may be that T altered the order of words less often

⁶⁷ See discussion below, pp. 78, 79.

than the authors of the first three gospels; but this cannot be proved, or even made probable, and it is rather contrary to the trend of the evidence. To be sure, the actual number of occurrences of the phenomenon is small, but the paucity is due rather to our processes of investigation than to T's literary habits. With such a rigid limitation of the text as we have made, there is relatively but a small area left to be investigated. This fact must be remembered when judgment is rendered upon the number of examples given in any of the lists. In the area of text which we have traversed the number of illustrations in almost all the lists is great enough to substantiate our contention. Judging from the number in this limited sphere, the lists could, in every case (except omissions of paragraphs and rewriting of paragraphs), be greatly lengthened if we were permitted to use the whole text of A unchallenged. In fact, examples of almost every kind of phenomena have had to be set aside in the preparation of this paper, on account of the limits which, for the sake of certainty, have been determined for the use of the text. And what is thus true of almost all the lists is particularly so with respect to the occurrences of altered order of words. The parallel passages of our gospels and the variants of the gospel texts all but exhaust the possibilities in the arrangement of words. Wherever there was a possibility of change, likely to arise in literary or scribal processes, either the evangelists in their use of one another's gospels, or scribes in their transmission of the gospel texts, have fallen into the altering tendency. Since, then, according to the limitations set for this investigation, these conditions almost exclude the possibility of finding instances of order not paralleled in one or another of the gospels or in some variant of their texts, we should be surprised to find any examples of this phenomenon rather than complain of the paucity of occurrences. The fact that such do occur, though few, is very significant. If our text were not so limited and our use of it so hampered, we might expect the number to be greater; indeed, instances of difference of order between the text of A and the Westcott and Hort Greek text, as well as the instances of other phenomena just referred to, have been set aside in our application of our principles. It would seem, therefore, that the paucity of occurrences of altered order of words, no more than the paucity of instances of omitted paragraphs, is a menace to the acceptability of the conclusion that T's method is completely similar to that of the synoptists.

On the other hand, the absence of entire rewritten paragraphs

from D constitutes a real difference between T's method and that of the first three evangelists. Yet this difference is not sufficiently serious to shake appreciably the conclusion already reached. T clearly did hold the letter of the gospels in sufficiently higher regard than the synoptists did their sources, to cause him to refrain from rewriting paragraphs, as they sometimes did. Yet this is the only exception to the general conclusion as regards the similarity of their methods. T's greater fidelity goes no farther than this, and it would be absurd to allow this exception to control our conclusion, reached on the basis of otherwise harmonious, extensive, and complete evidence. We must go no farther adversely to the conclusion than to note and admit the exception. Yet, on the other hand, there is good ground for holding that this absence was to be expected. T lived and wrote after the entrance into Christian thought of the idea of the canon. Indeed, this idea had reached a considerably advanced stage of development, and, so far as the supremacy of our four gospels is concerned, had progressed as far as it ever did. This idea certainly had an effect upon T's choice of sources, and it could hardly have failed to bring about precisely that greater fidelity to them which occasioned the exception to his otherwise free treatment. We should not, therefore, be surprised at the absence from D of rewritten paragraphs. On the other hand, the fact that the canon idea had no effect, or at most but little, upon the synoptists, at once explains their comparative readiness to rewrite even whole paragraphs. In this one respect their method was determined without the limitation which beset T. The difference, therefore, which actually exists can have little weight in affecting our estimate of the method of the synoptists in the light of that of T. But even if we allow it all the force it could claim, were it not for the consideration of T's conception of the canon, nevertheless, it could not balance, much less outweigh, the otherwise complete similarity of the two methods.

The attainment of the conclusion with respect to this great similarity puts us in a position to see what bearing the results of our study have upon the solution of the synoptic problem. In the first place, they completely dispose of the objection to the documentary hypothesis to which reference was made above (footnote, p. 10). The objection rests upon two premises: (1) The high regard of the synoptists for their gospel accounts would have forbidden them to make radical or purposeless changes in the use of these sources. (2) Appeal to mere literary habit, without evidence of specif-

ically purposed change, is not sufficient to explain such alterations as the synoptists are alleged to have made. The first premise is an unwarranted assumption, since we do not know that these writers regarded their sources with so high a degree of reverence. A consideration of the history of the idea of the canon, and of the fact that T, under the influence of this growing idea, used his sources with greater freedom than some today would employ them, clearly shows the direction of tendency, and indicates that our evangelists, since the idea of the canon probably did not affect them, would allow themselves a large liberty in the use of their sources, which they nevertheless regarded as historically trustworthy and whose historical testimony they endeavored substantially to preserve. We may therefore consider the first premise as giving no foundation for the objection. The second premise is destroyed by the consideration of the phenomena presented in this paper and of the conclusion reached in view of them. Many of the peculiarities of D can be ascribed only to T's literary habits. This ascription being thus the only possible one, at the same time satisfies all reasonable demand for an explanation. No appeal to "tendency" can or need be made. Since this is true of the phenomena of D, there certainly is no good reason for holding that it cannot be true of the exactly similar phenomena of the synoptic gospels. Both of the premises are therefore destroyed. The evidence of D is convincing and final in its disposition of this objection which is so often made, and which to some seems the only insuperable obstacle in the way of the acceptance of the documentary theory of the origin of our gospels.

But this negative conclusion is not the only one which may fairly be drawn from the results of our investigation. Over against this as the first deduction is a second which is positive. The completeness of the similarity between T's method and that of the synoptists gives general corroboration of the documentary theory. There is only one consideration which precludes this corroboration from amounting to an absolute demonstration. We have no means by which to determine with absolute certainty whether such phenomena as appear in D and our gospels might or might not arise in a work whose author used reasonably rigid oral tradition. Were it possible to put this consideration to the test—as, *e. g.*, might be the case if we possessed two works both of which were certainly known to be independently based upon the same cycle of oral tradition—we could then determine whether the phenomena of D and those of the synoptic gospels were peculiar to

compilations from written sources, or were common to all works which use sources either written or oral. The material for such a test we do not now possess, and can scarcely hope ever to obtain. It is therefore out of the question to do more than note the necessary modification of our conclusion. Aside from this qualification which is incapable of justification, we are safe, until someone produces evidence to the contrary, in concluding that the almost complete similarity mentioned above shows that our synoptists used written sources. If T, a hundred years more or less after the writing of the synoptic gospels, could still at so late a date write a gospel from written sources by a method all but completely similar to that alleged of the synoptists, certainly there can be no *a priori* reason against the documentary theory of the origin of our gospels, but rather this fact is a strong corroboration of it.

The sum total of our work in its relation to the synoptic problem is, then, negatively, to dispose of the objection above referred to, and, positively, to corroborate, in both its general and particular features, the documentary hypothesis.

THE INFINITIVE IN POLYBIUS

The Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek issues, from time to time, Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament. These Studies are grouped in three series: I, Texts; II, Linguistic and Exegetical Studies; III, Historical Studies. The volumes in each series will be issued in parts.

ERNEST D. BURTON.

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EDGAR J. GOODSPEED.

IV
THE INFINITIVE IN POLYBIUS
COMPARED WITH THE IN-
FINITIVE IN BIBLICAL
GREEK

BY
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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION - - - - -	7
BIBLIOGRAPHY - - - - -	9
SYNOPSIS OF THE USES OF THE INFINITIVE IN POLYBIUS - - -	15
I—Uses of the Anarthrous Infinitive in Polybius - - -	17
II—Uses of the Articular Infinitive in Polybius - - -	29
III—Uses of the Infinitive Characteristic of Polybius - - -	45
IV—Tables of the Uses of the Infinitive in Polybius and in Biblical Greek - - - - -	46
V—Comparison of the Uses of the Infinitive in Polybius and in Biblical Greek - - - - -	51
VI—Uses of the Infinitive Found in Biblical Greek but Not in Polybius - - - - -	52
VII—Causes of the Peculiarities in the Use of the Infinitive in the Biblical Books - - - - -	54
VIII—Conclusion - - - - -	59

INTRODUCTION.

THE purpose of this study is to make a thorough investigation of Polybius' use of the infinitive and compare the results thus obtained with the use of the infinitive in biblical Greek, and yet not with the whole of biblical Greek as represented in the Old Testament, Apocrypha, and New Testament, but with certain selected books.

Polybius, a native Greek who lived during the second century B. C., wrote his history in forty books in the common dialect, which was then the language, not only of Greece, but of all the East. And he wrote, not in a highly refined style, but as an educated man of affairs might write of events in which he was interested from personal experience.

It was just because of the widespread use of Greek in the East that it became necessary to have a translation of the Hebrew sacred writings into Greek for the use of the Hellenistic Jews, and that new writings were composed in that language and not in Hebrew.

The purpose, then, is to compare the use of the infinitive in Polybius with its use in two books (Genesis and Wisdom of Sirach) which were translated from Hebrew, and in two books (II and IV Maccabees) which were originally written in Greek.

"The Use of the Infinitive in Biblical Greek" has already been investigated and the results published by Professor Clyde W. Votaw, of the University of Chicago. He also very kindly provided me with unpublished material on the same subject.

All of my work on Polybius was done before I discovered that "The Articular Infinitive in Polybius" had been studied and the results of the study published by E. G. W. Hewlett in the eleventh volume of the *American Journal of Philology*. When the discovery of this admirable piece of work was made, along with the disappointment there was some satisfaction in the fact that my results coincided so exactly with those of Hewlett.

The texts used in this study were, for Polybius the edition of Hultsch, the first eight books in the second edition, and for biblical Greek, Swete's edition (Vols. I and II) in the second edition, 1895-96; Vol. III, 1894).

I wish to express my great indebtedness to Professor Ernest D. Burton for his assistance and interest in the matter of this study, but especially for the inspiration received in past years of association with him.

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SYNOPSIS OF THE USES OF THE INFINITIVE IN POLYBIUS.

I. THE ANARTHROUS INFINITIVE.

1. Verbal Subject.
 - 1) Of Impersonal Verbs in general=a.
 - 2) Of Impersonal Verbs which take Indirect Discourse=¹i.
2. Verbal Object.
 - 1) Of Verbs in general=b.
 - 2) Of Verbs introducing Indirect Discourse=²i.
 - 3) Of Verbs of Hindering and the like=v.
 - a) Followed by the Simple Infinitive.
 - b) Followed by the Simple Infinitive with $\mu\eta$.
3. Apposition=c.
4. Result.
 - 1) Actual or Hypothetical.
 - a) With $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ ($\acute{\omega}s$)=f.
 - b) With $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ ($\acute{\omega}s$) $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ =⁵f.
 - c) With $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ in Indirect Discourse=⁷f.
 - 2) Epexegetic or Explanatory.
 - a) Without Attendant Particle=s.
 - b) With $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ ($\acute{\omega}s$)=¹s.
5. Stipulation.
 - 1) With $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ =⁴f.
 - 2) With $\acute{\epsilon}\phi'$ $\acute{\omega}$, $\acute{\epsilon}\phi'$ $\acute{\omega}\tau\epsilon$ =m.
6. Limiting Nouns, Adjectives, Adverbs, and Pronouns.
 - 1) Nouns.
 - a) Simple Infinitive=h.
 - b) Infinitive with $\acute{\omega}s$ =¹h.
 - 2) Adjectives=g.
 - 3) Adverbs=²g.
 - 4) Pronouns=q.
7. Prepositional Object (after $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\nu$)=k.
8. Purpose.
 - 1) a) Distinct and Specific without Attendant Particle=d.
 - b) Distinct and Specific with $\acute{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ =e.
 - 2) Modified and General without Attendant Particle=o.
9. Parenthetic Absolute Infinitive=r.
10. Predicate Infinitive=u.

11. With $\pi\rho\iota\nu$, $\pi\rho\iota\nu \eta$, $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu \eta=x$.
12. Infinitive with Genitive Absolute= w .
13. Infinitive with Accusative Absolute= z .

II. THE ARTICULAR INFINITIVE.

1. Verbal Subject. Infinitive with $\tau\acute{o}$ as Subject= a .
2. Verbal Object.
 - 1) *a*) With $\tau\acute{o}$ as Object= b .
 - b*) With $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ as Object= $b\acute{b}$.
 - c*) With $\tau\hat{\varphi}$ as Object= $b\acute{b}b$.
 - 2) With Verbs of Hindering, etc.= v .
 - a*) With $\tau\acute{o}$ as Object.
 - b*) With $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ as Object.
 - c*) With $\tau\omicron\upsilon \mu\eta$ as Object.
3. Apposition= c .
 - a*) With $\tau\acute{o}$.
 - b*) With $\tau\omicron\upsilon$.
 - c*) With $\tau\hat{\varphi}$.
4. Purpose.
Infinitive with $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ = e .
5. Limiting Nouns and Adjectives.
 - a*) Infinitive with $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ Limiting Nouns= k .
 - b*) Infinitive with $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ Limiting Adjectives= g .
6. Prepositional Object= k .
 - 1) With $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ after Prepositions taking the Genitive.
 - 2) With $\tau\hat{\varphi}$ after Prepositions taking the Dative.
 - 3) With $\tau\acute{o}$ after Prepositions taking the Accusative.
7. Infinitive with $\tau\hat{\varphi}$ indicating Cause, Manner, Means, or Instrument= r .
 - 1) *a*) Cause.
 - b*) Ground of Emotion.
 - c*) Point of Difference.
 - 2) Means.
8. Infinitive with $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ after Comparatives.
 - a*) The Infinitive with $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ = l .
 - b*) $\acute{\omega}s$ with the Infinitive with $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ = 1l
9. Infinitive with $\tau\acute{o}$ as Predicate= u .
10. Infinitive with $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ in Genitive Absolute= w .
11. Infinitive with Accusative Absolute= z .
12. Infinitive with $\tau\acute{o}$ as Accusative of Relation= u .
13. Infinitive with $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ as Genitive of Price= x .

CHAPTER I.

USES OF THE ANARTHROUS INFINITIVE IN POLYBIUS.

I. VERBAL SUBJECT.

1) *Of impersonal verbs in general* (=a).^{2137*}—The infinitive, with or without a subject accusative, is used as the subject of an impersonal verb, finite or infinite. Goodwin, *Moods and Tenses*, 745; Kühner, *Grammatik*, 472, a).¹

1. 1. 1 παραλελείφθαι συνέβαινε τὸν ἔπαινον. 1. 67. 6; 1. 75. 4.
 1. 2. 8 ἐξέσται κατανοεῖν.
 1. 3. 7 ἔδει γράφειν.
 1. 3. 8 ἀναγκαῖον ὑπελάβομεν εἶναι συντάξασθαι.
 1. 14. 5 χρὴ εὐλογεῖν.
 1. 14. 9 σκοπεῖν πάρεστιν.
 1. 15. 9 συνᾶδεν οὐδαμῶς δύναται.
 1. 30. 3 ἔδοξεν βοηθεῖν.
 1. 38. 6 πιστεῦσαι ῥᾷδιον.
 1. 56. 11 οὐχ οἷόν τε ἀποδοῦναι.
 1. 65. 9 χρήσιμόν ἐστι παραστήσαι.
 1. 62. 8 ἐπὶ τοῖσδε φιλίαν εἶναι Καρχηδονίους καὶ Ῥωμαίους. 3. 22. 4, 24. 3;
 9. 40, 5². Cf. *G. MT.* 750; *Küh.* 474 and b.

There is one case of this infinitive with ἄν, the infinitive having the potential force of the corresponding indicative or optative. *G. MT.* 211.

1. 75. 6 ἐξ ὧν συνέβαινε τοὺς Καρχηδονίους μὴ οἷον στρατοπέδῳ τῆς χώρας ἐπιβαίνειν, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ τοὺς κατ' ἰδίαν θέλοντας διαπεσεῖν ῥαδίως ἂν δύνασθαι λαθεῖν τοὺς ὑπεναντίους.

2) *Of impersonal verbs which take a subject infinitive in indirect discourse* (=1).¹⁰⁹—The infinitive in indirect discourse is used as the subject of passive verbs of saying or thinking, or of such verbs as φαίνεται or δοκεῖ. Polybius uses δοκεῖ almost to the exclusion of any other verb. *G. MT.* 751.

*Superior figures indicate the number of instances of each use of the infinitive.

¹ Hereafter cited as *G. MT.* and *Küh.*

1. 1. 2 ἂν δόξαι καθήκειν. 1. 10. 3.
 1. 4. 10 νομιστέον συμβάλλεσθαι.
 2. 14. 1 δοκεῖ μοι χρήσιμον εἶναι.
 2. 21. 8 ἦν φατέον ἀρχηγὸν γενέσθαι.
 3. 30. 4. πάντως ὁμολογητέον εὐλόγως πεπολεμηκέναι τὸν πόλεμον τοὺς Καρχηδονίους.

2. VERBAL OBJECT.—The infinitive in Greek is used as the object of many verbs which require an infinitive to complete their meaning. The infinitive is the accusative object of the verb, or is an accusative of kindred meaning. *G. MT.* 747; *Küh.* 473.

1) *Object of verbs in general* (=b).³⁵³³ —

1. 1. 4 προηρήμεθα γράφειν.
 1. 2. 6 οὐδ' ἐπεβάλοντο ἀμφισβητεῖν.
 1. 3. 6 ἐθάρρησαν ἐκτείνειν.
 1. 5. 2 διαβαίνειν ὥρμησαν.
 1. 9. 2 βουλόμενος ἀπολιπεῖν.
 1. 11. 12 ἔκρινε διακινδυνεύειν.
 1. 19. 2 παραγγείλας προπορεύεσθαι.
 1. 40. 7 προστάξας χρηῖσθαι.
 1. 54. 6 ἔπεισαν φυγεῖν.
 1. 43. 7 παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθον ἀπολέσαι τὰ πράγματα; cf. 12. 20. 7.
 33. 1. 4 παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθον ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς κατηγιαμένους.

The infinitive as object of verbs of commanding has not been placed under a separate head in this study. The infinitive after verbs of bidding in salutations does not occur in Polybius, but does occur in biblical Greek.

ἦ for μάλλον ἦ after βούλομαι, *Küh.* 540, A. 2.

13. 5. 3 πᾶν γὰρ βουληθῆναι τὸν Φίλιππον ἀναδέεσθαι ἢ καταφανῇ γενέσθαι Ῥοδίοις τὴν ἐν τούτοις αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν.

2) *Object of verbs introducing indirect discourse* (=i).²⁴⁷¹ —
 "The infinitive is said to stand in indirect discourse, and its tenses correspond to those of the indicative or optative, when it depends on a verb implying thought or the expression of thought (one of the class of *verba sentiendi et declarandi*), and when also the thought, as originally conceived, would have been expressed by some tense of the indicative (with or without ἂν) or optative (with

ἄν), so that it can be transferred without change of tense to the infinitive."—*G. MT.* 684.

I. 3. 8 ἀναγκαῖον ὑπελάβομεν εἶναι.

I. 21. 10 ἀκούσας τὸν στόλον σύνεγγυς εἶναι.

I. 23. 2 πνθόμενος πορθεῖν.

I. 25. 5 νομίζοντες πεποιῆσθαι.

I. 29. 4 πεπεισμένοι ποιήσεσθαι.

I. 49. 3 ἔφη καιρὸν εἶναι.

8. 13. 8 οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι δυνηθῆναι λόγον αὐτὸν ἀποδοῦναι.

28. 23. 4 ἔφη μὴ κωλύειν. *G. MT.* 685.

I. 4. 7 δοκοῦσιν τὶ πάσχειν.

I. 16. 11 οὗτος δοκεῖ ἀπολεανκέναι τῆς ἰδίας εὐβουλίας.

2. 17. 12 ὅς ἂν πλείστους ἔχειν δοκῇ. I. 13. 9, 14. 1; 3. 7. 2, 116. 7;
4. 2. 3.

I. 32. 7 πεπεισμένους μηδὲν ἂν παθεῖν δεινὸν. I. 68. 7.

I. 59. 3 ὑπολαμβάνοντες μόνως ἂν οὕτως πέρας ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ πολέμῳ. I. 70. 5;
2. 13. 6, 40. 5.

Future infinitive with ἄν. *G. MT.* 208; *Küh.* 398. 1, d).

8. 30. 8 τοὺς δὲ νομίσαντας ἂν οἰκῆσειν οὕτως ἄριστα κατὰ τὸν χρησμόν.

Infinitive in an indirect-discourse clause introduced by ὅτι, ὥς, etc., three times. *Küh.* 550, A. 3.

12. 23. 7 μοὶ δοκεῖ πεισθῆναι Τίμαιος ὥς, κὰν αὐτὸς ἀξιωθῆναι. 7. 15. 4.

31. 20. 4 ὑπεδείκνυν αὐτῷ διότι κάλλιστον εἶναι καιρὸν ἐπιφανῆναι τοῖς πράγμασι.

Also 15. 2. 8, if ὥς is retained in the text. *Vide Schweighaeuser*, *Lexicon Polybianum*, under article ὥς.

This infinitive also occurs in relative clauses depending on an indirect quotation which has been introduced by an infinitive. Cf. *G. MT.* 755; *Küh.* 594, 5.

5. 67. 6 ἔφη κυριωτάτας εἶναι καὶ δικαιοτάτας κτήσεις, καθ' ἃς αὐτοῖς καθήκειν τὰ κατὰ Κόιλην Συρίαν.

21. 31. 8 (ἔφη) ἐν τούτῳ δὲ διαμαρτάνειν τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐν ᾗ τὴν ὀργὴν φέρειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολλούς. Also 11. 34. 5; 12. 5. 8², 9. 4; 18. 3. 8.

18. 38. 8 εἴ τε καὶ μένειν ἔτι τὴν συμμαχίαν, δεῖν αὐτοὺς κομίζεσθαι κ.τ.λ.

In 34. 8. 1 the infinitive occurs in a relative clause which depends on a ὅτι-clause:

φησὶν ὅτι βάλανοί εἰσι ἐν τῇ αὐτόθι θαλάττῃ πεφυτευμένοι, ὧν τὸν καρπὸν σιτουμένους τοὺς θύνους πιαίνεσθαι.

The infinitive with *ἄν* occurs twice in indirect discourse after *ὥς* of comparison: 10. 38. 2; 34. 5. 4.

3) *Object of verbs of hindering, separation, etc.* (=v).⁴⁰—The infinitive is used as the object of verbs of hindering, separation, denial, doubt, mistrust, contradiction, opposition, etc.—verbs which contain a negative in themselves. They may take either (a) the simple infinitive, or (b) the infinitive with *μή*, which merely repeats the negation inherent in the verbs. G. MT. 807–10; *Küh.* 514, 2, 3, 4, 5, and notes.

a) Simple infinitive.³³

2. 7. 5 τίς οὐκ ἄν εὐλαβηθεῖη τούτοις ἐγχειρίσαι πόλιν. 2. 32. 8; 8. 12. 5; 9. 36. 10.
 2. 52. 8 ἀπεῖπον αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι.
 3. 69. 13² διώκειν καὶ συμπλέκεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκώλυνσε. 3. 79. 7; 3. 98. 5 and 11 others.
 4. 18. 8 οἷς ἠπίστησαν ἔχειν.
 14. 1. 4 οὐ γὰρ ἀπεγίνωσκε αὐτὸν κόρον ἔχειν. 5. 72. 7; Cf. 7. 15. 4.
 8. 13. 5 οὐδεὶς ἄν ἐπέσχε σὺν καιρῷ ποιήσασθαι μετάβασιν. 9. 1. 6.
 9. 6. 8 οὐχ ὅλως ἀπελπίζοντες αἰρήσειν τὴν Ῥώμην. 15. 25. 29; 16. 30. 5.
 12. 5. 4² οὐκ ὤκνησα καὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν. 16. 20. 5; 18. 55. 9; 21. 23. 12.

b) Infinitive with *μή*.⁷ *Küh.* 514. E.

1. 78. 15 διηπειλήσατο μηθένα φέρειν ὄπλον.
 2. 55. 9 ὃν εἰκότως ἐξαρνοῦνται μὴ φῦναι παρὰ σφίσι.
 4. 20. 11 ἀρνηθῆναι τι μὴ γινώσκειν οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἡγοῦνται.
 15. 13. 9 ἐκώλυνσε μὴ παραδέξασθαι. 22. 11. 3.
 18. 47. 2 προηγόρευον μὴ διαβαίνειν.
 29. 24. 2 ἀπείπατο μὴ χρεῖαν ἔχειν.

There are thus thirty-three cases, after eight different verbs of the simple infinitive without *μή*, to seven cases, after six verbs, of the infinitive with *μή*. *κωλύω*, which has the infinitive seventeen times, has *μή* but twice. Cf. below "Verbs of hindering," etc., with the infinitive with *τοῦ* and *τοῦ μή*.

3. APPPOSITION (=c).⁸¹—The infinitive may stand in apposition with a noun or pronoun. G. MT, 745; *Küh.* 472, c.

1. 85. 4 ὁμολογίας ἐποιήσατο τοιαύτας, ἐξεῖναι Καρχηδονίους ἐκλέξασθαι δέκα, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀφιεῖναι.

3. 103. 7 αἴρουν αὐτῷ προύτεινε τοιαύτην, ἣ κατὰ μέρος ἄρχειν ἢ χρῆσθαι τοῖς σφετέροις κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προαίρεσιν. 4. 15. 1 ff.⁷; 5. 91. 6², 104. 11³, 109. 2; 8. 19. 10²; 12. 6. 3²; 12. 25^b. 1²; etc.

4. RESULT.⁴²⁷

1) *Actual or hypothetical.*

a) With preceding ὥστε or ὡς (=f).³⁸³—In classical Greek the infinitive with ὥστε or ὡς implies no more than that the action or state of the principal verb “is of such a nature as to be followed by another consequence.” It seems, however, that in later Greek the distinction between ὥστε with the indicative and ὥστε with the infinitive was obscured, and that ὥστε with the infinitive was often used when it was intended to state that the result of the action or state of the principal verb was actually realized. *G. MT.* 582 ff.; *Küh.* 584; *Brief* I, p. 43 ff.; *Gildersleeve A.F.P.* VII, 161 ff.; XIV, 240 ff.; *Burton* 369; *Blass* 69, 3.

Actual:

1. 20. 15 μῖς νεὺς καταφράκτου προπεσούσης ὥστε ἐποκείλασαν γενέσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑποχέριον.
1. 26. 15 ἐπὶ μίαν παρεκτείναντες ναῦν ὡς ὑπερτείνεν ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους τοὺς πρὸ ἑαυτῶν. 2. 8. 12.

Hypothetical:

5. 24. 5 τὸ χωρίον ἐπίπεδόν ἐστι ὥστε τὸν στρατοπεδεύσαντα ἐν αὐτῷ δοκεῖν μὲν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ στρατοπεδεύειν.
6. 52. 11 ἐν δὲ ῥῆθὲν ἱκανὸν ἔσται σημεῖον τῆς τοῦ πολιτεύματος σπουδῆς, ἣν ποιεῖται περὶ τὸ τοιοῦτους ἀποτελεῖν ἄνδρας ὥστε πᾶν ὑπομένειν.

b) ὥστε with the infinitive with ἄν (=sf).¹⁶—The infinitive with ἄν, not in indirect discourse, may follow ὥστε to express a consequence in potential form, like the potential indicative or optative. *G. MT.* 592, 211; *Küh.* 585, 2.

1. 37. 1 τηλικούτῳ περιέπεσον χειμῶνι καὶ τηλικαύταις συμφοραῖς ὥστε μὴδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἀξίως δύναισθαι.
5. 97. 6 τῷ αἰφνιδίῳ καὶ παραδόξῳ κατεπλήξατο τοὺς Μελιταιεῖς, ὥστε ῥαδίως ἂν κρατῆσαι τῆς πόλεως. 1. 63. 7; 5. 104. 11; 6. 11. 11, 12. 9, 14. 12, 46. 10; 8. 15. 3; 10. 30. 3; 18. 46. 9; 29. 24. 14; 32. 7. 9; 39. 9. 7.

c) ὥστε (ὡς) with infinitive in indirect discourse (=7f).⁵—ὥστε is used five times with the infinitive in indirect discourse. *G. MT.* 594, 595, 608; *Küh.* 584, 2, f.

1. 15. 3² τὸν μὲν Ἰέρωνά φησι μετὰ τὴν γενομένην συμπλοκὴν οὕτως ἔξω γενέσθαι τοῦ φρονεῖν ὥστε μὴ μόνον φυγεῖν νυκτὸς εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φρούρια πάντα καταλιπεῖν. 3. 47. 9²; 21. 31. 10.

The infinitive in these five cases is aorist and the negative is μή. ἄν is used with three infinitives.

2) *Epexegetic or explanatory infinitive*.²²

a) Without attendant particle (=s).¹⁴—The infinitive may be used as an addition explanatory of the action or state of the verb which it limits. *Küh.* 472, c.

11. 29. 13 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς αἰτίους ἀκαταλλάκτως διακείμεθα, κολάζειν αὐτοὺς ἀξίως.

36. 3. 6² ἀλλὰ κακῶν αἰρέσεως καταλειπομένης, ἣ τὸν πόλεμον ἀναδέχεσθαι γενναίως ἢ διδόναι τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν περὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς And 11. 14. 6³.

In 1. 62. 8⁵; 3. 22. 4; 3. 24. 4³ the simple infinitive is used explanatory of the preceding demonstrative pronoun, ἐπὶ τοῖσδε. Cf. *infra* after ἐφ' ᾧ=m.

b) With ὥστε (=s).⁸ *G. MT.* 588 end.

5. 35. 12 ταύτην τὴν ἐπιβολήν, ὥστ' ἐκπέμπειν αὐτὸν μετὰ χορηγίας.

1. 18. 10 εἰς τοῦτο συνήγοντο ὥστε πολλάκις βουλευέσθαι περὶ τοῦ λύνειν τὴν πολιορκίαν. 2. 68. 8; 3. 48. 4, 63. 13, 102. 4²; 25. 4. 5.

5. STIPULATION.

1) ὥστε *with the infinitive* (=f).¹³—The infinitive with ὥστε may express a stipulation, condition, or limitation of the action or state expressed in the principal clause. *G. MT.* 587, 2; *Küh.* 584, 2, c.

5. 2. 8 δ' ὅδ' Ἀπελλῆς ποιεῖται συνωμοσίαν ὥστ' ἐκείνους ἐθελοκακεῖν καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως χρείας, αὐτὸς δὲ χωρισθεὶς εἰς Χαλκίδα φροντίζειν ἵνα μηδαμόθεν αὐτῷ χορηγία παραγίνηται πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβολάς. 5. 103. 7 κελεύσας ἐπὶ τούτοις προτείνειν τὴν εἰρήνην τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς ὥστ' ἔχειν ἀμφοτέρους ἢ νῦν ἔχουσιν. 21. 30. 2, 3, 4; 33. 13. 6.

Cf. "Epexegetic infinitive" and "Infinitive in apposition."

2) ἐφ' ᾧ and ἐφ' ᾧτε *with the infinitive* (=m).⁴³—Ἐφ' ᾧ and ἐφ' ᾧτε, meaning "on condition that, for the purpose of," and correlated with an ἐπὶ τούτῳ expressed or understood in the principal clause, may take the infinitive. *G. MT.* 610; *Küh.* 584, A. 3.

1. 16. 9 ποιησάμενοι δὲ συνθήκας ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ μὲν αἰχμάλωτα ἀποδοῦναι τὸν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίοις, ἀργυρίον δὲ προσθεῖναι τάλαντα τούτοις ἑκατόν.
 7. 9. 13 συνθησόμεθα, ἐφ' ᾧ τε μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτοῖς ἄρᾶσθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς μηδέποτε πόλεμον.
 8. 27. 1 ἔδοσαν πίστεις ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐφ' ᾧ Ταραντίνοὺς ἐλευθερώσειν καὶ μήτε φόρους πράξεσθαι. (Note the future infinitive.)
 ἐφ' ᾧ τε occurs but twice. 7. 9. 4, 13.
 ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἐφ' ᾧ 5. 67. 10².
 ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἐφ' ᾧ 5. 76. 10²; 8. 27. 1. 2⁴.
 ἐπὶ τοῖσδε, ἐφ' ᾧ 7. 4. 1, 2.
 ἐφ' ᾧ with demonstrative omitted, 1. 16. 9²; 1. 31. 8, 88. 12; 2. 46. 3; etc.

In 1. 62. 8⁵; 3. 22. 4, 24. 3³, the simple infinitive is found after ἐπὶ τοῖσδε; *vide* "Epexegetic infinitive=s." *Küh.* 584, A. 4.

6. INFINITIVE AFTER NOUNS, ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS, AND PRONOUNS.—The infinitive may be used after nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and pronouns denoting ability, fitness, ease, time, need, and their opposites; in fact, all such as express the same relations as verbs which take an infinitive. *G. MT.* 758; *Küh.* 473, 3.

1) *Nouns* (=h).¹⁶⁶

a) Simple infinitive.

1. 13. 1 λέγειν ὦρα περὶ τῶν προκειμένων.
 1. 15. 11 ἀνάγκη συγχωρεῖν τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις εἶναι ψευδεῖς.
 1. 49. 3 καιρὸν εἶναι πλεῖν.
 1. 78. 13 μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ συστρατεύειν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκε.
 2. 8. 10 Ῥωμαίοις κάλλιστον ἔθος ἐστὶ μεταπορεύεσθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν.
 2. 25. 11 πρόθεσιν ἔχοντες πολιορκεῖν τοὺς συμπεφευγότας.
 3. 86. 11 παράγγελμά τι δεδομένον ἦν φονεῖν τοὺς ὑποπίπτοντας.
 3. 118. 4 μεγάλας δ' εἶχον ἐλπίδας τῆς Ῥώμης αὐτῆς ἔσεσθαι κύριοι.
 4. 80. 12 λαβόντες δὲ συγχώρημα ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀπόλυσιν.
 5. 28. 4 ἐν αἷς ἦν παράκλησις θαρρεῖν καὶ μένειν.

Also δύναμις, κυρία, ὁρμή, ἐντολή, etc.

β) Infinitive with ὥς (=h)¹.—Besides the simple infinitive after nouns, there is one occurrence of ὥς with the infinitive in the same construction. *G. MT.* 588, 608; *Küh.* 585, 5.

3. 11. 3 ἐγένετό τις καιρὸς ὥς ἐπὶ λόγον ἀχθῆναι τὴν ὑποικουρούμενην ἀτοπίαν ἐν αὐτοῖς; cf. 1. 49. 3.

2) *Adjectives* (=g).¹²⁰

1. 1. 4 ἱκανόν ἐστι προκαλέσασθαι καὶ παρορμήσαι.
 1. 54. 3 ἐκφυγεῖν δυνατὸς ὢν.
 1. 62. 1 ἔτοιμοι πολεμεῖν ἦσαν.
 1. 74. 9 συνήθεις ποτὲ μὲν ὑποχωρεῖν ποτὲ δὲ πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐγχειρεῖν.
 2. 50. 6 τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας προθύμους εἶναι φέρειν.
 2. 58. 10 μείζονος τυχεῖν ἦσαν ἄξιοι τιμωρίας.
 3. 101. 3 πρόχειρος ὢν συμπλέκεσθαι.
 3. 102. 3 οὔτε γὰρ ἀντεξάγειν ἀξιόχρεως ἦν οὔτε παραβοηθεῖν.
 3. 112. 9 δεινοὶ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ θεοὺς ἐξιλιάσασθαι καὶ ἀνθρώπους.
 4. 8. 10 κινδυνεύσαι δύσχρηστοι.

Also ἐπιτήδειος, κύριος, ἀγαθός, ἔνορκος, etc.

3) *Adverbs* (=g).⁸

1. 51. 9 διεκπλεῖν καὶ ἐπιφαίνεσθαι ἀδυνάτως εἶχον.
 2. 50. 4 οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται προθύμως ἔσχον ἵνα καὶ παρακαλεῖν. 21. 22. 1.
 4) *Pronouns* (οἶος, οἷός τε and ὅσος (=q)).⁴⁹
 1. 26. 2 οὐχ οἷοί τ' ἦσαν ἐπιτρέπειν.
 1. 36. 3 οἷοί τ' ἂν ἀναφέρειν.
 10. 23. 7 ἔδει συνεθίζειν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε δεινῷ τῷ τάχει προσάγειν, ἐφ' ὅσον συζυγοῦντας καὶ συστοιχοῦντας διαμένειν.
 39. 14. 5 διαφέροίτο δὲ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφ' ὅσον διδάσκειν καὶ πείθειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων.

In 10. 29. 1; 29. 8. 4 *Hultsch* corrects οἶος to οἷός τε.

PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT (=k).²—πλήν, which is used six times as a quasi-preposition with the genitive of the articular infinitive, is twice used as an adverb with the anarthrous infinitive. G. MT. 803 b; *Küh.* 479. 2.

6. 32. 6 οὐδὲν ἕτερον δεῖ νοεῖν πλὴν δύο στρατιάς συνηρμόσθαι.
 8. 37. 4 διασαφῶν οὐδὲν πλὴν ἐτοίμους εἶναι πρὸς τὸ παραγγελλόμενον.

8. PURPOSE.⁴⁶

1) *Distinct and specific.*

a) Without attendant particle (=d).¹³—The infinitive is used to express the distinct and specific purpose of the action or state of the governing verb. G. MT. 770–75; *Küh.* 473, 7 and A. 13.

2. 8. 12 ὡς ἐπαποστείλαί τινας τὸν παρρησιασάμενον τῶν πρέσβειων ἀποκτείνειν.
 5. 3. 5 τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας ἐφῆκε σιτολογεῖν. 5. 8. 4³; 8. 33. 6.
 7. 17. 9. τοὺς δὲ διὰ τῆς ὑπλῆς ἀφιεῖς εἶργειν τοὺς συνεγγίζοντας.

5. 14. 11 ὥς ἂν διατεταγμένοι μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπελλῆν πάσαις ἐμποδιεῖν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς αὐτοῦ.
 1. 88. 9; 6. 58. 6; 35. 4. 9; 3. 70. 7 (*vide Hultsch; Fleckeisen*, 1864, p. 447; 1884, p. 742).

In Polybius the infinitive is always active or middle, never passive.

b) With preceding ὥστε (or ὡς) (=ε).⁸—ὥστε with the infinitive may be used to express a consequence which is aimed at as a purpose. *G. MT.* 587, 3; *Küh.* 584, 2, d.

3. 92. 6 ἀντιπαρήγε τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὥστε μὴ δοκεῖν τοῖς αὐτῶν συμμάχοις ἐκχωρεῖν τῶν ὑπαίθρων.
 16. 37. 2 ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς ἐπιλέκτους, ὥστε ἐπιτρέχειν τὴν Λακωνικὴν. 3. 43. 4; 8. 9. 12²; 10. 46. 1, 46. 7; 32. 7. 12.

2) *Modified and general without attendant particle* (=ο).²⁵—“The infinitive is used to express, with diminished purpose force and with a general rather than a specific bearing, that for which, or with reference to which, the action or state of the governing verb is performed or exists.” Cf. *Burton* 368.

3. 8. 10 τί ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι, and 4. 26. 3; 8. 13. 7; 9. 35. 5; 11. 29. 7; 16. 39. 5; 30. 9. 5; 34. 10. 7.
 1. 7. 9 οὐ μὴν εἶχόν γε ποιεῖν οὐδέν, 1. 21. 7, 81. 1; 3. 10. 3; 16. 20. 7; 30. 3. 6.
 2. 12. 8 ἀπεδέξαντο μετέχειν Ῥωμαίους. 3. 112. 5; 4. 51. 5, 77. 4²; 5. 83. 4, 111. 6; 10. 28. 3; 12. 12. 7; 31. 21. 9; 38. 8. 7.

Cf. *Luke* 7:40; 12:4; *Acts* 4:14.

9. PARENTHETIC ABSOLUTE INFINITIVE (=r).³⁴—This use occurs thirty-four times in parenthetical phrases which limit or qualify the whole statement or only some word in the sentence. *G. MT.* 776–83; *Küh.* 585, 3.

1. 1. 2 ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν.¹²
 3. 49. 7 ὥς εἰπεῖν.⁸
 3. 6. 4 πολλοῦ γὰρ δεῖν.⁵
 5. 52. 13 μικροῦ δεῖν.⁴

Each of the following occurs once.

4. 2. 3 ὥς ἀκοὴν ἐξ ἀκοῆς γράφειν.
 33. 6. 3 ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν.

1. 2. 6 ἰσχνῶς εἰπεῖν.

1. 4. 3 ὅσον γε καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδέειν.

21. 20. 5 τέλος δ' εἰπεῖν. (ἀπλῶς δ' εἰπεῖν 8. 11. 13 in a quotation from Theopompus.)

10. PREDICATE INFINITIVE (=u).²⁸—The infinitive may be used as a predicate nominative or accusative. *G. MT.* 745; *Küh.* 472, b. In Polybius, however, it is used only as predicate nominative.

2. 49. 1 αὐται (ἐντολὰς) δ' ἦσαν ὑποδεικνύειν καὶ δηλοῦν.

5. 99. 2 ἡ γὰρ ὅλη πρόθεσις ἦν αὐτῷ τῆς στρατείας ἐξελεῖν τὰς Θήβας.

6. 33. 2 ὁ ὄρκος ἐστὶν μηδὲν κλέψειν, ἀλλὰ κἂν εὖρη τι, τοῦτ' ἀνοίσειν ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλιάρχοις. 8. 18. 7²; 10. 38. 5; 18. 9. 1; 27. 7. 11.

11. Πρίν,³ πρὶν ἡ⁶ πρότερον ἢ⁶ WITH THE INFINITIVE (=x).³² *G. MT.* 626–31, 651–54; *Küh.* 568, 1, d.—Infinitive with πρίν: 9. 43. 2 (perf. inf.); 11. 25. 2 (pres. inf.); 16. 22. 4 (aor. inf.). In 9. 43. 2 the πρίν-clause is preceded by a verb compounded with πρό. In each the leading sentence is affirmative.

9. 43. 2 προεκδαπανᾶται πρὶν ἐκβολὴν εἰς θάλατταν πεποιῆσθαι.

Infinitive with πρὶν ἡ.—In the leading sentence φθάνω occurs once, 1. 66. 3; πρόσθεν once, 6. 49. 2; πρότερον six times, 10. 32. 10; 12. 6^b. 9; 14. 2. 6, 7; 29. 27. 2; 31. 1. 1; verb compounded with πρό once, 12. 5. 7. In every case, except 4. 85. 6 (pres. inf.), πρὶν ἡ is used with the aorist infinitive. πρὶν ἡ with the infinitive follows a negative clause eleven times: 4. 31. 1, 85. 6; 6. 49. 2; 10. 45. 4; 12. 6^b. 9; 14. 2. 6, 7; 29. 27. 2; 30. 23. 4²; 31. 1. 1. Occurrences not cited above are: 1. 20. 12; 4. 85. 5; 5. 60. 9; 5. 74. 1²; 24. 13. 4; 28. 6. 7; 33. 11. 5; 37. 1. 12.

6. 49. 2 μὴ πρόσθεν λύσειν τὴν πολιορκίαν πρὶν ἡ εἰλεῖν τὴν Μεσσήνην.

Cf. πρὶν ἡ with indicative after negative clause.

39. 11. 6 οὐ πρότερον ἔλῃξε πρὶν ἡ διέφθειρε τὰ μειράκια.

Infinitive with πρότερον ἡ: follows a positive clause four times; 1. 58. 6; 2. 35. 6; 6. 23. 11; 15. 18. 1; a negative clause twice: 13. 1^a. 1; 18. 35. 1.

2. 35. 6 πάσας ἐξελέγχωσι τὰς σφετέρως ἐλπίδας πρότερον ἡ παραχωρήσαί τινος τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

12. INFINITIVE WITH THE GENITIVE ABSOLUTE (=w).¹⁸—The infinitive is used as the genitive subject of the neuter impersonal participle in the genitive in place of the omitted noun or pronoun. *Küh.* 486, 1, A. 2; *Spieker* pp. 336 f.; *Goetzeler* p. 26.

1. 36. 8² προσπεσόντος δ' αὐτοῖς ἔξαργύειν τὸν στόλον τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ μέλλειν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην ποιέσθαι τὸν πλοῦν. 2. 54. 10; 3. 40. 2; 5. 46. 5², 55. 4. 62. 4¹; 7. 3. 7; 10. 42. 1.
2. 70. 1 προσαγγελθέντος αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς πορθεῖν τὴν χώραν. 2. 5. 6; 9. 7. 7; cf. 8. 29. 1; 10. 41. 4.
2. 26. 7 δόξαντος δὲ σφίσι χρήσασθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν. Cf. 2. 50. 9.
Cf. Demosthenes (ed. Baiter Kaiser) 17. 28; 23. 169; 23. 143; 24. 80; 35. 52; 56. 18; 50. 17; 59. 116.

Polybius has several other ways in which to express the same thought.

(1) A noun may be the subject of a finite verb.

21. 25. 8 προσέπεσε φήμη περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μάχης.

(2) The infinitive clause may be the subject of an impersonal verb.

24. 8. 10 προσέπεσε παραγενέσθαι τοὺς πρεσβευτάς. 30. 20. 1; 31. 27. 6.

(3) The fact that a previous event was made known could be expressed by a genitive absolute.

2. 8. 13 προσπεσόντος τοῦ γεγονότος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. 1. 62. 1.
5. 48. 17 τούτων προσπεσόντων.
10. 28. 6 ἔξαγγελθέντος αὐτῷ.
14. 8. 1 ὧν διασαφηθέντων.

(4) The statement in the form of a ὅτι-clause may be the subject of an infinitive.

2. 53. 5 ἅμα τῷ προσπεσεῖν αὐτῷ διότι κατελήφθαι συμβαίνει τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν.

(5) The ὅτι-clause may be in apposition with the noun of the genitive absolute.

37. 2. 5 τοῦ λόγου προσπίπτοντος ὅτι νικᾷ.
10. 49. 1 γενομένης δὲ τῆς προσαγγελίας διότι συμβαίνει τὸν μὲν Εὐθύδημον μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἶναι περὶ Ταπουρίαν.

(6) The genitive absolute may be followed by a clause introduced by a relative pronoun.

5. 61. 3 προσπεσόντων παρὰ Θεοδότου γραμμάτων ἐν οἷς αὐτὸν ἐκάλει κ.τ.λ.

(7) The articular infinitive with τοῦ may stand in the genitive absolute.

11. 60. 1 προσπεσόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ πεπλευκέναι στόλῳ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους.

(8) A clause introduced by ὅτι may take the place of the genitive subject of the participle.

3. 40. 14 τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ προσπεσόντος ὅτι τὸ τέταρτον στρατόπεδον περιειλημμένον ὑπὸ τῶν Βοίων πολιορκεῖται κατὰ κράτος. 3. 112. 6.

13. INFINITIVE WITH ACCUSATIVE ABSOLUTE (=z).⁸—The participle of impersonal verbs in the neuter accusative singular is used as an accusative absolute with an infinitive. *G. MT.* 851–54; *Küh.* 487; *Spiecker* p. 336.

2. 2. 8 δέον στρατηγὸν ἕτερον αἰρεῖσθαι. 7. 16. 7; 23. 10. 13; 32. 13. 5.

4. 27. 4 παρὸν τὰναντία ποιεῖν.

9. 24. 3 ἐξὸν (conjecture) λαβεῖν.

10. 30. 4 ὥς γὰρ δέον τοὺς πολεμίους ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀνάβασιν, οὕτως παρεσκευάσαντο.

10. 43. 9 πρόληψιν δὲ ἔχειν πάντων ἀδύνατον.

12. 20. 7 δυνάμενον γινώσκειν τὴν τῶν πολεμίῳν παρουσίαν.

CHAPTER II.

USES OF THE ARTICULAR INFINITIVE IN POLYBIUS.

I. VERBAL SUBJECT (=a).²⁵⁰—The infinitive with τό is used as the subject nominative or accusative of a finite verb or infinitive. It has either the form of a substantivized infinitive with the article, as τὸ ζῆν (2. 41. 3; 3. 81. 6), τὸ νικᾶν (3. 63. 11), or of a substantivized sentence with τό, the whole being used as the subject of a finite verb or infinitive, as (1. 4. 4) ὑπέλαβον ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸ μὴ παραλιπεῖν μηδ' εἶσαι παρελθεῖν ἀνεπιστάτως τὸ κάλλιστον ἅμα καὶ ὠφελιμώτατον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς τύχης. The latter is by far the more common usage. G. MT. 790, 806; Küh. 478, 4, a.

1. 1. 1 ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸ προτρέπεσθαι πάντας.

1. 35. 2 τὸ διαπιστεῖν τῇ τύχῃ ἐναργέστατον ἐφάνη πᾶσιν.

1. 62. 6 τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ νομιστέον ἡγεμόνος εἶναι τὸ δύνασθαι βλέπειν. 1. 83. 3, 88. 3; 2. 22. 11, 26. 8, 29. 5, 50. 6, 51. 6, 63. 5; 3. 21. 9, 32. 10.

2. VERBAL OBJECT.⁵⁸—The infinitive with τό, τοῦ, or τῷ is used as the object of verbs taking an object in the accusative, genitive, or dative. G. MT. 791, 793, 798, 799; Küh. 478, 4, b, c, d.

1) α) With τό as the object of a verb (=b).²¹—The infinitive with τό is used as the object of verbs governing the accusative.

3. 63. 6 τοῖς ἐλομένοις τὸ ζῆν.

4. 61. 6 περὶ πλείστου ποιούμενοι τὸ κομίσασθαι τὴν Ἀμβρακίαν παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν. 10. 28. 5, 37. 4; 11. 28. 8; 16. 10. 1 conj.; 16. 34. 11; 23. 11. 3; 31. 23. 8; 39. 10. 8.

β) With τοῦ as the object of a verb (=bb).³²—The infinitive with τοῦ is used as the object of such verbs as take a genitive object.

4. 19. 10 στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ δοκεῖν μόνον. 21. 28. 9.

4. 82. 8² κατεκράτησε τοῦ γενέσθαι στρατηγὸν Ἐπήρατον, τὸν δὲ Τιμόξενον ἐκπεσεῖν. 28. 13. 13.²

3. 32. 10 διαφέρω; 3. 71. 4; 12. 25^k. 6 προνοέω; 5. 100. 11 ἀντέχω;
7. 13. 7² ἐγγεύομαι; 9. 12. 8 προσδέομαι; 9. 32. 2 ἄρχω; 10. 23. 9
κρατέω; 11. 30. 3 ἀπαλλάσσω; 5. 66. 6; 20. 10. 16 ὀλιγωρέω; 21.
23. 3² ὀρέγω; 23. 10. 10 στερέω; 23. 16. 13 μετέχω; 28. 9. 4 ἐφίημι.

The following are found for the first time in Polybius:

1. 45. 14 παρ' οὐδὲν ἐλθόντες τοῦ πάσας ἀποβαλεῖν τὰς παρασκευάς.
2. 55. 4² παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθε τοῦ μὴ μόνον ἐκπεσεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις κινδυνεύσαι. 10. 12. 11; 18. 19. 6; 30. 1. 5; 33. 3. 1.
11. 7. 1 ὅτι παρὰ μικρὸν ἔλθοι τοῦ λαβεῖν τὸν Ἀτταλον.

With these cf. 1. 43. 7; 12. 20. 7; 33. 1. 4.

c) With τῷ as the object of a verb (= *bbb*).⁵—The infinitive with τῷ is used with such verbs as take an object in the dative case.

1. 23. 9 πιστεύοντες δὲ τῷ ταχυναυτεῖν. 2. 10. 6.
22. 18. 3² ἀφορμῇ μὲν χρώμενος τῷ μὴ οἶον παραγεγονέναι τὸν Ὀνόμαστον,
ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἐπὶ τῶν σύγγενος τόπων γεγονέναι.
30. 8. 8 προσανείχε τῷ ζῆν.

2) *Object of verbs of hindering, separation, etc.* (= *v*).⁸⁰—The infinitive is used as the object of verbs of hindering, separation, denial, doubt, mistrust, contradiction, opposition, omission, etc.—verbs which contain a negative in themselves. Besides the simple infinitive with or without μή, these verbs may take (a) the infinitive with τό, or (b) the infinitive with τοῦ or τοῦ μή. The infinitive with τὸ μή, τὸ μὴ οὐ does not occur in Polybius. G. MT. 807–14; *Küh.* 514, 2, 3, 4, 5, A. 9.

a) Infinitive with τό.²⁴

1. 44. 4 τὸ μὲν διακωλύειν τὸν ἐπίπλουν ἀπέγνωσαν. Also 1. 48. 10; 2. 65.
13²; 3. 21. 6, 74. 5²; 5. 1. 5, 70. 2; 8. 36. 2; 14. 10. 10²; 31. 23. 8.
1. 54. 5² τὸ παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ προσάγειν ἀπεδοκίμασε. 3. 86. 8, 95. 5; 6.
38. 1²; 9. 20. 6; 10. 39. 7; 18. 48. 9; 31. 17. 3.
2. 63. 1 τὸ μὲν χορηγεῖν ἀπολέγει.
2. 60. 7 οὕτως ἐκλιπεῖν τὸ ζῆν.
3. 106. 10 τὸ πλείω γράφειν παρήσομεν.

b) Infinitive with τοῦ.⁵²

1. 29. 5 τοῦ μὲν παραφυλάττειν τὸν ἐπίπλουν ἀπέγνωσαν. 1. 48. 1²; 9. 7. 9.
1. 31. 5 ἀπέσχον τοῦ ῥέπειν ταῖς γνώμαις. 2. 6. 9², 57. 3; 3. 8. 11; 5. 9. 9,
74. 7; 6. 58. 10; 9. 36. 4; 12. 4¹. 2; 15. 5. 5; 21. 20. 9; 22. 4. 10,
6. 2; 23. 17. 4²; 24. 10. 9; 24. 11. 14; 32. 14. 8, 23. 1; 39. 15. 2, 18. 6.

1. 39. 7 τοῦ ἀθροΐζειν ἀπέστησαν. 1. 87. 2; 3. 2. 5, 19. 4; 4. 71. 1²; 10. 15. 8; 14. 5. 5; 16. 31. 8.
 2. 68. 3 ἀφέμενοι τοῦ χρῆσθαι. 5. 104. 5²; 11. 14. 6; 15. 29. 7²; 16. 6. 7; 18. 3. 3; 20. 9. 9; 31. 7. 3.
 3. 63. 12 διαψεύδω; 4. 11. 4 ἀποδειλιάω; 10. 17. 12; 12. 18. 5 λείπω; 13. 3. 2 ἀπαλλοτριόω; 15. 10. 7 ἀπελπίζω; 16. 3. 12 ἀμαρτάνω.

c) Infinitive with τοῦ μή.⁴

2. 14. 6 λείπει τοῦ μὴ συνάπτειν αὐτῷ.
 2. 37. 11 διαλλάττειν τοῦ μὴ μιᾶς πόλεως διάθεσιν ἔχειν.
 5. 4. 10 διέτρεψαν τοῦ μὴ τελεσιουργῆσαι τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς πόλεως.
 21. 25. 7 δοκῶν ἡσφαλίσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν τοῦ μηδένα δύνασθαι κακοποιεῖν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. Cf. 18. 3. 3.

This last example is classified by Hewlett as infinitive of purpose, but it seems better to explain the sense of the passage to classify it as a genitive objective infinitive. *Vide Küh.* 478, 4, c; 514, A. 10, o.

3. APPPOSITION (=c).⁴⁶—The infinitive with the article τό, τοῦ, or τῷ may stand in apposition with a preceding noun or pronoun. The infinitive with τό may be in apposition with a nominative or accusative. *G. MT.* 804; *Küh.* 478, 5.

a) Infinitive with τό.

3. 4. 9² οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτ' εἶναι τέλος ὑποληπτέον ἐν πράγμασιν, τὸ νικῆσαι καὶ ποιήσασθαι πάντας ὑφ' ἑαυτούς.
 3. 4. 12 τοῦτ' ἔσται τελεσιούργημα, τὸ γνῶναι τὴν κατάστασιν παρ' ἑκάστοις.
 3. 70. 11 εἰς τρόπος ἔστιν οὗτος σωτηρίας, τὸ συνεχῶς καινοποιεῖν αἰεὶ τὰς τῶν συμμάχων ἐλπίδας.
 3. 84. 7² τοῦτο ποιούμενοι, τὸ μὴ φεύγειν μηδὲ λείπειν τὰς τάξεις.
 4. 57. 11 ὑπολαμβάνοντες γὰρ τοῦτο τέλος εἶναι τοῦ κατασχεῖν ἄλλοτρίαν πόλιν, τὸ γενέσθαι τῶν πυλῶνων ἐντός. 3. 20. 4; 4. 79. 3²; 4. 80. 4²; 87. 3; 5. 11. 3²; 6. 1. 3², 1. 6, 11^a. 16; 7. 8. 3², 8. 9²; 9. 3. 9; 12. 5. 11, 25ⁱ. 2, 25^k. 7; 18. 14. 13, 33. 2, 33. 4²; 21. 22. 7²; 27. 8. 8; 32. 11. 2²; 37. 5. 2.

b) Infinitive with τοῦ.

2. 35. 8 οὔτε ἂν τις ἀποσταίῃ τῆς τελευταίας ἐλπίδος τοῦ διαγωνίζεσθαι περὶ τῆς σφετέρως χώρας.
 3. 8. 10³ ποῖον πρᾶγμα τούτου δικαιότερον, τοῦ ἐκδοῦναι μὲν τὸν αἴτιον τῶν ἀδικημάτων.

c) Infinitive with τῷ.

4. 29. 4 τὸ τῶν κλεπτῶν φῦλον τούτῳ μάλιστα τῷ τρόπῳ σφάλλεται, τῷ μὴ ποιεῖν ἀλλήλοις τὰ δίκαια.
 5. 38. 7 τούτῳ διαφέρων, τῷ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δίκαιαν ἐν μείζονι δεσμωτηρίῳ.
 30 2. 4².
 2. 37. 11 τούτῳ μόνῳ διαλλάττειν, τῷ μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν περίβολον ὑπάρχειν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν αὐτήν.

4. PURPOSE (=ε).¹²—The infinitive with τοῦ is used to denote purpose. *G. MT.* 798; *Küh.* 478, 4, c; *Hultsch, Fleckeisen*, Vol. CXXIX, pp. 742–44.

1. 12. 6 ἀναδραμόντες ἔτι τοῖς χρόνοις τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπόρημα καταλιπεῖν.
 2. 34. 1 ἔσπενσαν τοῦ μὴ συγχωρηθῆναι τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς.
 5. 102. 6 συνυποκριθεὶς τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν λίαν ἔτοιμος εἶναι. 5. 31. 3; 7. 16. 7;
 18. 35. 3; 28. 8. 6; 29. 9. 12 (?); 4. 18. 11 (if καὶ be omitted); 9.
 36. 1 (if ἕως be omitted), 3. 70. 7 (cf. footnote in text).

All the above have τοῦ μή.

12. 28^a. 3² αὐτὸς γοῦν τηλικαύτην ὑπομεμενηκέαι δαπάνην καὶ κακοπάθειαν τοῦ συναγαγεῖν τὰ παρ' Ἀσσυρίων ὑπομνήματα καὶ πολυπραγμονῆσαι τὰ Λιγύων ἔθνη.

Also 10. 46. 3, if τοῦ be read with *Hultsch*; 4. 74. 8, if τοῦ be read instead of the πρὸς τό of *Hultsch*.

5. LIMITING NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.—The infinitive with τοῦ is used as a genitive limiting nouns and adjectives. *G. MT.* 798; *Küh.* 478, 4, c.

a) Infinitive with τοῦ after nouns (=h).⁶⁶—The infinitive with τοῦ is used as a limiting genitive after nouns.

1. 1. 2 μόνην διδάσκαλον τοῦ δύνασθαι ὑποφέρειν.
 1. 49. 10 τῆς τε τοῦ νικᾶν ἐλπίδος.
 1. 22. 2 πρὸς παρασκευὴν τοῦ ναυμαχεῖν.
 1. 62. 6² τὸν τε τοῦ νικᾶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν τοῦ λείπεσθαι καιρόν.

There are thirty-one nouns used with this limiting genitive:

συνήθεια, 2. 20. 8; αἰτία, 2. 38. 9; ἀρχηγός, 2. 38. 9; βεβαιωτής, 2. 40. 2;
 ἐξουσία, 3. 29. 7; ἀφορμή, 3. 69. 8; πρόφασις, 3. 108. 5; χρόνος, 3. 112.
 5; τέλος, 4. 57. 11; ἐπιβολή, 5. 62. 7; παράδειγμα, 5. 111. 7; κυρία,
 6. 15. 6²; ἐπιμέλεια, 6. 35. 12; πείρα, 8. 9. 6; σύνθημα, 8. 27. 3; πρό-
 νοια, 11. 2. 10²; ἔτος, 12. 16. 12; παράπτωσις, 12. 25^k. 10; ἔννοια, 15.

1. 12²; ὁρμή, 15. 4. 8; καταρχή, 15. 33. 1; ἀδυναμία, 15. 34. 5; πρόληψις, 16. 32. 4; λόγος, 18. 15. 15; ἐμπόδιον, 18. 22. 4; ἀρχή, 22. 8. 8; σημεῖον, 23. 13. 1.

b) Infinitive with τοῦ after adjectives (=g).¹⁸—The infinitive with τοῦ is used as a limiting genitive after adjectives.

αἴτιος, 1. 40. 16² αἴτιος ἐδόκει γεγονέναι τοῦ πάλιν ἀναθαρρῆσαι τὰς περὶ καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ κρατῆσαι τῶν ὑπαίθρων. 1. 43. 8, 57. 7²; 9. 3. 9²; 13. 4. 8;

21. 13. 10²; 23. 14. 6; 24. 11. 1²; 27. 15. 1².

21. 11. 2 οὐκ ἀλλότριος ἦν τοῦ κοινωνεῖν.

29. 9. 9 τοῦ ἐνεγκεῖν ταῦτα κύριος ὑπῆρχεν.

39. 9. 12 ἄπειρος τοῦ νεῖν.

Of the four adjectives used with this limiting genitive, ἀλλότριος, κύριος, and ἄπειρος, are each used but once.

6. PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT (=k).¹²³⁸—The infinitive with the article is used, like a noun, as the object of a preposition, the article being in the case required by the preposition. G. MT. 800; Küh. 478, 4, c; 479, 2.

The following is a list of the prepositions and quasi-prepositions used by Polybius:

With the genitive: χάριν⁹⁰, περί²⁹, ὑπέρ²⁹, ἐκ²⁵, ἔνεκεν or ἔνεκα¹⁵, πρὸ¹², ἕως⁸, πλήν⁶, χωρὶς⁵, μέχρι³, ἕξω², ἄνευ¹.

With the dative: ἅμα¹¹⁵, ἐπί⁵¹, ἐν²⁴, πρὸς¹⁰.

With the accusative: διὰ⁵⁰⁴, πρὸς¹⁵⁰, εἰς⁷⁴, ἐπί³⁹, μετὰ³³, περί¹², παρὰ¹.

The superior numbers refer, not to the number of the occurrences of the preposition to which they are attached, but to the number of infinitives which are thus used, two or more infinitives sometimes appearing with one preposition.

Three of these prepositions are used with two cases: περί with genitive and accusative, ἐπί and πρὸς with the dative and accusative.

1) *Prepositions with the genitive.*²²⁵

χάριν, for the sake of, is prepositive in Polybius.

1. 39. 8 ἐξήκοντα δὲ μόνον ἐπλήρωσαν ναῦς χάριν τοῦ τὰς ἀγορὰς κομίζειν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις.

3. 42. 4 πλῆθος ἠθροίσθη βαρβάρων χάριν τοῦ κωλύειν τὴν τῶν Καρχηδονίων διάβασιν.

By allowing the infinitive to take a subject accusative Polybius uses this construction to express purpose.

8. 28. 1 ἐπεπόριστο σκῆψιν ὡς ἄρρωστών, χάριν τοῦ μὴ θανατάζειν ἀκούοντας τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. 5. 88. 6; 9. 41. 9, κ.τ.λ.

Because of the frequent use of this construction the number of cases of ἵνα, etc., to express purpose (see *Fassbaender and Brief*) is comparatively small.

περί.—This is a common classical usage—

a) After verbs of saying, writing, etc., where the preposition is necessary.

1. 18. 10 ὥστε πολλάκις βουλευέσθαι περὶ τοῦ λύειν τὴν πολιορκίαν.
24. 1. 5 τοῖς δὲ φυγάσιν ἐπηγγείλατο γράψειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς περὶ τοῦ κατελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν.

b) Where the genitive without περί is admissible and περί is pleonastic.

8. 18. 10 περὶ δὲ τοῦ παρεισελεῖν τὸν Ἀριανὸν καὶ πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκείνον ἐκέλευε φροντίζειν.
30. 22. 5 παρακούσαντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι περὶ τοῦ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξαγαγεῖν.

ὑπέρ.—Used in the same way as περί.

a) Where ὑπέρ is necessary to the sense.

1. 43. 1 συλλαλήσαντες αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοῦναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις.
5. 18. 6 ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ τὸ δεινὸν ἥξειν ἐπὶ σφᾶς οὕτως ὀξέως οὐδὲ διανοεῖτο παράπαν αὐτῶν οὐδεῖς.

b) Where the genitive without a preposition is admissible and ὑπέρ is pleonastic.

3. 87. 5 ἐποιοῦντο σπουδὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπικουρεῖν τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πράγμασι. Cf. 11. 2. 10².
5. 94. 9 ἐγένετο ταῖς τε πόλεσιν ἐλπίς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βαρυνθήσεσθαι ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς. Cf. 1. 49. 10; 1. 62. 4.

ἐκ.—

1) *From*, of departure.

2. 21. 2 ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἐξεχώρησαν.
23. 16. 13 τούτοις ἐπέταξε παραχρῆμα πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐξάγειν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν.

2. α) *From, by, of source of knowledge.*

22. 13. 3 δῆλος ὦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σιωπᾶν ὅτι δυσαρρεστέϊται.

14. 2. 7 ὁ Νομάς ἐπίσθη ἐκ τοῦ φάναι τοὺς πρέσβεις μὴ πρότερον ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι πρὶν ἢ λαβεῖν τὰς ἀποκρίσεις.

β) *From, of source of advantage or disadvantage.*

3. 17. 4 πολλὰ προορώμενος εὐχρηστα πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ κράτος ἐλεῖν αὐτήν.

3. 63. 4 (ἔφη) εἶναι δ' ἐκ τοῦ νικᾶν ἄθλον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μαχομένου τι παθεῖν.

ἐνεκεν or ἔνεκα.—Used like χάριν, *for the sake of*, and like it, prepositive in Polybius.

3. 4. 10 οὔτε γὰρ πολεμῇ τοῖς πέλας οὐδεὶς νοῦν ἔχων ἐνεκεν αὐτοῦ τοῦ καταγωνίσασθαι τοὺς ἀντιταττομένους.

15. 16. 3³ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἔθηκε ἔνεκα τοῦ προεκλῦσαι, ἀχρεῖῶσαι, ἀναγκάσαι.

ἐνεκεν is used for ἔνεκα to avoid hiatus. Cf. *Hultsch*, "Über den hiatus bei Polybius," *Philologus*, Vol. XIV (1859), pp. 288–319. "Ähnlich unterscheiden sich ἔνεκα und ἐνεκεν, nur dass letzteres nicht ausschliesslich vor vocalen sondern häufig auch vor consonanten steht. Hiatus macht ἔνεκα nur 2. 36. 1, wo es mit Benseler zu elidiren ist" (p. 290).

πρό—Used as a substitute for πρίν.

2. 63. 2 πρὸ τοῦ συνεῖναι τὰ προσπεπτωκότα τὰς δυνάμεις.

3. 25. 1 συνθήκας ποιοῦνται Ῥωμαῖοι, πρὸ τοῦ συστήσασθαι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὸν πόλεμον.

ἕως, *until, so far as*, which was generally expressed by ἕως οὐ or ἕως with indicative or subjunctive.

1. 69. 10 οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο περιμείναντες ἕως τοῦ γινῶναι πότερον κ.τ.λ.

5. 10. 3 ἀλλὰ μέχρι τοῦτον πολεμῶν καὶ φιλονεικῶν, ἕως τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀφορμάς.

πλήν, *except*, same as χωρίς.

2. 60. 8 οὐδενὸς ἔτυχε δεινοῦ πλήν τοῦ καταποντισθῆναι.

8. 9. 5 ἐβουλεύσαντο πάσης ἐλπίδος πείραν λαμβάνειν πλήν τοῦ διὰ πολιορκίας ἐλεῖν τὰς Συρακούσας.

Cf. πλήν with anarthrous infinitive.

χωρίς.—

a) *Without.*

2. 51. 6 βοηθήσαι χωρίς τοῦ κομίσασθαι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον καὶ λαβεῖν ὄρμη-
τήριον.
7. 11. 5 εἰ μὲν χωρίς τοῦ παρασπονδῆσαι Μεσσηνίους δύνῃ κρατεῖν τοῦ τόπου
τούτου.

b) *Besides, apart from.*

3. 32. 4 χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ πολλαπλασίους αὐτὰς ὑπάρχειν τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑπομνη-
μάτων, οὐδὲ καταλαβεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν βεβαίως οὐδὲν οἷόν τε τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας.
6. 46. 6 χωρὶς τοῦ παραβλέπειν τὰς τηλικαύτας διαφοράς, καὶ πολὺν δὴ τινα
λόγον ἐν ἐπιμέτρῳ διατίθενται.

μέχρι, *until.*

3. 92. 5 Φάβιος δὲ μέχρι τοῦ συνάψαι τοῖς τόποις ἔσπευδε.
37. 1. 6 πρότερον μὲν γὰρ πᾶσι πεπολεμηκέναι μέχρι τοῦ κρατῆσαι καὶ
συγχωρῆσαι τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους.

ἔξω.—

1. 15. 3 τὸν μὲν Ἰέρωνα φησι οὕτως ἔξω γενέσθαι τοῦ φρονεῖν.
30. 4. 5 ἔξω τοῦ φρονεῖν γενόμενοι.

ἔξω is used but twice, as cited, in the phrase=*to be beside oneself*.

ἄνευ, *without*—a common usage which has but one example in Polybius.

22. 13. 8 ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὸ κινήσαί τι τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἄνευ τοῦ παραβῆναι
καὶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ ὄσια.

2) *With the dative.*²⁰⁰

ἅμα, *at the same time with, together with.* A rare construction in classical prose, used very frequently by Polybius, second only to διὰ τό. The main verb is often modified by a temporal adverb: εὐθέως, παραχρῆμα, παραυτίκα.

a) With the present infinitive used thirty-one times, it represents an action which began just before the action expressed by the main verb, and may continue with it.

1. 23. 5 ἅμα δὲ τῷ πλησιάζειν συνθεωροῦντες τοὺς κόρακας.
2. 11. 8 ἅμα δὲ τῷ προσέχειν ἑκατέρας ὁμοῦ τὰς δυνάμεις, παραχρῆμα πάλιν
ἀνίχθησαν.

6) With the aorist infinitive, used eighty-four times, the action is represented as taking place immediately before the action expressed by the main verb.

1. 68. 8 ἅμα τῷ συγχωρῆσαι τὰ περὶ τῶν ὀψωνίων αὐτοῖς τοῖς Καρχηδονίου εὐθέως ἐπέβαινον.
2. 57. 4 ἅμα γὰρ τῷ κατασχεῖν τὴν πόλιν Ἄρατος παραντίκα παρήγγελε, κ.τ.λ.

c) Present and aorist infinitives may be used in the same sentence.

1. 76. 7 ἅμα δὲ τῷ τοὺς ἵππεῖς ὑποστῆναι, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν δύναμιν ἐπάγειν, εὐθέως ἐφειγον.
3. 65. 4 ἅμα δὲ τῷ πλησιάζειν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνιδεῖν τὸν κονιορτὸν ἐξαιρόμενον εὐθέως συνετάττοντο πρὸς μάχην.

ἐπί.—Used with the articular infinitive to denote (1) purpose, but chiefly to denote (2) cause.

(1) Purpose.

1. 45. 11 ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῦτω παρ' ἀμφοῖν ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ τρέψασθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ προέσθαι ταῦτα.

(2) Cause, with verbs expressing emotion.

2. 4. 6 περιχαρὴς γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν Αἰτωλοὺς νενικηκέναι.
2. 27. 4 εὐελπίς γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν μέσους κατὰ πορείαν ἀπειληφέναι τοὺς Κελτοὺς.
2. 41. 5 δυσσαρεστήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ νομίμως ἄρχειν.
3. 78. 5 δυσχεραίνοντας ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν πόλεμον λαμβάνειν τὴν τριβὴν.

The perfect infinitive is used sixteen out of fifty-one times.

15. 5. 13 συγχαρὴς ἐπὶ τῷ πάντας ὑπηκόους πεποιῆσθαι τοὺς πρότερον Σόφακι πειθομένους.
1. 41. 1 περιχωρεῖς ἦσαν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἡλαττώσθαι ὥς ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ἰδίους τεθαρρηκέναι.

ἐν.—

(1) Local sense.

1. 51. 9 ὅπερ ἐν τῷ ναυμαχεῖν ἐστὶ πρακτικώτατον.
1. 62. 4 πάσας τὰς τοῦ νικᾶν ἐν τῷ πολεμεῖν ἐλπίδας.
2. 29. 3 ἀποκεκλειμένης πάσης τῆς ἐν τῷ λείπεσθαι σωτηρίας.

(2) Temporal.

6. 53. 2 τὰς ἐπιτετευγμένας ἐν τῷ ζῆν πράξεις.
1. 23. 8 ἐν δὲ τῷ συνεγγίξειν θεωροῦντες τὸ συμβεβηκός.
3. 79. 9 μίαν παρεχόμενα χρεῖαν ἐν τῷ πεσεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

πρός.—Nine of the ten occurrences of *πρός τῷ* are with *εἰμί* or *γίνομαι* in the sense of being *intent* or *determined upon, busy with*.

1. 50. 1 *πρός τῷ ναυμαχεῖν ὄντας*.
2. 32. 11 *πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τῷ διακινδυνεύειν ἦσαν*.
3. 71. 1 *ἐγίνετο πρὸς τῷ στρατηγεῖν τοὺς ὑπεναντίους*.
3. 94. 10 *Μάρκος πρὸς τῷ παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ τῷ διακινδυνεύειν ἦν*.

In 12. 28. 12, where the text is weak, *πρός* is used in the ordinary sense, *besides*: *πρὸς τῷ κατεψεύσθαι ἐκεῖνον*.

3) *With the accusative*.⁸¹³

διά.—This is the preposition used most frequently by Polybius, 504 infinitives with *τὸ* occurring after it. The present infinitive is used 339, perfect infinitive 124, aorist infinitive 39 times, and the future infinitive three times.

The infinitive generally has a subject accusative, the construction being a much-used substitute for the other constructions expressing cause.

Present infinitive:

1. 10. 3 *ἠπόρησαν διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐξόφθαλμον εἶναι τὴν ἀλογίαν τῆς βοηθείας*.
1. 10. 8 *ἐμελλον τὰς Συρακούσας ἐπανελέσθαι διὰ τὸ πάσης σχεδὸν δεσπόζειν τῆς ἄλλης Σικελίας*.
1. 41. 6 *διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν καταλείπεσθαι σφίσιν*.
10. 8. 4 *ἂν* with the present infinitive: *ἀκούων ὅτι μάχιμοι μὲν ἄνδρες εἶησαν εἰς χιλιούς διὰ τὸ μηδένα μηδέποτε ἂν ὑπολαμβάνειν ὅτι ἐπινοήσῃ τις κ.τ.λ.*

Aorist infinitive:

2. 7. 6 *ἐξέπεισον ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας διὰ τὸ παρασπονδῆσαι τοὺς αὐτῶν οἰκείους*.
2. 18. 6 *οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἀντεξαγαγεῖν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ στρατόπεδα διὰ τὸ προκαταληφθῆναι καὶ μὴ καταταχῆσαι τὰς δυνάμεις*.
3. 3. 31 *ἂν* with aorist infinitive: *εἰ δὲ μηδεὶς ἂν τολμήσῃ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἄνθρωπος ὢν, διὰ τὸ, κἂν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν εὐτυχῇ, τὴν γε περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίδα μηδέποτε ἂν εὐλόγως βεβαιώσασθαι μηδένα τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων, κ.τ.λ.*

With the two cases of *ἂν* with infinitive present and aorist compare three cases of *διὰ τό* with the future infinitive.

3. 5. 8² *πέπεισμαι μὲν γάρ, κἂν τι συμβῇ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπινον, οὐκ ἀργήσῃ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν οὐδ' ἀπορήσῃ ἀνδρῶν ἀξιώχρεων διὰ τὸ κάλλους πολλοὺς κατεγγυηθήσεσθαι καὶ σπουδάσειν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν αὐτήν*.

32. 16. 2 βουλόμενος πίστιν παρασκευάζειν τοῖς μέλλουσι λέγεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὸ μήτε διαπορεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας διὰ τὸ παράδοξά τινα φανήσεσθαι τῶν συμβαινόντων μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτόν.

Perfect infinitive:

1. 16. 7 διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἔνδειαν γεγονέναι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων.
 1. 20. 10 διὰ τὸ μηδένα κεχρησθαι τοιούτοις σκάφεσιν.
 2. 69. 1 διὰ τὸ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίας συνεστάναι τὸν ὄλον ἀγῶνα.

πρός.—

(1) After verbs, πρὸς τό and infinitive signifying the end of motion.

1. 17. 9 ὤρμησαν πρὸς τὸ σιτολογεῖν. 1. 69. 3.
 4. 32. 6 ἐτράπησαν πρὸς τὸ βλάπτειν αὐτούς.
 32. 14. 10 προῆλθε πρὸς τὸ φιλοδοξεῖν.

(2) Purpose.

a) After adjectives and adverbs

3. 17. 11 προθυμοτέρους πρὸς τὸ κινδυνεύειν.
 3. 64. 11 πάντων ἐκθύμως ἐχόντων πρὸς τὸ κινδυνεύειν.
 3. 109. 1 τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐτοίμους παρεσκευάκαμεν πρὸς τὸ μένειν καὶ μετέχειν τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγώνων.
 12. 21. 5 ἱκανὸν τόπον πρὸς τὸ μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποπεπτωκέναι.

b) After nouns.

3. 63. 6 διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἐπιθυμίαν.
 3. 68. 9 οὐ μὴν ἠπόρουν γε σκήψεων πρὸς τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν αὐτοῖς ἦτταν εἶναι τὸ γεγονός.
 3. 69. 3 δεῖγμα βουλόμενος ἐκφέρειν πρὸς τὸ μὴ δεδιότας ἀπελπίζειν.

c) After verbs.

1. 48. 5 παρεσκευασμένων πρὸς τὸ ῥαδίως ἐμπρησθῆναι. Cf. 1. 88. 9.
 1. 62. 5 οὐδὲν κατελείπετο πρὸς τὸ σώζειν.
 1. 88. 11 ἀφνωὺς διακείμενοι πρὸς τὸ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀπέχθειαν.
 3. 2. 6 συνεβάλετ' αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸ μὴ μόνον ἀνακτησάσθαι, ἔτι δὲ προσλαβεῖν.
 3. 60. 13 πράττειν τι πρὸς τὸ θαρρῆσαι τοὺς βουλομένους.

d) In free relation to the whole sentence.

1. 79. 12 ἡμῶν ἐγκρατὴ γενέσθαι σπουδάζοντα πρὸς τὸ μὴ τινὰς ἀλλὰ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἅμα τιμωρήσασθαι.

3. 46. 3 τὴν πλευρὰν ἡσφαλίζοντο, πρὸς τὸ συμμένειν καὶ μὴ παρωθεῖσθαι τὸ ὅλον ἔργον.

(3) With εἰμί and γίνομαι.—Compare πρὸς τῷ.

1. 26. 3 ὄντων δὲ τῶν μὲν πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ βιάζεσθαι.

1. 29. 3 ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τὸ πολιορκεῖν αὐτήν. 1. 36. 5; 1. 55. 5.

(4) πρὸς τό with the meaning, *as regards, as far as . . . is concerned*, is found but once.

1. 67. 4 πρὸς μὲν τὸ μὴ ταχέως συμφρονήσαντας ἀπειθεῖν μηδὲ δυσκαταπλήκτους εἶναι τοῖς ἡγοιμένοις ὁρθῶς στοχάζονται ποιοῦντες ἐκ πολλῶν γενῶν τὴν δύναμιν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ διδάξαι καὶ πρᾶναι καὶ μεταθεῖναι τοὺς ἡγνοηκότας ὁλοσχερῶς ἀστοχοῦσιν.

εἰς.—

(1) After verbs of emotion, indicating the end of motion.

1. 41. 2 ἐπερρώσθησαν εἰς τὸ ἐκπέμπειν.

2. 59. 5 βουλόμενος παραισθήσασθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον αὐτῷ συναγνακτεῖν.

3. 49. 9 ἐπισπωμένου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ παρακαλοῦντος εἰς τὸ συμπράξαι καὶ συμπεριποιῆσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ.

(2) Purpose.

a) After adjectives and adverbs.

2. 46. 3 πᾶσαν ἱκανὴν ποιουμένους πρόφασιν εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν.

4. 85. 6 μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν τῶν δυνατῶν εἰς τὸ γνῶναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

b) After nouns.

1. 66. 3 βουλόμενος ἀναστροφὴν διδόναι εἰς τὸ φθάνειν. 4. 61. 1.

2. 48. 5 ὁρμὴν παρέστησε εἰς τὸ πρεσβεῖν. 5. 36. 8.

3. 15. 7 λαβόντες τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν εἰς τὸ διαλῦσαι.

3. 117. 4 τὴν μεγίστην χρεῖαν εἰς τὸ νικᾶν.

4. 49. 2 φιλονεικίαν εἰς τὸ διαλῦσαι τὴν ἔχθραν.

5. 49. 5 ποιησαμένου σπουδῆν εἰς τὸ διαλύειν. 5. 67. 2.

5. 63. 6 ἔδοσαν ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸ λαβεῖν. 3. 59. 4.

6. 18. 1 τοιαύτης οὔσης τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὸ καὶ βλάπτειν καὶ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλοις.

6. 52. 9 παρέχεται ῥοπὴν εἰς τὸ νικᾶν.

c) After verbs.

4. 48. 10 τῆς τῶν ὅχλων ὁρμῆς συνεργούσης εἰς τὸ διάδημα περιθέσθαι.

4. 60. 4. συνεφρόνησαν ἀλλήλοις εἰς τὸ μὴ τελεῖν, συστήσασθαι, ἀσφαλίζεσθαι.

d) Independent, limiting the whole expression.

2. 68. 7 ἔμεινον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, ὡς ἀνωτάτω σπευδόντες λαβεῖν τοὺς ὑπεναντίους εἰς τὸ τὴν φυγὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ καταφερῇ καὶ κρημνώδη γενέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις.
8. 17. 7 ὁ τε Σωσίβιος ἅμα μὲν προεδίδου τῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὸ μὴδὲν ἐλλείπειν εἰς τὰς ἐπιβολάς.

(3) Result.

2. 13. 4 εὐρόντες δὲ σφᾶς ἐπικεκῶιμηνμένους ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις καὶ προειμένους εἰς τὸ μεγάλην χεῖρα κατασκευάσασθαι Καρχηδονίους.
12. 26^c. 4 τοῖς νέοις τοιοῦτον ἐντετόκασι ζῆλον, εἰς τὸ τῶν μὲν ἠθικῶν καὶ πραγματικῶν λόγων μὴδὲ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐπίνοιαν ποιείσθαι.

ἐπὶ.—The infinitive with ἐπὶ τό is found after verbs of motion used in a metaphorical sense. Compare πρὸς and εἰς.

1. 20. 7 ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ συνεμβαίνειν. 1. 25. 5, 29. 6, 70. 4, 87. 7; 2. 13. 3, 34. 2.

In the majority of cases ἐπὶ τό is used after ὁρμάω.

1. 31. 5 ἀπέσχον τοῦ ῥέπειν ταῖς γνώμαις ἐπὶ τὸ ποιεῖν τι τῶν λεγομένων.
2. 35. 10 παρωρμήθην ἐπὶ τὸ ποιήσασθαι.
3. 6. 7 ἐπὶ τὸ κρίναι παραγινόμεθα.
11. 20. 7 ἐπὶ τὸ συγχρῆσθαι κατηνέχθη. 29. 5. 3.
21. 28. 3 κατήντησαν ἐπὶ τὸ μεταλλεῖν καὶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὀρύγμασιν ὑπὸ γῆς.
33. 18. 11 συγκατηνέχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν δόγμα τοιοῦτον.
36. 5. 6 πάντων φερομένων ἐπὶ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις.

μετά.—Of the thirty-three infinitives used with μετά τό, twenty-nine are in the aorist tense, the clause expressing the time after which something else occurs.

3. 4. 12 ποία τις ἦν μετὰ τὸ καταγωνισθῆναι τὰ ὅλα καὶ πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίαν.
3. 10. 1 μετὰ τὸ καταλύσασθαι Καρχηδονίους τὴν προειρημένην ταραχήν.
9. 32. 7 εἰ μὲν ἐπιγέγονέ τι μετὰ τὸ θέσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν ὑμᾶς.

μετὰ τό is used, only with the aorist infinitive, as a substitute for an aorist participle in genitive absolute or for a temporal clause with ὅτε.

περί.—Used with γίνομαι, περὶ τό with the infinitive means *to be busied with something*. Cf. πρὸς τῷ.

1. 41. 6 περὶ τὸ βοηθεῖν ἐγίνοντο καὶ παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ πᾶν ὑπομένειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως.
1. 66. 1 ἐγίνετο περὶ τὸ περαιῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τὴν Λιβύην.

Cf. *περὶ τοῦ* with the infinitive. Polybius uses *περὶ τό* only after *γίνομαι* except (6. 52. 11; 22. 4. 4) after *σπουδή*, and *σπουδάξω*.

παρά.—*παρὰ τὸ* with the infinitive occurs but once, and that in a causal sense.

29. 27. 12 ὥστε τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παρὰ τοῦτο πάλιν ὀρθωθῆναι, παρὰ τὸ φθάσαι κριθέντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Περσέα πράγματα.

7. INFINITIVE WITH *τῷ* DENOTING CAUSE, MANNER, MEANS, OR INSTRUMENT (=r).⁷⁸—The infinitive with the article *τῷ* is used to indicate the cause, manner, means, or instrument of the action or state of the principal verb. G. MT. 799; *Küh.* 478, 4, d.

1) a) Cause.

1. 68. 12 δοκοῦντες οὐχ ἥκιστα δι' ἐκείνον ὀλιγορῆσθαι τῷ μήτε πρεσβεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς.
1. 79. 7 τῷ δὲ πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πεποιῆσθαι λόγον οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἡγοῦμεθ' εἶναι ταυτολογεῖν.
2. 39. 11 οὐκ ἐγένετο τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι φῦναι προστάτην ἄξιον τῆς προαιρέσεως.
5. 48. 14 οὐδὲν ἦννεν τῷ φθάσαι Διογένην εἰς αὐτὴν παρεσπεσόντα. 5. 97. 6, 102. 3; 6. 29. 4; 8. 32. 12; 9. 2. 4, 2. 5, 4. 2.

b) After verbs of emotion, indicating the ground of emotion.

3. 18. 3 θαρροῦντας τῷ δοκεῖν αὐτὴν ἀνάλωτον ὑπάρχειν.
3. 68. 9 ἐξενίζοντο τῷ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς εἶναι παρὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν.
3. 106. 4 εὐθαρσείς τῷ δοκεῖν. 5. 56. 5.
4. 71. 5 διηπόρουν τῷ πεπεῖσθαι.
5. 57. 6 δυσσαρεστούμεναι τῷ δοκεῖν.

c) Point of difference.

1. 27. 11 τῷ μὲν ταχυναιτεῖν πολὺ περιῆσαν. 1. 51. 4.

See also infinitive with *τῷ* in apposition.

2) *Means*.

1. 46. 10 ὁ δὲ Ῥόδιος οὕτως κατανέστη τῶν πολεμίων τῇ τε τόλμῃ καὶ τῷ ταχυναιτεῖν.
3. 118. 9 τῇ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ιδιότητι καὶ τῷ βουλευέσθαι καλῶς ἀνεκτήσαντο.
6. 51. 8.

Also 10. 33. 5; 16. 14. 9.

8. INFINITIVE WITH *τοῦ* AFTER COMPARATIVES.¹⁸

a) The infinitive with *τοῦ* is used after comparatives (=t).¹⁷
G. MT. 798; *Küh.* 478, 4, c.

2. 7. 10² οὐδὲν ἐποίησαντο προνυγίτερον τοῦ ἐμβαλεῖν καὶ καταστῆσαι.
 4. 66. 2; 8. 27. 6.
 2. 61. 3 οἰκειότερον ὑπάρχον τοῦ ἐπισημαίνεσθαι.
 3. 81. 1 κυριώτερον εἶναι τοῦ γνῶναι.
 3. 111. 2 τί μείζον τοῦ διακριθῆναι. 9. 14. 10.
 5. 31. 4 οὐδὲν ἀνγκαιότερον εἶναι τοῦ μὴ συμπλέκειν. 8. 34. 4.
 6. 56. 2 οὐδὲν αἰσχίον τοῦ δωροδοκεῖσθαι.
 18. 53. 3 τὸ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν τοῦ ζῆν αἰσχροῦς περὶ πλείονος ποιησάμενος.
 2. 64. 6 conjecture.
 30. 7. 8. οὐ γὰρ ἔλαττον ἐστι τοῦ παρὰ τὸ καθήκον φιλοζωεῖν.

The comparative with *ἢ* and *τοῦ* with the infinitive does not occur in Polybius.

b) *ὥς* with the infinitive with *τοῦ* (=t).¹

3. 12. 5 οὐδενὸς μᾶλλον φροντίζειν ὥς τοῦ μὴ λανθάνειν τὰς προαιρέσεις,
 without a preceding οὕτως, *Küh.* 540, A. 5.

9. PREDICATE (=u).¹⁵—The infinitive with the article *τό* is used as a predicate noun.

2. 43. 8 τοῦτο ἦν τὸ Μακεδόνας μὲν ἐκβαλεῖν.
 8. 2. 6 δευτέρος ἂν εἴη πλοῦς τὸ τῶν κατὰ λόγον φροντίζειν.
 8. 4. 4 τοῦτο δ' ἐστι τὸ ὑπὸ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἀγαγεῖν.
 11. 17. 2 τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τὸν Μαχανίδα.

10. GENITIVE ABSOLUTE (=w).⁹—The infinitive with *τοῦ* is used as the genitive subject of the neuter impersonal participle in the genitive in place of the omitted noun or pronoun. *G. MT.* 798; *Küh.* 478, 4, c.

1. 60. 1² προσπεσόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ πεπλευκέναι στόλῳ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ
 πάλιν ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τῆς θαλάττης.
 6. 24. 7² ἀδύλου γὰρ ὄντος καὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι καὶ τοῦ παθεῖν τι τὸν ἡγεμόνα.
 10. 36. 1² μεγάλου γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ κατορθοῦν ἐν πράγμασι καὶ περιγίνεσθαι τῶν
 ἐχθρῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς.
 12. 6^b. 4 εὐλόγου γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ προσπεποιῆσθαι.
 15. 30. 1 κεκριμένου τοῦ καινοτομεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.
 18. 34. 7 τῆς δωροδοκίας ἐπιπολιζούσης καὶ τοῦ μηδένα μηδὲν δωρεὰν πράττειν.

This construction, which, according to Spieker (p. 326), is "altogether rare in Attic prose," is found six times (nine infinitives) in Polybius.

11. ACCUSATIVE ABSOLUTE (=s).¹—The participle of impersonal verbs in the neuter accusative singular is used as an accusative absolute, with an infinitive with *τό*. *G. MT.* 852; *Küh.* 478, 4, b; 487, 3.

2. 61. 3 οὐδὲ κατὰ ποσὸν ἐποιήσατο μνήμην, ὥσπερ τὸ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι τῶν πραξάντων οἰκειότερον ὑπάρχον τῆς ιστορίας τοῦ τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια τῶν ἔργων ἐπισημαίνεσθαι.

12. ACCUSATIVE OF RELATION (=n).⁷—The infinitive with *τό* may stand in free relation with a whole sentence. *Howlett* p. 278; *G. MT.* 796; *Küh.* 479, 1 end; 412, 3.

9. 9. 2⁶ τὸ πειραθῆναι λύειν τὴν πολιορκίαν, καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὀρμησθαι τὴν Ῥώμην, κ.τ.λ. τίς οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαι τὸν προειρημένον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡγεμόνα;
5. 31. 4 τὸ δ' εὐπαρακολούθητον καὶ σαφὴ γίνεσθαι τὴν διήγησιν οὐδὲν ἀναγκαίότερον ἡγούμεθ' εἶναι τοῦ μὴ συμπλέκειν ἀλλήλαις τὰς πράξεις.

13. GENITIVE OF PRICE (=x).⁴—The infinitive with *τοῦ* is used as the genitive of price. Cf. *Küh.* 418, 7, b, β.

3. 96. 12 λαβὼν παρ' αὐτῶν χρήματα τοῦ μὴ πορθῆσαι τὴν χώραν.

29. 8. 5³ ὁ μὲν γὰρ Εὐμένης ἤτει τοῦ μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν καὶ μὴ συστρατεύσασθαι Ῥωμαίοις πεντακόσια τάλαντα, τοῦ δὲ διαλύσαι τὸν πόλεμον χίλια πεντακόσια.

CHAPTER III.

USES OF THE INFINITIVE CHARACTERISTIC OF POLYBIUS.

SIMPLE INFINITIVE.—The simple infinitive is not used by Polybius in any new ways, nor does he employ any of the established usages to such an exceptional extent as to make them characteristic of his style.

ARTICULAR INFINITIVE.—Polybius uses the articular infinitive, first, in placing the article before a simple infinitive which gives him a noun, τὸ ζῆν, τὸ νικᾶν; and, second, in placing the article before a whole sentence, which may then be governed by a preposition, thus supplying a new form of clause to indicate time, cause, purpose, etc. This substantivized sentence may become so involved that an infinitive with the article may be used as the subject of another infinitive with the article.

Polybius uses the articular infinitive very frequently, standing second only to Demosthenes, whose use per page is higher, if only the prepositions (not the number of infinitives) be counted. And yet he has not used the articular infinitive in many ways other than those employed by classical writers.

Polybius' innovations are (*a*) the genitive of price; (*b*) ἅμα τῷ like μετὰ τό; (*c*) πρὸς τό and πρὸς τῷ with γίνομαι and εἰμί; and (*d*) πρὸς τό in final clauses.

In regard to frequency of use χάριν τοῦ largely takes the place of ἔνεκα (ἐνεκεν) τοῦ; διὰ τό, ἐπὶ τῷ of cause of emotion, πρὸς τό and μετὰ τό are very frequently used. To express purpose besides τοῦ with the infinitive, Polybius uses χάριν τοῦ, ἔνεκα τοῦ, ἐπὶ τῷ, εἰς τό and πρὸς τό.

CHAPTER IV.

TABLES OF THE USES OF THE INFINITIVE IN POLYBIUS AND IN BIBLICAL GREEK.

TABLE I.

SYMBOLS, DESIGNATING THE VARIOUS USES OF THE ANARTHROUS AND THE
ARTICULAR INFINITIVE, AND THEIR EQUIVALENTS.¹

- a, *a* = subject—*anarth.*, *artic.* with $\tau\acute{o}$.
¹i = subject of impersonal verb taking infinitive of indirect discourse as subject—*anarth.*
b, b, bb, bbb = object—*anarth.*, *artic.* with $\tau\acute{o}$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon$, $\tau\hat{\omega}$ respectively.
l = object, after verbs of bidding—*anarth.*
²i = object, after verbs introducing indirect discourse—*anarth.*
v, v = object of verbs of hindering, etc.—*anarth.*, *artic.*
k, k = object of prepositions—*anarth.*, *artic.*
d, e, e = purpose, distinct and specific—*anarth.*, *anarth.* with $\tilde{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$, *artic.*
o = purpose, modified and general—*anarth.*
p, f, ^sf, ^rf, f = result, actual or hypothetical—*anarth.*, *anarth.* with $\tilde{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$,
 $\tilde{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon \tilde{\alpha}\nu$, $\tilde{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$ in indirect discourse, *artic.* with $\tau\omicron\upsilon$.
s, ^ss, s = epexegetic or explanatory—*anarth.*, *anarth.* with $\tilde{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$, *artic.* with $\tau\omicron\upsilon$.
h, ^sh, h = limiting nouns—*anarth.*, *anarth.* with $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, *artic.*
g, g = limiting adjectives—*anarth.*, *artic.*
¹g = limiting adverbs—*anarth.*
q = limiting pronouns—*anarth.*
c, c = in apposition—*anarth.*, *artic.* with $\tau\acute{o}$, $\tau\omicron\upsilon$, $\tau\hat{\omega}$.
⁴f, *m* = stipulation—*anarth.* with $\tilde{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon$, with $\acute{\epsilon}\phi'$ $\hat{\omega}$, $\acute{\epsilon}\phi'$ $\hat{\omega}\tau\epsilon$.
r = parenthetic absolute—*anarth.* with and without $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$.
r = cause, manner, means = *artic.* with $\tau\hat{\omega}$.
t, ^st = after comparatives—*artic.* with $\tau\omicron\upsilon$, *artic.* with $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ and $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$.
u, u = predicate—*anarth.*, *artic.* with $\tau\acute{o}$.
w, w = genitive absolute—*anarth.*, *artic.* with $\tau\omicron\upsilon$.
z, z = accusative absolute—*anarth.*, *artic.* with $\tau\acute{o}$.
x = with $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$, $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu \eta$, $\pi\rho\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu \eta$ —*anarth.*
x = genitive of price—*artic.* with $\tau\omicron\upsilon$.
u = accusative of relation—*artic.* with $\tau\acute{o}$.

¹ Symbols in roman letters refer to the anarthrous infinitive (abbreviated "*anarth.*"); those in italics, to the articular infinitive (abbreviated "*artic.*"). These symbols are the same as those used by Votaw where the use of the infinitive in Polybius is the same as the use in biblical Greek, other symbols being added for uses of the infinitive which are found in Polybius, but not in biblical Greek.

THE second column of figures in the following table shows the average number of infinitives per page, the count being based on Hultsch's edition of Polybius and Swete's edition of the Septuagint. Since, however, the pages in these editions are unequal in length, these figures require correction to show the actual ratio of frequency, the pages of Genesis and II Maccabees containing about one-fourth more words, the pages of the Wisdom of Sirach about one-fourth fewer, than those of Polybius, and the pages of IV Maccabees about the same as those of Polybius. The third column gives the figures of the second column corrected for these inequalities and reduced to the basis of a page of the length of the Polybius page.

TABLE II.

RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF INFINITIVES IN POLYBIUS AND IN BIBLICAL GREEK.

		Average Number to Page	
<i>Polybius</i> , 1412 pages—			
No. of infinitives.....	11,265	7.95	7.95
No. of anarth. infs.....	9,364	6.6	6.6
No. of artic. infs.....	1,901	1.35	1.35
<i>Genesis</i> , 103 pages—			
No. of infinitives.....	319	3.097	2.32
No. of anarth. infs.....	187	1.8155	1.36
No. of artic. infs.....	132	1.2815	.96
<i>Wisdom of Sirach</i> , 111 pages—			
No. of infinitives.....	204	1.84	2.30
No. of anarth. infs.....	164	1.48	1.85
No. of artic. infs.....	40	.36	.45
<i>II Maccabees</i> , 46 pages—			
No. of infinitives.....	393	8.543	6.407
No. of anarth. infs.....	360	7.826	5.869
No. of artic. infs.....	33	.717	.538
<i>IV Maccabees</i> , 33 pages—			
No. of infinitives.....	187	5.666	5.666
No. of anarth. infs.....	171	5.181	5.181
No. of artic. infs.....	16	.485	.485

Table III shows the total number of occurrences of each tense of the infinitive in each of the several uses of the infinitive. For the meaning of the symbols, a, i, b, etc., see Table I.

Of the whole number of occurrences of the infinitive, 11,265, there are 7,074 presents, 2924 aorists, 726 perfects, and 541 futures. The ordinary grammatical distinction between the different tenses is preserved. The chief use of the future infinitive is in indirect discourse 437 times, mainly after verbs of hoping,

TABLE III.
THE TENSES OF THE INFINITIVE IN POLYBIUS AND THEIR USES.

ANARTHROUS					ARTICULAR					ARTICULAR				
	Pres.	Aor.	Fut.	Perf.		Pres.	Aor.	Fut.	Pref.		Pres.	Aor.	Fut.	Perf.
a.....	1344	679	7	107	a.....	145	98		7	χάριν..	39	49	1	1
i.....	76	14	3	16	b.....	17	3		1	περί...	16	10	1	2
b.....	2394	1056	65	18	bb.....	17	15			ὑπέρ...	12	13	3	1
z.....	1399	270	437	365	bbb.....	3			2	ἐκ.....	17	5		3
v.....	28	9	3		v.....	71	7		1	ἐνεκεν..	4	11		
c.....	50	27	3	1	c.....	23	24		1	πρό.....	4	8		
f.....	260	105		18						ἕως.....	3	5		
st.....	5	10		1						πλήν...	2	3		1
7t.....		5			n.....	1	6			χωρίς...	2	3		
s.....	11	3			l.....	13	4			μέχρι...		3		
rs.....	7	1			lt.....	1				ἔξω.....	2			
4f.....	7	6								ἀνευ...		1		
m.....	19	18	5	1	h.....	47	15	2	2	ἀμα.....	31	84		
h.....	124	34	2	5						ἐπί.....	28	7		16
rh.....	1				g.....	14	3		1	ἐν.....	10	5		
g.....	75	43	2							πρός...	8	1		1
ig.....	8				k.....	705	372	9	152	διὰ.....	338	39	3	124
q.....	43	6								πρός...	98	51		1
k.....	1			1	e.....	5	7			εἰς.....	38	34	1	1
d.....	10	2	1							ἐπί.....	30	9		
e.....	8									μετά...	3	29		1
o.....	18	7			r.....	60	3			περί...	11	1		
u.....	13	20		1						παρά...		1		
r.....	23	3	2		n.....	3	12							
w.....	10	1		7	no.....	5	2		2					
x.....	3	28		1	x.....	1	3							
z.....	6	2			z.....	1								
Total..	5942	2350	530	542	Total..	1132	574	11	184	Total..	705	372	9	152

promising, swearing, etc., which allow the object infinitive both in direct and indirect discourse. It is used with the article but 11 times, 9 of these instances being after prepositions.

The predominance of the present over the aorist is very marked as compared with the use of these tenses in biblical Greek. In Polybius for every aorist infinitive there are 2.42 present infinitives. In biblical Greek, according to Votaw (p. 49) there are in all biblical Greek 8,972 infinitives, of which 3,327 are in the present tense and 5,484 in the aorist tense. Therefore in biblical Greek the aorist predominates over the present in the ratio of 1.65 to 1. Biblical Greek does not use the future infinitive with the article, a use which is found twice in Polybius (3. 48. 2; 7. 15. 4) after ἐλπῖς, and 9 times after prepositions: χάριν τοῦ, 4. 9. 5; περὶ τοῦ, 14. 3. 3; ὑπὲρ τοῦ, 5. 18. 6; 5. 94. 9 (ἐλπὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ; 24. 11. 14; διὰ τό, 3. 5. 8²; 32. 16. 2; εἰς τό, 9. 8. 11.

If we compare the uses of the infinitive in Polybius with those in biblical Greek (Genesis, Wisdom of Sirach, II and IV Macca-bees), we obtain the following statistics (Table IV):

TABLE IV.

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF THE INFINITIVE IN POLYBIUS AND BIBLICAL GREEK, ACCORDING TO THE VARIOUS USES.

A. ANARTHROS INFINITIVE IN POLYBIUS AND BIBLICAL GREEK.

	a	i	b	z	v	c	f	5f	7f	s	is	4f	m	h	th	g	ig	q	k	d	e	o	r	u	w	x	z	l	p	Total.
Polybius,	2137	109	3533	2471	40	81	383	16	5	14	8	13	43	105	1	120	8	49	2	13	8	25	34	28	18	32	8	.....	.....	9364
Genesis,	11	.....	71	3	.....	2	1	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	12	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	187
Wis. Sir.,	34	.....	53	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	2	.....	.....	1	34	4	77	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	.....	9	164
II Macc.,	43	.....	205	39	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	19	1	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	10	360
IV Macc.,	19	.....	100	16	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	8	.....	.....	.....	3	2	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	171

B. ARTICULAR INFINITIVE IN POLYBIUS AND BIBLICAL GREEK.

	a	b	bb	bbb	v	c	f	s	t	tf	h	h'	e	r	u	w	x	z	n													
Polybius.....	250	21	32	5	79	48	...	17	1	66	18	1238	12	78	15	9	4	1	7	1901
Genesis.....	...	...	13	...	...	2	3	4	1	5	2	87	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	132
Wis. Sir.....	1	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	1	1	31	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	40
II Macc.....	5	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	22	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	33
IV Macc.....	4	1	1	...	3	...	...	...	...	1	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	16

C. ARTICULAR INFINITIVE AFTER PREPOSITIONS IN POLYBIUS AND BIBLICAL GREEK.

	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	Total.
Polybius,	90	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1738
Genesis, ....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	132
Wis. Sir., ....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	40
II Macc.,	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	33
IV Macc., ....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10

Again, comparing the uses of the tenses of the infinitive in Polybius and in the whole field of biblical Greek (LXX, Apocrypha, and New Testament), using Votaw's results, we obtain the following statistics, reckoned absolutely and by percentages:

TABLE V.
COMPARATIVE STATISTICS OF THE INFINITIVE IN POLYBIUS AND BIBLICAL GREEK, ACCORDING TO TENSES.

		Percentage
No. of all infs. in Pol.....	11,265	
“ “ pres. “ “ “	7,074	.628
“ “ aor. “ “ “	2,924	.26
“ “ fut. “ “ “	541	.064
“ “ perf. “ “ “	726	.048
		1.00
No. of all infs. in bib. Gk.....	8,972	
“ “ pres. “ “ “	3,327	.3708
“ “ aor. “ “ “	5,484	.6112
“ “ fut. “ “ “	74	.0082
“ “ perf. “ “ “	87	.0098
		1.0000
No. of Anarthrous infs. in Pol.....	9,364	
“ “ “ pres. infs. in Pol.....	5,942	.635
“ “ “ aor. “ “ “	2,350	.25
“ “ “ fut. “ “ “	530	.057
“ “ “ perf. “ “ “	542	.058
		1.000
No. of Anarthrous infs. in bib. Gk.....	6,197	
“ “ “ pres. infs. in bib. Gk.....	2,357	.38
“ “ “ aor. “ “ “	3,708	.60
“ “ “ fut. “ “ “	74	.011
“ “ “ perf. “ “ “	58	.009
		1.000
No. of Articular infs. in Pol.....	1,901	
“ “ “ pres. infs. in Pol.....	1,132	.595
“ “ “ aor. “ “ “	574	.302
“ “ “ fut. “ “ “	11	.006
“ “ “ perf. “ “ “	184	.097
		1.000
No. of Articular infs. in bib. Gk.....	2,775	
“ “ “ pres. infs. in bib. Gk.....	970	.35
“ “ “ aor. “ “ “	1,776	.64
“ “ “ fut. “ “ “	0	.00
“ “ “ perf. “ “ “	29	.01
		1.00

CHAPTER V.

COMPARISON OF THE USES OF THE INFINITIVE IN POLYBIUS AND IN BIBLICAL GREEK.

IN looking at the foregoing tables of the average use of the infinitive per page in the books under examination, we are struck with the fact that Polybius has the highest average of all, and that there is a large difference between the averages of the translated books (Genesis and Wisdom of Sirach) and the untranslated books (II and IV Maccabees). We also see that the averages of II and IV Maccabees stand much nearer to Polybius than they do to Genesis and the Wisdom of Sirach.

Considering that Polybius does not use the infinitive in any unusual ways, and that there existed usages which he did not employ, the question arises: What causes the low averages in numbers and the comparatively few usages which Genesis and Wisdom of Sirach employ, and what is the reason for the high averages in II and IV Maccabees and for the large difference in the number of occurrences of the infinitive in all four books of biblical Greek?

Looking at the tables, we find 27 uses of the anarthrous infinitive: a, ¹i, b, ²i, v, c, f, ⁵f, ⁷f, s, ¹s, ⁴f, m, h, ¹h, g, ¹g, q, k, d, e, o, r, u, w, x, z; and 18 uses of the articular infinitive: a, b, bb, bbb, v, c, n, t, ¹t, h, g, k, e, r, u, w, x, z. Of these 45 uses, Genesis employs 20, viz.: a, b, ²i, c, s, h, g, k, d, e, o, bb, v, c, s, t, h, g, k, e; Wisdom of Sirach employs 18, viz.: a, b, ²i, v, s, h, g, k, d, o, x, a, bb, v, h, g, k, e; II Maccabees employs 14, viz.: a, b, ²i, f, s, h, g, d, e, x, a, b, k, e; and IV Maccabees employs 16, viz.: a, b, ²i, v, f, h, g, d, e, x, a, b, bb, v, h, k.

CHAPTER VI.

USES OF THE INFINITIVE FOUND IN BIBLICAL GREEK BUT NOT IN POLYBIUS.

IN Genesis we find the usage *s*; in Genesis and Wisdom of Sirach, the usage *f*; in Wisdom of Sirach and II Maccabees, the usage *p*; in II Maccabees, the usage *l*; and in IV Maccabees, ἀπὸ τοῦ with the infinitive, none of which is found in Polybius.

I. THE INFINITIVE AFTER VERBS OF BIDDING (=1).

II Macc. 1:10 οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ ἡ γερονσία καὶ Ἰούδας Ἀριστοβούλῳ χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν.

9:19 τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις πολλὰ χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ εὖ πράττειν βασιλεὺς Ἀντίοχος.

11:16 Λυσίας τῷ πλήθει τῶν Ἰουδαίων χαίρειν.

This use is merely a sub-class of the object infinitive, the verb of which the infinitive is the object being omitted. It is the stereotyped form of address used in letters, and is not confined to biblical Greek, but is found in II Maccabees only because several letters are there quoted. It occurs also in I Esdras and I Maccabees. If Polybius had quoted letters, the usage would have been found in his history.

2. RESULT.

1) Actual or hypothetical.

a) Without attendant particle (=p).—This usage, found in Wisdom of Sirach and II Maccabees, does not occur in Polybius nor in Attic Greek. *G. MT.* 585, 775; *Küh.* 473, 7; 583, 2.

Wis. Sir. 5:5 περὶ ἐξίλασμοῦ μὴ ἄφοβος γίνου, προσθεῖναι ἁμαρτίαν ἐφ' ἁμαρτίας.

II Macc. 3:24 καταπλαγέντας τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, εἰς ἔκλυσιν καὶ δειλίαν τραπήναι.

12:42 παρεκάλεσε τὸ πλῆθος συντηρεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀνιμαρτήτους εἶναι.

In the older language (Homer and Hesiod) the simple infinitive is used to express result.¹ The tendency, however, was to the use of ὥστε with the infinitive as being more exact, and this use superseded the former in later Greek, especially Attic. In

¹ *Karassek*, p. 13; Herodotus i. 176 καλεσθαι; ii. 7 εἶναι; iii. 149 νοῆσαι; iv. 79 μαλινεσθαι; vii. 194 ἀπολέσθαι after οὕτω.

the use in biblical Greek of the simple infinitive to express result, besides the use of ὥστε with the infinitive, we have but a partial return to the older construction, which may have been used at least in the language of daily speech even when the recognized literary form was ὥστε with the infinitive.

b) The infinitive with τοῦ (=f).—This usage, found three times in Genesis and twice in Wisdom of Sirach, does not occur in Polybius nor in classic Greek. *Küh.* 478, 4, c; *Blass* 71, 3.

Actual:

Gen. 16: 2 ἰδοὺ συνέκλεισέν με Κύριος τοῦ μὴ τίκτειν.

Wis. Sir. 44: 8 εἰσὶν αὐτῶν οἱ κατέλιπον ὄνομα τοῦ ἐκδιηγῆσθαι ἐπαίνους.

Hypothetical:

Gen. 19: 20 ἰδοὺ ἡ πόλις αὕτη ἐγγὺς τοῦ καταφυγεῖν με ἐκεῖ.

Wis. Sir. 42: 1 καὶ μὴ λάβῃς πρόσωπον τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν.

2) Epexegetic or explanatory infinitives with τοῦ (=s).—The infinitive with τοῦ is employed "for epexegetis, where the simple infinitive with or without ὥστε might have been used, and where the meaning of the genitive has been lost in the mixture of consequence and purpose. This is very common in the LXX, ὃ with the infinitive denoting both design and consequence" (*Winer-Moulton*, p. 410, b). "We must recognize in this usage an exaggeration of declining (Hellenistic) Greek, unless we prefer to resort to unnatural interpretations. It would seem that the infinitive with τοῦ had come to be regarded by the Hellenists as the representative of the Hebrew infinitive with ה in its manifold relations; and, as usually happens in the case of established formulas, the proper signification of the genitive was no longer thought of" (*ibid.*, p. 411); cf. *Gildersleeve*, *A.J.P.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 105, 106.

Gen. 3: 22 Ἰδοὺ Ἀδὰμ γέγονεν ὡς εἷς ἐξ ἡμῶν, τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν καὶ πονηρόν.
19: 19 ὁ ποιεῖς ἐπ' ἐμὲ τοῦ ζῆν τὴν ψυχὴν μου. 31: 20; 47: 29.

3. PREPOSITIONAL OBJECT (=k).—In IV Maccabees the infinitive is used once with ἀπὸ τοῦ to express source or cause where Polybius would have used ἐκ.

IV Macc. 6: 7 καὶ πίπτων εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ φέρειν τὸ σῶμα τὰς ἀλγηδόνας, ὀρθὸν εἶχεν καὶ ἀκλινῇ τὸν λογισμόν.

CHAPTER VII.

CAUSES OF THE PECULIARITIES IN THE USE OF THE INFINITIVE IN THE BIBLICAL BOOKS.

WE ask then:

I. What are the peculiarities of the use of the infinitive in the biblical books under discussion?

II. What are the causes of these peculiarities?

Each of the four biblical books must be examined separately, since no two of them were written by the same person, and differences of style must be taken into consideration, and since two of the books, Genesis and Wisdom of Sirach, were translations from Hebrew into Greek. Translations differ according to the method and purpose of the translator, and his knowledge of the languages with which he has to deal.

If the purpose is to make an extremely literal translation, reproducing each word and construction of the original, the result will be a translation which will be worthless from a literary point of view—one which may even obscure the thought of the original as a result of this literal method.

If, on the other hand, the purpose be to produce a translation which shall be good from a literary point of view, the translator may change the thought of the original, because of inability to reproduce the thought of the original in the translation.

Aside from the purpose of the translator, his knowledge of either language will play an important part in the result of the work; for it can be easily seen that, no matter what the translator's ability may be in other directions, if his knowledge of either language is deficient, the resulting translation will be wanting in literary value or in the reproduction of the thought of the original.

It is well known that the Hebrew people laid great stress on the value of the letter of their sacred writings, so that when it became necessary to translate them it was but natural, from their

point of view, to endeavor to present the original as closely as possible in the translation. Moreover, the translation was made for Jews, not for Greeks. The Jews of the Dispersion, for whom the translation was made, had so far forgotten the language of their nation that even the efforts of the interpreter in the synagogue, who turned the Scriptures into the spoken Aramaic, were of no aid to them in understanding the lessons. The Jews of the Dispersion above mentioned were descendants of those Jews who had fled or been carried to Egypt and who had grown up under Greek influence, chiefly in Alexandria, where they had been given a part of the city to themselves and had been granted civil rights. The language of these Jews was Greek, and they must have the Law in Greek if they were to understand it. Their Greek, however, was not the Greek of the educated native Greek, but was presumably the language of the Alexandrian streets and markets—a composite of the terms of the Egyptian seaport. Alexandria was a thriving city, and, situated as it was, with its population made up of many different peoples, the one language of intercourse between all the inhabitants must certainly feel the effects of the mixture of races which spoke it. The speakers would naturally be affected by their native idiom, and by their manner of life and thought.

GENESIS.—Turning now to the Book of Genesis, fresh from the reading of Polybius, we feel at once that this is not Greek such as a Greek would have written or even have spoken in ordinary life. If it was a spoken or written language, it must have been that of persons whose manner of life and thought was very different from that of native Greeks. Not to speak of other non-Greek aspects of the language (for that would lead away from the study of the infinitive), there is here no balancing of sentences, no subordination of part to part in order to make an orderly whole. The narrative is made up of short declarative statements connected in groups by the simple connective. Quotations, instead of being given in the subordinate form of indirect discourse, are quoted in the words of the speaker. If Polybius had written in this style, the two great groups of subject and object infinitives would have been reduced to a minimum, and

the whole average number of simple infinitives used would not have been any higher than in Genesis. Polybius' history would have become as formless as the Greek of Genesis, and would have given no pleasure to the reader.

Out of 187 simple infinitives, Genesis has used the simple infinitive 77 times to express purpose(d), which Polybius has used very sparingly, only 13 times in his whole work. In Genesis there are but 4 occurrences of the infinitive with *εἰς τό*, and but 7 of the infinitive with *ὥστε* to express purpose, and we look in vain for the many other ways which Polybius had of expressing it. We see, therefore, why there is such a large use made of this infinitive. It is because the translator has used it almost to the exclusion of the other ways of expressing purpose. Very likely it was the form used most frequently in the dialect which he employed in everyday life. It certainly was the simplest form he could have used.

In comparison with its use of the simple infinitive, Genesis makes a very large use of the articular infinitive, but this large proportion is due rather to the infrequent use of the simple infinitive than to an abnormally frequent use of the articular infinitive. Nearly all of the uses of the articular infinitive are with prepositions in clauses to express time, *ἐν τῷ while*, *πρὸ τοῦ before*, *μετὰ τό after*, *ἕως τοῦ until*.

The usage *s* has been largely affected by Hebraistic influence, though it may not have been due merely to the effort of the translator to reproduce Hebrew *שׁ* with the infinitive, but may have been used in the speech of the Alexandrian Jews. In whatever way it may be viewed, it is but an extension of the usage *f* (*τοῦ c. infinitive* = Result).

The exegetical character of the articular infinitive may be seen in the infinitive with *τό*, *τοῦ*, or *τῷ* in apposition with a preceding demonstrative in the accusative, genitive, or dative, the fact that it is used with *τοῦ*, when some other case would be expected being due to the influence of the Hebrew particle *שׁ*.

WISDOM OF SIRACH.—The average of infinitives in Wisdom of Sirach is almost the same as that in Genesis and the causes of this are the same. The translator has shown in his prologue

what he might have done in the way of writing better Greek, if he had not been hampered by the form in which his translation is cast. In the prologue of only 22 lines there are 13 infinitives, used as follows: a, b, i, d, o, k—a goodly array for so short a bit. But though the translator could write Greek, he did not feel at liberty to present the translation in Greek form. He has simply turned the writing of his grandfather into Greek words, clinging to the parallelism of the Hebrew original.

Of the 31 occurrences of the articular infinitive 24 are with *ἐν τῷ* denoting time while, 4 with *μετὰ τό* of time after which, 2 with *εἰς τό* to denote purpose, while the one occurrence of *πρὸς τό* is due to the prologue.

If the translator of Wisdom of Sirach could have brought himself to throw aside the characteristically Hebrew form of the original and clothe it entirely in a Greek dress, he might have left us a better monument of the Alexandrian dialect. As it is, he employs two uses of the infinitive, one of which, *f*, he has in common with Genesis, the other, *p*, in common with II Maccabees.

II AND IV MACCABEES.—Looking at the tables of the uses of the infinitive, when we come to II and IV Maccabees we are prepared for a different state of things. We see that the average of use of the infinitive is high, and the tables tell us the reason. There is large use made of all the uses of the infinitive which these books have in common with Polybius. Subject and object infinitives occur very frequently, the infinitive of purpose drops down, *ὥστε* with the infinitive appears again, the infinitive of indirect discourse is found more frequently, the uses of the articular infinitive are scattered, and several prepositions are used with the articular infinitive. When we read II and IV Maccabees, we see the reason for this. The sentences are balanced, part being subordinated to part, in the effort to produce a flowing style so that we shall not have a series of statements strung together like beads upon a string, but so that the thought shall be expressed as a united whole, each link in the chain being necessary to the unity of the sentence. The frequent use of the participle in all its significations appears again, while subordinate clauses of

purpose and result, time and cause, are used, all of which builds up the sequence of thought in orderly style.

The only uses of the infinitives in these two books, which are not also found in Polybius, as has been stated above, are *l*, *p*, and the use of *ἀπὸ τοῦ* with the infinitive. But each of these might have been used by him and do not show Hebraistic influence.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONCLUSION.

FROM the foregoing we conclude:

1. That the translators of the books of the Old Testament were largely influenced by their desire to keep as close as possible to the form of the language of their sacred books. This influence was responsible for the style and grammar of the translations which they produced. Owing to the simplicity of the Hebrew style, which is retained in the translation, the structure of the Greek is very simple, so that subordinate sentences are few, and the highly developed and varied syntactical structure of the Greek language finds no use here. Still, such grammatical constructions as are used are in the main Greek, though some are found which, while Greek in form, owe their frequency of use to the influence of the Hebrew original.

2. That the authors of those books which are not translations, but were originally written in Greek, show a much greater freedom in the use of the language. They are not hampered by the effort to preserve as nearly as possible the form of an original, the very letters of which were sacred, so that, while the thought which they wish to express is foreign to the native Greek and colors somewhat the language in which it is expressed, still the language is a living one, Greek at heart, though tinged by elements which it has absorbed in a foreign land. If the reader will ignore the thought and read the language alone, he will feel and see that he is reading Greek.

3. That the same is true of the authors of the books of the New Testament, though true of some more than others. Thought will color language, and when the thought is foreign to the people in whose language the thought is expressed, the language will be affected, chiefly, of course, in the new meanings given to words, not necessarily in new syntactical uses. The syntax depends upon the ability, purpose, and linguistic knowledge of the author

or translator. The syntax of the infinitive in the New Testament is like that of the books of the Apocrypha originally written in Greek. It uses those infinitival constructions (*l* 5 times, *p* 12 times, *f* 3 times, *s* once) which were found in the four Old Testament and apocryphal books, but not in Polybius; and in addition the imperative infinitive, a true Greek use (*G. MT.* 784; *Küh.* 474, a) which is found once (Philippians 3:16).

METANOΕΩ AND METAMEΛΕΙ

The Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek issues, from time to time, Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament. These Studies are grouped in three series: I, Texts; II, Linguistic and Exegetical Studies; III, Historical Studies. The volumes in each series will be issued in parts.

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METANOΕΩ AND METAMEΛΕΙ IN GREEK LIT-
ERATURE UNTIL 100 A. D., INCLUDING
DISCUSSION OF THEIR COGNATES
AND OF THEIR HEBREW EQUIVA-
LENTS

BY

EFFIE FREEMAN THOMPSON, PH.D.

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PREFATORY NOTE

The purpose of this investigation is to determine historically the meaning in the New Testament of *Μετανοέω* and *Μεταμέλει* and their cognates.

The approximate date, 100 A. D., is arbitrarily chosen to mark the limit of the study, which is meant to include all of the New Testament instances although some may be later than 100 A. D., and to exclude all other Christian writings although there are in the latter a few instances which are several years earlier than 100 A. D.

Diligent search has been made for all the instances of the words under consideration, with a view to including all the works of all the known authors in each period.

A large number of lexicons and concordances, general and special, have been consulted. But in the case of many authors, as Plutarch, Philo, Josephus, and a considerable number of classical writers, all their extant works have been perused by the writer, either because there were no concordances published or because those existing were found on being tested to be incomplete.

All the passages thus found were translated and studied with enough of the context to determine the meaning of the word, and the results thus reached were compared with a view to determining the range of usage of each word in each period. The meanings thus ascertained are exhibited in the analyses of meanings, a full list of examples being given under each meaning. *Spurious passages and meanings based on them are inclosed in brackets.* Considerations of expense prevented, what would otherwise have been desirable, the printing in full of all the passages collected. After each group of cognate words in each period, a few examples are printed under the title "Illustrative Examples," each such example being indicated in the analyses by a figure in brackets corresponding to the number which the example bears in the list of Illustrative Examples.

I am indebted to Dr. Ernest D. Burton for suggesting this subject and for most valuable help in the development of it, and to Mr. Martin Sprengling for suggestions made in his reading of the proof.

EFFIE FREEMAN THOMPSON

CHICAGO, JUNE, 1907

CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER I. Etymology: Significance of the Roots ΓNO , MEA , and of the Preposition META	9
CHAPTER II. Classical Usage of $\text{METANO}\epsilon\text{N}$ and $\text{METAME}\lambda\epsilon\text{I}$ and Their Cognates	10
CHAPTER III. Usage in the Non-Jewish Post-Aristotelian Writers to about 100 A. D.	14
CHAPTER IV. The Hebrew Verb נָחַם	18
CHAPTER V. Usage in the Canonical Books of the Septuagint	19
CHAPTER VI. Usage in the Old Testament Apocrypha and Other Jewish Writings to about 100 A. D.	20
CHAPTER VII. New Testament Usage	24
CHAPTER VIII. Conclusion	26

CHAPTER I

ETYMOLOGY: SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ROOTS ἸΝΟ, ΜΕΛ, AND OF THE PREPOSITION ΜΕΤΑ

The root of νοέω appears in Sanskrit as ḡñā *to know*, and in Greek as γνο. γνο appears with ε added in stem of Aeolic γνοέω and Attic ἀμφι-γνοέω. Later forms drop γ of this stem, hence νοε. νοέω signifies: (1) To perceive; (2) To think, to consider, to have an opinion; (3) To plan, to purpose, to decide.

μετά appears in Sanskrit as mithás, *with, alternately, turn about*. μετά in composition signifies with, after, reversely, differently.

Hence μετανοέω means, (1) To perceive afterward; (2) To think or consider afterward, to think differently, to form a different opinion; (3) To plan differently, to change one's purpose or decision.

The root of μέλω appears in Sanskrit as smar, *to think*, and in Greek as μερ or μελ. Greater force is required to produce the sound of ρ than the sound of λ. ρ and λ are almost equivalent. μέλω, Med. μέλομαι, is used in both voices: (1) In a neuter sense, to be an object of thought or care; (2) In an active sense, to care for, to take an interest in.

Hence μεταμέλει signifies: (1) It is an object of thought or care afterward; (2) It is an object of different thought or care. μεταμέλομαι signifies: I think or feel differently.

CHAPTER II

CLASSICAL USAGE OF ΜΕΤΑΝΟΕΩ AND ΜΕΤΑΜΕΛΕΙ AND THEIR COGNATES

I. *Usage of μετανοέω*.—An examination of all the instances in which μετανοέω occurs shows that μετανοέω in the classical period is purely an intellectual term and follows closely its etymological meaning, *to think over again, or to think differently*. The usage in this period may be tabulated as follows:

1. To think over again, or consider afterward: Epich. 131 [1]; Ant. 120. 28; 140. 17; Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 19; Plat. *Euthyd.* 279 C.

2. To change one's opinion: Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 1. 3 [2].

[To change one's decision: Dem. *Aristog.* II. 805.]

II. *Usage of μετάνοια*.—Investigation of the instances of μετάνοια shows that it follows closely the thought expressed in μετανοέω and indicates *a thinking again or a thinking differently*. In the noun, however, while the term itself is primarily intellectual, there is apparently implied in it a change of feeling. These facts lead to the following classification of meaning:

1. Reconsideration: Ant. 120. 29.

2. A change of mind, apparently involving change of thought and feeling: [Hom. *Batrach.* 70]; Thuc. 3. 36. 4; [Xen. *Ep.* 1. 7]; Soph. *Elec.* 581; Phil. *Frag.* 105 [3]; Menand. *Gnom. Monost.* 91.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

[1] Epich. 131: The wise man should *think* beforehand and not *afterward* (μετανοεῖν).

[2] Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 1. 3: Accordingly, when we thought these things over, we were inclined to come to this opinion about them, that for a mere man it is easier to rule all the other animals than to rule men. But when we reflected that Cyrus had existed, a Persian, who had brought very many men under his sway and very many cities and very many nations, in consequence of this, we were forced to *change our mind* (μετανοεῖν), and think that it might not prove to be among the things impossible or difficult to govern men if one should do it skilfully.

[3] Phil. *Frag.* 105: He who wills to marry is coming to *a change of mind* (μετάνοιαν).

III. *Usage of μεταμέλει*.—In considering the passages in which μεταμέλει occurs it is observed that μεταμέλει retains its etymological meaning viz., *it is an object of care afterward, or it is an object of different thought or care*. The verb has the meaning of *causing one to regret*, which is com-

mon to all the instances. While this is the prevailing and radical thought contained in the verb, the context often implies a change of purpose and conduct. This implication of the context shows even this early a tendency to creep into the meaning of the verb itself; so that in a few passages, e. g., Thuc. 3. 4. 4, the meaning of regret seems to be shading into change of purpose.

The feeling rather than the intellect is the potent force and the verb is thus sharply distinguished from *μετανοέω*, in which the intellect only is operative. Various reasons appear to account for this feeling of regret. The antecedent action is felt to be disadvantageous or morally wrong. Both of these considerations lead to a change of purpose and a corresponding change of conduct, but it is not clear that in this period either of these is inherent in the verb itself. The construction and usage may be indicated as follows:

Μεταμέλει is used in the following impersonal constructions:

1. The action regretted is in the nominative and the person is in the dative.
2. The action regretted is expressed by a participle agreeing with the dative of person.
3. The action regretted is not expressed, the verb being used absolutely. The person is in the dative.
4. The action regretted is in the genitive and the person is in the dative (Lys. 186. 12; Xen. *Cyr.* 5. 1. 22).
5. The action regretted is expressed by a clause introduced by *ὅτι* and the person is in the dative (Xen. *Cyr.* 5. 3. 6).
6. The action regretted is expressed by a neuter participle and the person is in the dative (Hdt. 6. 63; 9. 1).
7. The action regretted is expressed by *ἐν* with the dative (Plat. *Prot.* 356 D).
8. The person is in the dative with *ἔστι* (Ant. 140. 33).

The meaning of *μεταμέλει* is: to cause one to regret antecedent action.

(a) The context implies that the action was not advantageous. Aesch. *Eum.* 771; Hdt. 3. 140 [4]; 4. 203; 6. 63; 9. 89; Ar. *Nub.* 1114; *Pax* 1315; Xen. *Anab.* 1. 6. 7; 5. 6. 36; 7. 1. 5; 7. 1. 34; *Cyr.* 5. 1. 22; 5. 3. 6; 8. 3. 32; *De re eques.* 6. 13; Isocr. 382 C; Plat. *Phaedo* 113 E; [Ep. II. 314 B]; [Demod. 382 D]; Dem. 358. (b) The context implies that the action was regarded as morally wrong. Ant. 140. 18 bis; Ar. *Plut.* 358; Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 27; *Mem.* 1. 1. 4; *Conv.* 4. 48; *Anab.* 2. 6. 9; Isocr. 383 B. (c) The context implies a change of purpose and conduct (1) because the antecedent action was not advantageous: Hdt. 1. 130; 3. 36; 7. 54; 9. 1;

Ant. 140. 33; Thuc. 2. 61. 2 [5]; 3. 4. 4; Lys. 186. 12; Plat. *Phaedr.* 231 A; *Prot.* 356 D; *Gorg.* 471 B; Andoc. *Mys.* 149; [Dem. *Aristog.* II. 803]. (2) because the past action was morally wrong: Lys. 97. 7; Xen. *Hell.* 1. 7. 35; Isocr. 87 A; 314 B; 360 D; 375 A; 375 C; 385 B; Plat. *Apol.* 38 E.

IV. *Usage of μεταμέλομαι*.—The instances of *μεταμέλομαι* exhibit the same meanings as those found under *μεταμέλει*, the thought being expressed in the former verb by the personal and middle or passive form, and in the latter by the impersonal and active form. The construction and usage may be indicated as follows:

Μεταμέλομαι is used in the personal construction as follows:

1. The person is the subject of the verb and the object is (a) not expressed, the verb being used absolutely; (b) expressed by a participle agreeing with the subject of the verb; (c) expressed by a clause introduced by *ὅτι*.

2. The verb is used in the participial form agreeing with the noun or pronoun supplied from the context which represents (a) the person; or (b) the object.

The meaning of *μεταμέλομαι* is: to regret antecedent action. (a) The context implies that it was not advantageous: Thuc. 4. 27. 2; Xen. *Mem.* 2. 6. 23 [6]. (b) The context implies a change of purpose and subsequent conduct, (1) because the antecedent action was not advantageous: Hdt. 3. 36. 5; Thuc. 5. 14. 2; 5. 35. 4; 7. 50. 3; 8. 92. 10; Arist. *Eth.* 3. 1. 13; (2) because the antecedent action was regarded as morally wrong: Xen. *Cyr.* 4. 6. 5.

V. *Usage of μεταμέλεια*.—In all the instances, *μεταμέλεια* has the same underlying idea, viz., the sensibility is affected unpleasantly, sorrow is experienced. This is manifested in two ways: (1) In regret for one's own past action; (2) In a change of opinion based on either experience of suffering unforeseen, e. g., Eur. *Frag.* 1065; or on awakening to the injustice of the antecedent action, e. g., Thuc. 3. 37. 1. Hence the following analysis of meanings:

1. Regret for one's own past action: Thuc. 1. 34. 3; Xen. *Hipparch.* 8. 11; *Cyr.* 5. 3. 7 *bis*; Plat. *Laws* 727 C [7]; 866 E; *Rep.* 577 E; Arist. *Eth.* 3. 1. 13 *bis*; 3. 1. 19; Menand. *Frag.* 153 *bis*.

2. Change of opinion and feeling (exceptional usage): Thuc. 3. 37. 1; Eur. *Frag.* 1065 (48) [8].

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

[4] Hdt. 3. 140: In return for these things, I give you gold and silver without measure, that you may never *regret* (*μεταμελήσῃ*) that you have done kindness to Darius, the son of Hystaspes.

[5] Thuc. 2. 61. 2: And the Mytileneans, after they had obtained a cessation of hostilities, sent to Athens one of the men who had accused them and who now *regretted* it (*μετέμελεν*), with others to see if they could by any means persuade them to return their ships.

REMARK.—*Μεταμέλει* may mean regret or change of purpose, since the man had changed to the side of the Mytileneans. The general usage favors the former. This passage shows the tendency of *μεταμέλει* to include in itself what is commonly in this period clearly an implication of the context, viz., change of purpose.

[6] Xen. *Mem.* 2. 6. 23: And they are able not only to settle a dispute harmlessly, but also to be of advantage to one another and to prevent anger from advancing to that which will be a matter of *regret* (*μεταμελησόμενον*).

[7] Plat. *Laws* 727 C: Whenever he indulges in pleasures contrary to the word and approval of the legislator, in that instance he in no way honors her (the soul), but dishonors her and fills her with evils and *regret* (*μεταμελείας*).

[8] Eur. *Frag.* 1065: Old age, thou holdest forth such hope of pleasure that every man desires to come to thee; but upon making a trial of thee he experiences a *change of feeling* (*μεταμέλειαν*), on the ground that there is no worse period in mortal life.

REMARK.—*Μεταμέλεια* here indicates a change of feeling, but not regret for past action, which is an exceptional usage.

CHAPTER III

USAGE IN THE NON-JEWISH POST-ARISTOTELIAN WRITERS TO ABOUT 100 A. D.

I. *Usage of μετανοέω*.—The passages containing μετανοέω show that μετανοέω does not hold to its classical meaning, to change one's opinion, since there is no instance of such purely intellectual action. The change is that of feeling or will. The instances embrace: (1) Those in which regret seems the fundamental idea. The reason of it is shown to be the disadvantage of the antecedent action; (2) Those in which change of purpose seems to be the fundamental idea. The causes bringing about this change are either the disadvantage of the antecedent action or the moral evil of it or of the antecedent purpose. The latter is not inherent in the verb itself, but only implied in the context; (2) sometimes includes (1) and (1) sometimes seems to necessitate (2). Hence the following tabulation of construction and usage. The construction of μετανοέω is as follows:

1. The action regretted is expressed by an aorist participle agreeing with the subject: Plut. 748. *Phoc.* 14.
2. The action regretted is expressed by a perfect participle, agreeing with the subject: Plut. 549. *Crass.* 11.
3. The action regretted is expressed by a genitive, modified by a perfect passive participle: Plut. 583. *Eumen.* 2.
4. The action regretted is expressed by a neuter participle in the dative: Plut. 803 *a.* *Agis.* 19 *a.*
5. The action regretted is expressed by ἐπί with neuter participle in the dative: Plut. 803 *b.* *Agis.* 19 *b.*
6. The action regretted is expressed by περί and a neuter participle: Plut. 1055. *Gal.* 6.

The following presents the usage in respect to meaning:

1. To regret an antecedent action. The context implies that such action was not advantageous: Plut. 549. *Crass.* 11; 583. *Eumen.* 2 [9]; 748. *Phoc.* 14; 803. *Agis.* 19 *bis*; 915. *Demet.* 52; 1023. *Artax.* 24. *Mor.* 10 F.
2. To change one's purpose: (*a*) To change a purpose which has hitherto controlled action. (1) The context implies that the past action was not advantageous: Polyb. 23. 12 (24:8); Dio. Sic. 1. 67. 5 [10]; Plut. 1055. *Gal.* 6; *Mor.* 37 E; 163 F; 1128 E. (2) The context implies that the past action was morally wrong: Plut. 135. *Camill.* 12 (also under 2. (1));

143. *Camill.* 29; *Mor.* 27 A; 74 C; 1128 D. (b) To change a purpose which has not been executed. The context implies that the past purpose was morally wrong: *Plut. Mor.* 26 D [11].

II. *Usage of μετάνοια*.—The meanings of the noun are closely analogous with those of the verb and may be represented by the following analysis:

1. Regret for antecedent action. (a) The context implies that the action was not advantageous: *Plut.* 157. *Per.* 10 [12]; 238. *Timol.* 6; 277. *Comp. Timol. cum Paul. Em.* 2; *Mor.* 155 C, 961 D, 1092 E. (b) The context implies that the action was morally wrong: *Plut.* 428. *Cai. Mar.* 39.

2. Change of purpose. (a) The context implies that the past action was not advantageous: *Plut.* 149. *Camill.* 38; 410. *Cai. Mar.* 10; 670. *Alex.* 11; *Polyb.* 4. 66. 7 [13]; 18. 16. 7. (b) The context implies that the past action was morally wrong: *Plut.* 926. *Ant.* 24; *Mor.* 56 A, 68 F [14], 712 C.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

[9] *Plut.* 583. *Eumen.* 2: He (Alexander) neither accused Eumenes nor accepted the money; but ordered his servants to make a fire in the tent of Eumenes, for he wished to catch him in his falsehood, when his valuables should be taken out. But before that could be done, the tent was consumed, and Alexander regretted (*μετἐνόησε*) the destruction of his papers.

[10] *Dio. Sic.* 1. 67. 5: And when they were proceeding along the Nile and were passing by the borders of Egypt, he entreated them to *change their purpose* (*μετανοήσαι*); and he also reminded them of their temples, their native regions, their wives and children.

[11] *Plut. Mor.* 26 D: And since he was more vexed by this, he drew his sword, intending to kill him, which design was not right, either according to that which is morally beautiful or according to that which is expedient. Then afterward *changing his purpose* (*μετανοήσας*), he put back his sword into the sheath and did not disobey the command of Athena, which was both right and virtuous; because, while he was unable to put an end to his anger altogether, yet under the influence of reason, he reduced it and brought it under control, before it accomplished the fatal deed.

[12] *Plut.* 157. *Per.* 10: And there fell all the friends of Cimon without distinction who were accused by Pericles of being in the Lacedaemonian interest; and a strong regret (*μετάνοια*) and longing for Cimon took possession of the Athenians.

[13] *Polyb.* 4. 66. 7: When the Dardanians heard from some Thracian deserters of the approach of Philip, they were terrified and instantly dismissed the army. . . . When Philip learned of the *change of purpose* (*μετάνοιαν*) on the part of the Dardanians, he sent home all the Macedonians.

[14] *Plut. Mor.* 68 F: But when misfortune overthrows and takes away their

arrogance, there is present in these acts that which admonishes and causes a *change of purpose* (μετάνοιαν).

III. *Usage of μεταμέλει.*—From a consideration of the passages in which this verb occurs, it is evident that μεταμέλει holds strictly to its etymological and common classical meaning as follows: To cause one to regret a past action. (1) The context implies that the action was not advantageous: Plut. 320. *Aris.* 4; *Mor.* 125 D bis [15]. (2) The context implies that the action was morally wrong: Plut. 1020. *Arlax.* 18.

IV. *Usage of μεταμέλομαι.*—In considering the passages under this verb it is evident that μεταμέλομαι in many instances retains its classical meaning, viz., to regret. This regret is either of one's own action or of that of another. The context often implies a change of purpose. There is a marked tendency in this period for this contextual implication to be incorporated into the verb itself, giving rise to three classes of passages: (1) those in which only regret is expressed by the verb; (2) those in which it is difficult to determine whether regret or change of purpose is the dominant force of the verb; (3) those in which change of purpose seems the prevailing idea. Several passages show that there is a distinct moral implication in the context but that it is not inherent in the verb itself. The usage is further exhibited in the following analysis:

1. To regret one's own past action. (a) The context implies that the action was not advantageous: Dio. Sic. 15. 9. 4; 17. 42. 6; Plut. 219. *Coriol.* 13; 223. *Coriol.* 20; 341. *Cato Maj.* 9 [16]; 527. *Nic.* 7; 880. *Cic.* 38; *Mor.* 178 E; 549 C. (b) The context implies that the action was morally wrong: Plut. 681. *Alex.* 30; *Mor.* 5 A, 1101 D.

2. To change one's purpose. (a) The context implies that the past action was not advantageous: Polyb. 4. 50. 6 [17]; 24. 9 (25. 5) [18]; Dio. Sic. 19. 75; Plut. 238. *Timol.* 6; 762. *Cato Min.* 7 [19]; *Mor.* 196 C. (b) The context implies that the past action was morally wrong: Plut. 234. *Comp. Alcib. cum Coriol.* 2; 235. *Comp. Alcib. cum Coriol.* 4; Plut. *Mor.* 55 C.

3. To regret another's action. (a) The context implies that the action was not advantageous: Dio. Sic. 19. 102; Plut. 855. *Dem.* 21 [20]; (b) the context implies that the action was morally wrong: Plut. 1019. *Arlax.* 17.

V. *Usage of μεταμέλεια.*—The instances of μεταμέλεια in this period show that while the etymological and classical meaning appears in some cases, this distinctive meaning is not uniformly retained, but change of purpose and even one instance of change of opinion appear. Hence the following analysis:

1. Regret of past action. (a) The context implies that the action was

not advantageous: Plut. 341. *Cato Maj.* 9; (b) the context implies that the action was morally wrong: Plut. 489. *Cim.* 17.

2. Change of opinion: Plut. *Mor.* 77 D [21].

3. Change of purpose. (a) The context implies that the past action was not advantageous: Polyb. 1. 39. 14; 2. 53. 6 [22]; (b) the context implies that the past action was morally wrong: Plut. *Mor.* 592 B.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

[15] Plut. *Mor.* 125 D bis: Just as Simonides said that he never *regretted* (μεταμελῆσαι) that he had kept silent but very often that he had spoken, so we have not *regretted* (μετεμέλησεν) that we refused a rich dish or that we drank water instead of Falernian.

[16] Plut. 341. *Cato Maj.* 9: And he himself *regretted* (μεταμεληθῆναι) three occasions of regret during his life. One was his having intrusted a secret to a woman; another was his having sailed where it was possible to go by land; and a third was his remaining one day without making his will.

[17] Polyb. 4. 50. 6: The commander tried the Byzantines whether they might possibly *change their purpose* (μεταμέλουντο) when they were terrified in war. (The context shows that he wanted to frighten the Byzantines into stopping the war.)

[18] Polyb. 24. 9: Those from Pharnaces are at variance in every respect, and are not holding to the agreements but are always seeking something additional and are *changing their minds* (μεταμελομένων).

[19] Plut. 762. *Cato Min.* 7: When he thought it was time for him to marry, . . . he became engaged to Lepida, who before had been espoused to Scipio Metellus; but Scipio had afterward given her up and the engagement having been broken, she was free. But Scipio *having changed his mind* (μεταμεληθείς) again before the marriage, and having made every arrangement, took the maiden in marriage.

[20] Plut. 855. *Dem.* 21: On the contrary, by conferring especial respect and honor upon their counselor, they showed that they did not *regret* (μεταμέλεισθαι) what had been planned by him.

[21] Plut. *Mor.* 77 D: Which gives light to philosophy and clearness from difficulty and error and *change of views* (μεταμελειῶν) which those who attempt to philosophize at first encounter.

[22] Polyb. 2. 53. 6: And since the Argives zealously warded him off in accordance with their *change of purpose* (μεταμελέας), . . . he returned to Sparta.

CHAPTER IV

THE HEBREW VERB נָחַם

The Niphal of נָחַם is the only verb-stem which is translated by the Septuagint μετανοέω and μεταμέλομαι. The verb שׁוּב, which is frequently used to denote change of purpose, or the turning away of the heart from evil to good, is not translated by either of the Greek verbs under consideration, and hence is not included in this discussion.

The etymological meaning of נָחַם, viz., *to sigh*, appears with greater or less distinctness in all the instances of the Niphal in the Old Testament.

While the meaning of the Hebrew verb נָחַם corresponds to that of μεταμέλομαι and not etymologically to that of μετανοέω, we find that it is more often translated by the latter than by the former.

The meanings of נָחַם may be tabulated as follows:

1. To comfort oneself or to be comforted: Gen. 24:67; 38:12; II Sam. 13:39; Jer. 31:14; Ezek. 14:22; 31:16; 32:31; Ps. 77:2 [23].

2. To avenge oneself: Isa. 1:24 [24]; 57:6.

3. To regret a past action, (a) because the past action was not advantageous: Gen. 6:6; 6:7; Ex. 13:17; I Sam. 15:11 [25]; 15:35; (b) because of compassion: Judg. 21:6; 21:15; II Sam. 24:16; I Chron. 21:15; Jer. 42:10; Ps. 90:13; 106:45; (c) because the past action is viewed as morally wrong: Jer. 8:6; 31:18; Job 42:6.

4. To change a purpose not yet executed, (a) from worse to better because of compassion: Ex. 32:12, 14; Judg. 2:18; I Sam. 15:29 *bis* [26]; Joel 2:13, 14; Amos 7:3, 6; Jer. 4:28; 15:6; 18:8; 20:16; 26:3, 13, 19; Ezek. 24:14; Ps. 110:4; Jonah 3:9, 10; 4:2; Zech. 8:14; (b) from better to worse: Jer. 18:10 [27].

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

[23] Ps. 77:2: My soul refused to be comforted.

[24] Isa. 1:24: I will avenge myself of my enemies.

[25] I Sam. 15:11: I regret that I have appointed Saul king.

[26] I Sam. 15:29 *bis*: The Confidence of Israel will not lie neither will he change his purpose, for he is not a man to change his purpose.

[27] Jer. 18:10: Then I will change my purpose in regard to the good with which I said that I would benefit it.

CHAPTER V

USAGE IN THE CANONICAL BOOKS OF THE SEPTUAGINT

I. *Μετανοέω* and *μετάνοια* in Septuagint Greek hold to their etymological and classical meaning, *to think over again*, or *to change one's purpose*. Only in one instance does the verb mean *to regret*, and here the meaning may possibly be *to change one's purpose*. The noun occurs but once. The usage, as shown by instances, is as follows:

1. To reconsider: Prov. 24:47 [28] or under 3.
 2. To change a purpose not yet executed: I Kings 15:29 *bis*; Joel 2:13, 14; Amos 7:3, 6; Jer. 4:28 [29]; 18:8; Prov. 20:19; 24:24; Jonah 3:9, 10; 4:2; Zech. 8:14. From better to worse: Jer. 18:10.
 3. To change a purpose hitherto controlling action: Isa 46:8; Prov. 24:47 or under 1; Jer. 8:6; 38:19 [30] or possibly under 4.
 4. To regret: a possible meaning in Jer. 38:19.
- II. *Μετάνοια* signifies reconsideration: Prov. 14:15 [31].

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

[28] Prov. 24:47: Afterward I *changed my mind* or *reconsidered* (*μετενόησα*); I gave heed to receive instruction.

[29] Jer. 4:28: Because I have spoken and I will not *change my purpose* (*μετανοήσω*), I have sworn and I will not turn from it.

[30] Jer. 38:19: Because after my captivity, I *changed my purpose* (*μετενόησα*), and after I understood, I sighed deeply on account of the day of shame.

[31] Prov. 14:15: The simple believeth every word, but the wise cometh to a *reconsideration* or *different opinion* (*μετάνοιαν*).

III. In the greater number of instances, possibly in all, *μεταμέλομαι* holds to its common classical meaning, *to regret*. The one instance of the noun also shows the meaning of *regret*. Hence the following exhibit of meanings: To regret past action: I Kings 15:35; Jer. 20:16; Prov. 5:11; 25:8 [32]; I Chron. 21:15; Ezek. 14:22; Zech. 11:5. The following passages mean *to regret*, or possibly *to change one's purpose*. It is impossible to determine which meaning was intended by the translators, as they may have interpreted all to mean *to regret*: Ex. 13:17; I Chron. 21:15; Ps. 105:45; 109:4.

IV. *Μεταμέλεια* means *regret*: Hos. 11:8.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLE

[32] Prov. 25:8: Do not hastily go to battle, in order that you may not *regret* it (*μεταμελήθῃς*) at the last when your friend puts you to shame.

CHAPTER VI

USAGE IN THE OLD TESTAMENT APOCRYPHA AND OTHER JEWISH WRITINGS TO ABOUT 100 A. D.

I. *Alexandrian usage, including Philo and Wisdom, of μετανοέω and μετάνοια*.—There are a few instances in Philo and Wisdom in which μετανοέω and μετάνοια indicate *change of opinion*; there are also in the verb a number of instances in which the meaning is to *regret*.

In the large majority of instances, however, both the verb and the noun have incorporated in them that ethical idea which in previous periods and in some contemporary and subsequent writers is often implied in the context. The change of purpose which is clearly the meaning in these instances is shown to be: (1) moral; (2) from worse to better; (3) not merely external; (4) conduct is included, but the emphasis is on the internal change. Hence the following analyses. *Μετανοέω* signifies:

1. To change the evil purpose which has previously controlled one's conduct, involving a corresponding change of conduct: Philo I. 77; 129; 139; 274 [33]; 561; 569 *bis* [34]; 614; II. 5; 54; 160; 247; 248; 250 *bis*; 405 *bis*; 406; 436. Philo I. 283 and *Wisdom* 5:3 may possibly mean, *to change one's opinion*.

2. To regret: Philo II. 107; 441; 590; 595. 42 [35]; 595. 43.

Μετάνοια signifies change of evil purpose hitherto governing conduct, involving a corresponding change of conduct: Philo I. 80; 108; 129; 189; 277; 569 *ter*; 597; 614; II. 3; 5 [36]; 228; 247; 405; 406 [37]; 410; 411; 500; 672; 676; *Wisdom* 11. 23; 12. 10; 12. 19. In Philo I. 260, the noun signifies *change of opinion*, but of an opinion that controls moral action.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

[33] Philo I. 274: For we, taking care to have a grateful and reverent attitude toward him, should purify ourselves from evil acts, washing away from our life those [sins] that defile it in words, in appearances, and in deeds. For it is foolish [to say] that it is not lawful to enter into the temple unless one has previously cleansed his body by washing, but that it is lawful for one to attempt to pray and to offer sacrifices with his thought still polluted and defiled. . . . Shall anyone endure to come near to God, the most pure, when he himself is impure in soul and without the intention to *change his purpose* (μετανοήσεν) in regard to these impurities?

[34] Philo I. 569 *bis*: And the person who is a lover of virtue seeks a goat with reference to his sins, but he does not find it, for as the oracle points out, it has already been burnt. But what is expressed figuratively must be examined. Not to sin at all is characteristic of God, while to *repent or to change one's purpose from evil to good* (μετανοεῖν) is characteristic of a wise man. . . . And the man has lost his reason who, by speaking falsely of the truth, says that he has *changed his purpose* (μετανοηκέναι) when he is still doing wrong.

[35] Philo II. 595: Moreover, Caius was untrustworthy in his character in other respects also; so that if he rendered any service, he at once *regretted* it (μετανοεῖν), and in such a way sought to make it of no avail as to add greater misery and loss.

[36] Philo II. 5: One ought not to be ignorant of the fact that *change of purpose* (μετάνοια) holds the second place to perfection, just as a change from illness to health is second to a body always free from disease. Therefore the continuous and perfect in virtue stands nearest to divine power; while improvement after some time is a characteristic good of a naturally excellent soul which does not continue in childish things but by thoughts more mature and really manly, it seeks a peaceful stability of soul and strives for it with a vision of the things that are excellent.

REMARK.—The change of purpose here is (a) moral; (b) from worse to better; (c) not merely external; (d) conduct may be included but the emphasis is on the internal change.

[37] Philo II. 406: And he has prepared also very excellent directions for *change of purpose* (μετάνοιαν) by which we are taught to alter our way of living, from discord to a change for the better. For he says that this work is not excessively great nor far out of reach, being neither in the highest air nor in the lowest parts of the great sea, thereby making it impossible to attain it; but it is the nearest possible, being in the three members which dwell within us, viz., in the mouth, in the heart, and in the hands by symbols, that is, in words and purposes and deeds; the mouth being the symbol of speech, the heart of purpose, and the hands of deeds in which happiness is possible. For when the mind accords with the words and the actions with the purposes, then life is praiseworthy and perfect. But when these are at variance with one another, life is imperfect and blamable. . . . For which reason this oracle was given with great propriety and in perfect accordance with what has been said above. "Thou hast this day chosen the Lord to be thy God and the Lord has this day chosen thee to be his people." It is a very beautiful exchange and recompense for this choice on the part of man, thus displaying anxiety to serve God, when God thus without delay takes the suppliant to himself as his own, and goes forth to meet the intentions of the man who in a genuine and sincere spirit of piety and truth hastens to do him service.

REMARK.—*Μετάνοια* means change of purpose. The context shows that this change is (a) moral; (b) from worse to better; (c) internal; (d) necessarily

accompanied by change of conduct, for 'the conduct follows the giving due honor to God as a shadow follows a body in the sun,' and the genuine spirit of piety expresses itself in service to God.

II. *Palestinian usage of μετανοέω and μετάνοια*.—In the Palestinian instances, μετανοέω and μετάνοια do not follow the classical usage, but are used to indicate regret and change of purpose. Hence the following analyses. Μετανοέω signifies:

1. To change one's purpose. (a) The context implies that past action was not advantageous: Jos. *Ant.* 2. 15. 3 *bis*; 6. 7. 4; 12. 6. 2; *Life* 4. (b) The context implies that past action was regarded as morally wrong: Jos. *Ant.* 2. 14. 5; 4. 6. 10; 5. 1. 26; 5. 2. 9; 7. 7. 3; 7. 13. 1; 9. 8. 3; 10. 4. 2; 10. 7. 5; *Life* 22; *War* 4. 3. 14; *Sir.* 17. 24; 48. 15 [38].

2. To regret antecedent action. (a) The context implies that it was regarded as morally wrong. Jos. *Ant.* 2. 15. 1; 4. 8. 3; 5. 7. 3; 7. 11. 2; 8. 12. 3; 8. 13. 8; 10. 7. 5 or under 1; (b) the context implies that it was not regarded as advantageous. Jos. *Ant.* 6. 13. 6 [39]; 11. 8. 3; *Life* 23.

Μετάνοια signifies:

1. Change of purpose: Jos. *War* 5. 9. 2; *Vs. Ap.* 1. 29; *Life* 66; *Ant.* 2. 3. 1; 3. 1. 5 [40]; 4. 6. 10; 9. 8. 5; 11. 5. 5; *Sir.* 44. 16.

2. Regret for antecedent action, because it was considered morally wrong: Jos. *Ant.* 2. 6. 4; 2. 6. 9; 4. 8. 2; 5. 2. 12 [41]; 7. 2. 2.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

[38] *Sir.* 48. 15: During all these events, the people did not *change their purpose* (μετενόησε), and did not withdraw from their sins.

[39] Jos. *Ant.* 6. 13. 6: And he will not *regret* (μετανοήσει) that he has given to David.

[40] Jos. *Ant.* 3. 1. 5: He calmed them and restrained them from their intention to stone him and turned them to a *change of purpose* (μετάνοιαν) in regard to the things they were about to do.

[41] Jos. *Ant.* 5. 2. 12: And *regret* (μετάνοια) took possession of them for the misfortune of the Benjaminites.

III. *Alexandrian and Palestinian usage of μεταμέλει, μεταμέλομαι and μεταμέλεια*.—Μεταμέλει occurs only in Jos. *War* 1. 15. 1 [42], and signifies *regret*.

The instances of μεταμέλομαι exhibit the following meanings:

To regret past action. The context implies that it was not regarded as advantageous. *Sir.* 30. 28; 35. 19 [43]; *I Macc.* 11:10. In Jos. *Ant.* 6. 7. 4. and *Wis.* 19. 2, the verb may indicate either *to regret* or *to change one's purpose*.

A consideration of the passages containing μεταμέλεια shows that it signifies *regret*: Philo II. 66 [44]; 248; *Ps. of Sol.* 9. 15; *Jos. War* 4. 3. 14. Exceptional usage: In Philo II. 669 *his*, the noun clearly means *change of purpose*.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

[42] *Jos. War* I. 15. 1: Because he had heard that Malchus *regretted* (μεταμέλειν) his offenses against Herod.

[43] *Sir.* 35. 19: Do nothing without advice, and when you have done it, do not *regret* it (μεταμέλουν).

[44] Philo II. 66: And the eldest of the brothers who even at the first had opposed the plot of those who were devising it said, "*Regrets* (μεταμέλεια) are useless in reference to the deeds which have been done."

CHAPTER VII

NEW TESTAMENT USAGE

I. *Μετανοέω*.—An examination of the instances of *μετανοέω* shows that (1) the verb is always used of a change of purpose which the context clearly indicates to be moral; (2) this change is from evil to good purpose; (3) it is never identified with, and sometimes clearly distinguished from sorrow or regret; (4) it is never used when the reference is to change of opinion merely; (5) it is always internal, and while it results in external conduct it is sometimes distinguished from the latter and its internal nature emphasized; (6) in some instances, it is a change of the purpose which has hitherto controlled all thoughts, desires, volitions, and actions, in short, the life itself and all its expressions, and so may be called a change of fundamental purpose or primary choice; (7) in some instances, the change is not one which relates to the life as a whole, but to special expressions of it; it is a change of purpose in regard to special sins or deficiencies, or an atomistic change.

The usage may be represented by the following analysis:

1. To change one's fundamental purpose, involving as a necessary consequent a change in one's life: Matt. 3:2; 4:17 [45]; 11:20; 11:21; 12:41; Mark 1:15; 6:12; Luke 10:13; 11:32; 13:3, 5; 15:7 [46], 10; 16:30; Acts 2:38; 3:19; 17:30; 26:20; Rev. 2:5 *bis*.

2. To change one's purpose in regard to special sins or deficiencies: Luke 17:3; 17:4; Acts 8:22 [47]; II Cor. 12:21; Rev. 2:16; 2:21. *bis*; 2:22; 3:3; 3:19; 9:20; 9:21; 16:9; 16:11.

II. *Μετάνοια*.—The instances of *μετάνοια* reveal a meaning analogous to that of the verb, and may be expressed by the following analysis:

1. Change of primary choice, involving, as a consequence, a change in life: Matt. 3:8; 3:11; Mark 1:4; Luke 3:3; 3:8 [48]; 5:32; 15:7; 24:47; Acts 5:31; 11:18; 13:24; 19:4; 20:21; 26:20; Rom. 2:4; II Cor. 7:10 [49]; Heb. 6:1; 6:6; 12:17; II Pet. 3:9; II Tim. 2:25.

2. Change of purpose toward special sins, i. e., volitional abandonment of them: II Cor. 7:9.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLES

[45] Matt. 4:17: *Repent, change your fundamental purpose (μετανοείτε), for the kingdom of heaven is here.*

[46] Luke 15:7: *I say unto you that thus there will be joy in heaven over one sinner who repents, i. e., changes his primary choice (μετανοούντι).*

[47] Acts 8:22: Therefore *repent* of, i. e., *turn thy will away* (μετανόησον) from this thy wickedness, and pray the Lord if perhaps the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee.

REMARK.—The use of μετανοέω with ἀπό indicates a change of purpose hitherto controlling action.

[48] Luke 3:8: Produce, therefore, fruits appropriate to *repentance*, i. e., *a change of fundamental purpose* (μεταβολάς).

REMARK.—This example indicates that μετάνοια does not strictly include outward conduct or reform of life, since this is here referred to as the product of μετάνοια.

[49] II Cor. 7:10: For sorrow which is acceptable to God produces *repentance*, i. e., *a change of primary choice* (μετάνοιαν) not to be regretted which results in salvation.

REMARK.—This passage, including vs. 9, shows that λύπη is not inherent in μετάνοια, but that it produces the latter. It also illustrates that fundamental μετάνοια, when it becomes executive, results in σωτηρία.

III. Μεταμέλομαι.—The instances of this verb show that it retains its etymological and classical meaning, viz., *to regret*. Its occurrences are as follows: Matt. 21:30, 32; 27:3; II Cor. 7:8 bis [50]; Heb. 7:21; and the form ἀμεταμέλητον in Rom. 11:29; II Cor. 7:10. In Matt. 21:30 and 32, it is quite possible that the verb has the exceptional meaning *to change one's purpose*.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLE

[50] II Cor. 7:8 bis: Even if I caused you sadness by my letter, I do not *regret* it (μεταμέλομαι), and if I *was on the point of regretting it* (μετεμελόμην), I now rejoice.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

I. *Extent to which the distinction of the two verbs is maintained in different periods.*—The investigation of the usage of μετανοέω and μεταμέλει has shown that the distinction between these two verbs with their cognates, as shown by their etymology, is maintained to the following extent:

The authors in the classical period make a uniform and definite distinction, using μετανοέω to mean, *to think afterward*, or *to think differently*, and μεταμέλει, *to cause regret*.

In the non-Jewish post-Aristotelian writers, this distinction is not always maintained. Μετανοέω and μετάνοια are used to indicate *change of purpose* and also *regret*. Μεταμέλει holds to its etymological and classical meaning. Μεταμέλομαι in the majority of cases indicates *regret*, but in a number of instances expresses *change of purpose*. It should be noted, however, that of the latter, only two instances are antecedent to the greater part of the New Testament writings. Μεταμέλεια indicates *regret*, *change of purpose*, and in one case *change of opinion*. In the canonical books of the Septuagint, both μετανοέω and μετάνοια follow the classical usage; likewise μεταμέλομαι and μεταμέλεια.

The Alexandrian usage, including Philo and Wisdom, does not maintain the distinction steadfastly. Though generally using μετανοέω and μετάνοια to indicate *change of opinion* and *change of purpose*, and μεταμέλομαι and μεταμέλεια to indicate *regret*, these writers sometimes employ μετανοέω to mean *regret* and in a few cases use μεταμέλεια to indicate *change of purpose*.

The Palestinian writers disregard the distinction in the use of μετανοέω and its cognates, but preserve it in μεταμέλει and its cognates.

The New Testament writers maintain the distinction in that they use μετανοέω and μετάνοια to indicate *change of purpose* and μεταμέλομαι to express *regret*. In two passages, the exceptional meaning of μεταμέλομαι *to change one's purpose* is possible.

II. *Transition under μετανοέω from intellectual to volitional and from specific to generic choice.*—There is a development in the meaning of μετανοέω and μετάνοια in two directions:

1. Transition from the intellectual to the volitional sense.

In the classical writers, the verb μετανοέω means *to consider afterward*,

or to change one's opinion and is purely intellectual in its content. In the noun *μετάνοια* we have two meanings: (1) *reconsideration*, which is purely intellectual, and (2) a *change of mind* which involves a change of thought and feeling. Here the facts as they are held in the attention for longer consideration make their impress on the sensibility, but the emphasis is on the intellectual action.

In the non-Jewish post-Aristotelian writers, the emphasis has passed from the intellectual to the emotional and volitional. The past action having been thought of again and thought of differently appears disadvantageous or morally wrong and produces either regret or change of purpose. The intellectual action psychologically antecedent is passed over and the resultant feeling or willing is the point emphasized in this period.

In the canonical books of the Septuagint, there are cases in which the content shows that the verb is purely intellectual; but in the majority of cases, the content shows it to be volitional.

In Alexandrian writers, there are a very few instances in which the term is intellectual in its content; but there are a number in which the action of the feelings is emphasized, and by far the greatest number of instances refer to the action of the will.

In Palestinian writers, there is no instance of the intellectual simply; but there are abundant instances of both the emotional and volitional action.

The New Testament writers in no instance employ the term to express the action solely of either the intellect or of the sensibility, but use it exclusively to indicate the action of the will.

2. Transition from specific to generic choice.

As stated in the preceding topic *μετανοέω* becomes a volitional term in non-Jewish post-Aristotelian Greek. The purpose which has hitherto controlled action is changed or the purpose which has not yet been executed is changed. The action from which the will has turned consists of specific deeds, or the will addresses itself to inhibiting certain impulses. Life is thought of as made up of impulses and acts, and *μετανοέω* is used in reference to both. The term is not used to express a change of choice which is so radical in its nature as to affect all the purposes, impulses, and acts during the whole life.

In the canonical books of the Septuagint, the term is used of specific acts or courses of action.

The Palestinian writers use *μετανοέω* in reference to specific acts.

The Alexandrian writers differ in their use. In *Wisdom*, *μετανοέω* refers to specific acts. In Philo, *μετανοέω* refers to change of primary choice. The motive power of life and all its expressions are changed.

The New Testament writers use *μετανοέω* with reference both to specific and generic choice, but prevailing with reference to the latter.

III. *The incoming of moral sense.*—The earliest intimation of the moral element is found in the classical period in the case of *μετάνοια*, where the change of mind follows the discovery that the antecedent action was morally wrong (Thuc. 3. 36. 4). This is, however, a moral implication of the context and is not inherent in the term itself, which throughout the classical writers is not volitional. So, too, in the case of *μεταμέλει*, the context implies a change of purpose and conduct due to the fact that the antecedent action was morally wrong.

In non-Jewish post-Aristotelian Greek, in both *μετανοέω* and *μεταμέλομαι*, the change of purpose is sometimes shown by the context to be due to the realization that the antecedent action was morally wrong. The verbs are both used also without any moral suggestion.

The writers of the canonical books of the Septuagint use a modifying phrase to indicate that from which the will has turned. The term has no moral significance; the action mentioned is not always wrong.

Josephus and *Sirach* often employ *μετανοέω* where the context imparts to it moral significance. The term without modifying phrase indicates a change of evil purpose which has hitherto controlled action. Josephus, however, does not use the term exclusively in this sense. He often employs it with modifying phrase where the context indicates that expediency rather than moral considerations occasioned the change of purpose.

In Philo and *Wisdom*, *μετανοέω* and *μετάνοια* are used without modifying phrase to mean a change of evil purpose which has hitherto controlled action, the term itself conveying moral significance. *Μετανοέω*, however, is often used to signify regret.

In the New Testament, *μετανοέω* and *μετάνοια* are used always with moral signification, sometimes of specific but more often of generic choice.

IV. *Specific character of New Testament usage.*—The use of *μετανοέω* and *μετάνοια* in the New Testament exhibits characteristics peculiar to these writings. First, these words are never used to indicate merely intellectual action. Second, they are never used to indicate emotional action. There is no evidence *in the use of the verb* that sorrow is even the antecedent of the change of purpose, still less that it is an element of the act or expressed by the verb as a part of its meaning. The use of the noun, however, shows that sorrow for past sin is involved as antecedent to, but not an element of the act of repentance itself. Third, they are always used to express volitional action. Fourth, they are always moral. Fifth, the change of purpose is always from evil to good. Sixth, they always

express internal change. Seventh, they require change in the outward expressions of life as a necessary consequent: but such outward change is not expressed in the term itself. Eighth, they are both specific and generic, the fullest content being found in the generic use, which expresses that radical change in the primary choice by which the whole soul is turned away from evil to good. Ninth, *μετανόέω* is distinguished from *μεταμέλομαι* which denotes regret. Or if the meaning of change of purpose is accepted for *μεταμέλομαι* in the exceptional cases mentioned, such change refers to specific and not to generic choice.

A LEXICOGRAPHICAL AND HIS-
TORICAL STUDY OF
ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ

The Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek, of The University of Chicago, proposes to issue, from time to time, Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament. These Studies will be grouped in three series: I, Texts; II, Linguistic and Exegetical Studies; III, Historical Studies. The volumes in each series will be issued in parts from time to time.

A LEXICOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL STUDY OF *ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ*

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF
THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

BY

FREDERICK OWEN NORTON, PH.D.

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PREFACE

The term *διαθήκη* is of special interest from two standpoints—that of the student of Greek law, and that of the student of the New Testament. Writers on Greek law have discussed the Greek will with varying degrees of completeness, but have failed to notice and account for the fact that the word used to designate it was also used to designate what might be called a solemn agreement or compact. Scholars have long been divided as to the meaning of this word in the New Testament, some claiming that it should invariably be translated “will” or “testament,” and others that it always means “covenant;” while a third class of writers claim that in some instances it should be rendered “will” and in others “covenant.” With reference to a passage in Paul’s writings (Gal. 3:15) there is a threefold division among interpreters.¹

As no special lexicographical work has been done on this word either in classical or in Hellenistic Greek, and the need of such work has been recognized by scholars, no apology is needed for the present dissertation, the purpose of which is to investigate the use of the term in Greek literature, from the earliest times in which it can be found, or in which there are traces of an institution that later came to be designated by it, through the classical period. As the primary object in undertaking this work was to make a contribution to New Testament study, it is hoped that it may form a basis for further investigation in Hellenistic literature.

In the lexicographical study the year 300 B. C. has been arbitrarily chosen as a limit to the investigation, the aim being simply to carry it well through the classical period. In the historical study no sharp line of demarkation is observed; but only in a few instances, for obvious reasons, has the ordinary imaginary boundary-line been overstepped.

In the course of the lexicographical study it was found that no English term carries with it the exact connotation of *διαθήκη*, and that its technical use in Greek law did not correspond with accuracy to our terms “will” and “testament.” Accordingly, in order to bring out its

¹“Testament:” The Vulgate, Luther, Erasmus, Olshausen, etc.; “covenant” (*Bund*): Jerome, Beza, Calvin, Platt, Hilgenfeld, Meyer, Lightfoot, etc.; “Determination” or “ordination” (*Bestimmung, Willensfügung*): Matthias, Lipsius, Hoffmann, Schott, etc.

essential signification and the relation of its phases of development, it was necessary to investigate the origin and development and essential character of the institution which it was chiefly used to designate. From this necessity arose the second part of the dissertation, the aim of which is not to give an exhaustive treatment of the Greek will, but to discuss that institution only in so far as it is necessary in order to understand the term from a lexicographical standpoint, and to show its essential connotation.

The sources for this investigation are specifically indicated by the usual abbreviations, in the notes, which contain also references to modern writings which I have found helpful in the way of suggestion or comparison. I subjoin a list of books and articles consulted.

To Professor Ernest D. Burton, head of the Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek in The University of Chicago, who suggested the need of this investigation, and to whose faithful and inspiring instruction I am indebted more than I can tell, I wish to express my deep and abiding gratitude.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
BIBLIOGRAPHY	9
PART I. THE LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDY	
CHAPTER I. Derivation and Literal Meaning	11
CHAPTER II. Chronological Concordance; to which is appended a chronological catalogue of authors in whose extant writings the term does not occur	14
CHAPTER III. Διατίθημι	25
CHAPTER IV. Διαθήκη	30
PART II. THE HISTORICAL STUDY: THE GREEK WILL	
CHAPTER V. Origin and Development	39
CHAPTER VI. Fundamental Character	56
CHAPTER VII. Making and Safe-keeping	60
CHAPTER VIII. Codicils, Modification, Revocation	63
CHAPTER IX. Limitation by the Existence of Sons	66
CHAPTER X. Relation to Adoption	69

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PART I

THE LEXICOGRAPHICAL STUDY

CHAPTER I

DERIVATION AND LITERAL MEANING

The noun διαθήκη is derived from the verb διατίθημι, which is composed of the preposition διά and the verb τίθημι.

διά is from the root *δυ*, whence also come δύω, δύω, δοί-οι, δι- (in comp.), *two*; δῖς for δφῖς or δυῖς, *twice*; δεύ-τερος for δφε-τερος, *second*; δοι-ή, *doubt*; δί-χα, δί-χθα, in *two*; δι-σσός, *double*; δί-πλος, *twofold*; δυώ-δεκα, δώ-δεκα.

Skt. *duá*, *dvi-* (in comp.), “two;” *dvis* “twice;” *dva-jás*, “twofold;” *dui-tyas*, “second.” Zd. *dva*, *bi-*, two; *bi-tya*, “second.”

Lat. *duo*, *bi-* (for *dvi*), *bis* (for *duis*), *dis-*, *bi-ni*. Umbr. *du-r*, “two.”

The fundamental idea is that of *duality*. That this is retained in composition may be seen from a comparison of the following meanings:

1. *From one side or end to the other, through*, as in διαβαίνω; *to the end, utterly*, as in διαμάχομαι, διαφθείρω, etc., and so to denote *pre-eminence*, as in διαπρέπω, διαφέρω, etc.

2. *In two, asunder, at variance*, as in διαίρω, διαφωνέω, διαφέρω, etc.

3. *One with another*, of simple mutual relation, as in διαγωνίζομαι, διαίδω, διαφιλοτιμέομαι (all used with τινί).

4. *Between, in part*, as in διάλευκος, διάχρυσος, διάχλωρος, etc.

The root of τίθημι is *θε-* whence also come θέσις, a *placing, deposit, position*; θέμα, a *proposition*; θέσμος, something *set down or established*, a *rule*; θέμις, a *law established by custom*; θεμέλιον, *foundation*; θής, a *hired laborer*, θήκη, a *place for putting anything in, box, tomb, sheath*; θῆμα = θήκη.

Skt. *dhâ*, *da-dhâ-mi*, “place, lay, do;” *dhâ-man*, “dwelling-place, law, way, condition;” *dhâ-tṛ*, “creator;” *dhâ-tus*, “stuff.” Zd. *dâ*, “place, make, produce;” *dâ-tam*, “creature;” *dâ-mi*, “creation.” Lat. *facio*.

The radical meaning is to *put, place, set*; hence to *bring* a thing *into a place, or situation, bring about, cause*.

With the radical sense of *τίθημι* and *διά* in mind, the literal signification of *διαθήκη* can best be seen from a comparison of other compounds of *διά*; e. g.:

διάβασις, a *going from one side or end to the other, a crossing over to the other side*, Hdt. 1. 186; a *ford*, Thuc. 7. 74; a *bridge*, Xen. *Anab.* 2. 3. 10.

διαβόλη, a *throwing from one to another, slander*, Hdt. 3. 66. 73; a *quarrel with someone*, ἢ πρὸς τινα δ., Plut. 479 B; cf. *διαβάλλω*, to *make a quarrel between*; ἐμὲ καὶ Ἀγάθωνα, Plat. *Symp.* 222 C, D; δ. ἀλλήλοις, Arist. *Pol.* 5. 11. 8.

διάγγελος, a *secret messenger, a go-between*, Thuc. 7. 73.

διάγνωσις, a *distinguishing one thing from another, a distinguishing between*; δ. φωνῆς καὶ σιγῆς, Arist. *Cael.* 2. 9. 1; *diagnosis*, Hipp. 901.

διαδέκτωρ, *one who receives from another, an inheritor*, Maneth. 4. 223.

διάδημα, a *binding together or around, band, fillet*, Xen. *Cyr.* 8. 3. 13.

διάδικος, *one party in a lawsuit*, Jo. Chrys.; cf. *διαδικέω*, to *contend at law*, and οἱ διαδικοῦντες, the *contending parties*, Plut. 2. 196 B; *δικασμός*, a *lawsuit*.

διάδοκίς, a *cross-beam*, Hesych.

διάδοσις, a *giving from one to another, largess*, Dem. 44. 37.

διαδοχή, a *taking from another, of a trierarch*; δ. νέως, Dem. 50. 1; *succession*, ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλον, Aesch. *Agam.* 313; *relay*, Xen. *Cyr.* 1. 4. 17.

διάζωμα, a *girdle*, Thuc. 1. 6; an *isthmus*, Plut. *Phoc.* 13.

διάθεμα, a *placing together in a certain order, arrangement of the stars in one's birth*, Sext. *Emp.* 5. 53; cf. *διατίθημι*.

διάθεσις, a *putting together, placing one thing with reference to another, and so a placing in order, arrangement*, διάθεσις λέγεται τοῦ ἔχοντος μέρη τάξις, ἢ κατὰ τόπον ἢ κατὰ δύναμιν ἢ κατ' εἶδος· θέσιν γὰρ δεῖ τινα εἶναι, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῦνομα δηλοῖ ἡ διάθεσις, Aristot. *Metaph.* 4. 19, p. 1022; δ. τῆς πολιτείας, Plat. *Laus* 922 B; τῶν ξενίων, Tim. 27 A; *transmitting of property by will, testament*=*διαθήκη*, Plat. *Laus* 922 B; πῶς δ' ἂν τῆς διαθέσεως τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἀμελήσαιμεν, ἦν ἐκεῖνος διέθετο οὐ παρανοῶν οὐδὲ γυναικὶ πεισθεῖς; Lys., πρὸς Τιμωνίδην; *transferring by sale*, Isoc. 224 B, Plut. *Sol.* 24; cf. *διατίθημι*; cf. also *διαθιγή*=*τάξις*, Aristot. *Metaph.* 1. 48; 7. 2. 2.

διαθέτης, an *arranger, collector*, Damasc. ap. Suid., Hdt. 7. 6; cf. *διατίθημι*.

διαίρεσις, *division*; ἐν διαίρεισι ψήφων, in the *reckoning of the votes on either side*, Aesch. *Eum.* 749.

διάκονος, a *messenger*, Aesch. *Prom.* 942.

διάκρισις, *decision*, judgment, Plat. *Law*s 765 A; the *space between* the eyes, Xen. *Venat.* 4. 1.

διάλεκτος, *discourse*, *conversation*, Plat. *Symp.* 203 A; *debate*, *argument*, Plat. *Rep.* 454 A.

διάλογος, *dialogue*, Plat. *Soph.* 293 E; *id. Prot.* 335 D.

διαλλαγή, *exchange*, *commerce*; ὡς διαλλαγὰς ἔχοιμεν ἀλλήλοισιν ὧν πένοιτο γῆ, Eur. *Supp.* 209; *reconciliation*, *truce*, Hdt. 1. 22.

διάλλαγμα, *a substitute*, Eur. *Hel.* 586.

διάλυσις, *a loosing from another*, *divorce*, Plut. *Sull.* 35; *treaty*, Aristot. *Pol.* 4. 14. 3.

διάνδιχα, *adv.*, *two ways*; διάνδιχα μεμηρίξειν, *to halt between two opinions*, Il. 1. 189.

διάνλος, *a double pipe*, *channel*, or *course*, Pind. *O.* 13. 50; *ebb and flow*, Eur. *Hec.* 29; *a strait*, Eur. *Tro.* 435.

δίβαμος, *on two legs*, Eur. *Rhes.* 215.

διβολία, *a double-edged lance*, Aristoph. *Frag.* 401.

CHAPTER II

CHRONOLOGICAL CONCORDANCE

427. ARISTOPHANES¹

διαθήκη. *Vesr.* 584: κἄν ἀποθνήσκων ὁ πατήρ τῷ δῶ καταλείπων παῖδ' ἐπικλήρον, κλάειν ἡμεῖς μακρὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰπόντες τῇ δ.

διαθήκην. *Vesr.* 589: τῆς δ' ἐπικλήρου τὴν δ. ἀδικεῖς ἀνακογχυλιάζων.

Ar. 440: ἦν μὴ διάθωνταί γ' οἷδε δ. ἐμοὶ ἥνπερ ὁ πίθηκος τῇ γυναικὶ διέθετο,

400. LYSIAS²

διαθήκην. 32. 5: δ. αὐτῷ δίδωσι καὶ πέντε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου παρακαταθήκην.

διαθήκαι. 19. 39: ὁ γὰρ Κόνωνος θάνατος καὶ αἱ δ., ὥς διέθετο ἐν Κύπρῳ.

394. ISOCRATES³

διαθήκην. 19. 3: τεθνεώτος αὐτοῦ πειράται τὴν τε δ. ἄκυρον
ποιῆσαι.

5: ὁ πατήρ τοῦ καταλιπόντος τὴν δ.

15: ὁ τὴν δ. καταλιπών,

47: τὸν τὴν δ. καταλιπόντα.

διαθήκαις. 19. 1: ταῖς δ. αἷς ἐκείνος κατέλιπεν.

διαθήκας. 19. 12: νῖόν μ' ἐποίησατο . . . τὴν οὐσίαν ἔδωκεν. καί μοι λαβὲ τὰς δ.

Ibid.: κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον (τὸν νόμον) ἔδει ποιεῖσθαι τὰς δ.

15: τὰς μὲν δ. αὐτοὶ προσομολογοῦσι Θρασύλοχον καταλιπεῖν,

Ibid.: ζητοῦσι πείθιν ὑμᾶς, ὥς χρὴ τὰς δ. ἀκύρους ποιῆσαι.

34: τὰς μὲν δ. οὐκ ἀπιστοῦσι, Θρασύλοχον καταλιπεῖν,

44: εἰ τὰς τῶν παίδων δ. ἀκύρους ἴδοι γενομένας.

50: δ. παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἀντιδίκων ὁμολογουμένας,

390. ISAEUS³

διαθήκη. 6. 7: καὶ ὑμῖν ἡ τε δ. αὕτη ἀναγνωσθήσεται καὶ οἱ παραγινόμενοι μαρτυρήσουσι.

32: ὥς οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ κέοιτο ἡ δ.

διαθήκη. 2. 44: οὐ λόγῳ οὐδὲ δ. τὴν ποίησιν γεγενημένην, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ.

3. 56: τοῖς μεμαρτυρηκόσιν ἐπὶ τῇ δ. τοῦ Πύρρου παραγενέσθαι.

6. 7: καὶ ἔγραψεν οὕτως ἐν δ., εἰ μὴ γένοιτο αὐτῷ παιδίον ἐκ τῆς γυναικός, τοῦτον κληρονομεῖν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ.

28: τοῖς γὰρ φύσει αὐτοῦ νιέσιν οὐδεὶς οὐδενὶ ἐν δ. γράφει δόσιν οὐδεμίαν,

¹ Dunbar, *Concordance*, 1883. ² Holmes, *Index*, 1895. ³ Personally examined.

διαθήκην. 1. 19: μάλλον βεβαιοῦν τὴν δ. βουλόμενον, ἣν ὀργιζόμενος ἐποιήσατο.

41: τοῖς κατὰ γένος ψηφίζεσθαι μάλλον ἢ τοῖς κατὰ δ. ἀμφισβητοῦσι.

5. 6: ἀποθανόντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἀπαίδος δ. ἀπέφηνε Πρόξενος ὁ Δικαιογένης πατὴρ, ἣ πιστεύσαντες οἱ ἡμέτεροι πατέρες ἐνείμαντο τὸν κλῆρον.

6. 4: καὶ τὴν δ. ἄκυρον ποιήσιν.

7: καὶ τὴν δ. κατέθετο παρὰ τῷ κηδεστῇ Χαιρέα,

27: καὶ γράψας δ., ἐφ' οἷς εἰσήγαγε τὸν παῖδα κατατίθεται μετὰ τούτων παρὰ Πυθοδώρῳ Κηφισίει, προσήκοντι αὐτῷ.

30: πείθουσι τὸν Εὐκτῆμονα τὴν μὲν δ. ἀνελεῖν

31: ἔλεγεν ὅτι βούλοιτ' ἀνελεῖσθαι τὴν δ.

8. 40: οὐδεμίαν ἐκείνου περὶ τούτων ποιησαμένου δ.

10. 10: παιδὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστι δ. γενέσθαι.

Ibid.: ὥστε κατὰ γε δ. ἐκείνων, οὐδ' εἰ διέθεντο προσῆκεν αὐτῷ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων κληρονομήσαι

11. 9: λαμβάνει δὲ τὸν κλῆρον Γλαύκων κατὰ τὴν δ.

Ibid.: νικήσασα τοὺς κατὰ τὴν δ. ἀμφισβητήσαντας.

18: τὸ προνευικήκεναι τοὺς κατὰ δ. ἀμφισβητήσαντας,

Fr. I. 1: μετὰ ταύτην τοῖνον τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἕτεραν δ. ἐκόμισαν, ἣν ἔφασαν Ἀρχέπολις ἐν Δήμῳ διάθεσθαι.

διαθήκαιν. 5. 15: ταῦται δὲ ταῖν δ. ἣν μὲν Πρόξενος ἀπέφηνε, Δικαιογένης ἔπεισε τοὺς δικαστὰς ὡς οὐκ ἀληθὴς εἶη.

16: ἀμφοῖν δὲ ταῖν δ. ἀκύροιν γιγνομέναις,

διαθήκαι. 5. 15: δύνω γὰρ δ. ἀπεφάνησαν, ἣ μὲν πάλαι πολλῷ, ἣ δ' ὕστερον.

9. 27: ὡς μὲν οὖν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἀληθεῖς αἱ δ.

διαθήκων. 1. 13: καίτοι χρηθεωρεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων μάλλον ἢ ἐκ τῶν δ.

34: εἰ κατηγορεῖν ἐβούλοντο τῶν δ. ἣ τοῦ τελευτηκότος,

4. 6: οὐ μόνον περὶ τῶν δ. ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ γένους λόγον ἐμβεβλήκασιν.

12: περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων συμβαλαίων οὐ πάνυ χαλεπὸν τοὺς τὰ ψευδῇ μαρτυροῦντας ἐλέγχειν. ζῶντας γὰρ καὶ παρόντος τοῦ πράξαντος καταμαρτυροῦσι. περὶ δὲ τῶν δ. πῶς ἂν τις γνοίῃ τοὺς μὴ τάληθῇ λέγοντας,

9. 10: περὶ γε δ. οὔσης τῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως

14: σκέψασθε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου ὃν οὗτοι λέγουσι περὶ τῶν δ.

Fr. I. 2: δ. δὲ τεττάρων ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐσκευοποιημένων.

διαθήκαις. 1. 3: οὗτοι μὲν δ. ἰσχυριζόμενοι τοιαύταις, ὥς ἐκείνος διέθετο.

18: ἰσχυρίζονται γὰρ ταῖς δ. λέγοντες ὡς Κλεώνυμος μετεπέμπετο τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐ λῦσαι βουλόμενος αὐτὰς ἀλλ' ἐπανορθῶσαι καὶ βεβαιῶσαι σφίσις αὐτοῖς τὴν δωρεάν.

- διαθήκαις.** 1. 24: ἐν ταῖς νῦν γεγραμμέναις δ. ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν οὐσίαν,
 2. 14: ἐμὲ ποιεῖται, οὐκ ἐν δ., ὡ ἄνδρες, γράψας, μέλλων ἀποθνήσκειν,
 3. 60: ὅσοι δὲ δ. αὐτοῖς εἰσποιῶνται, τοῖς υἱοῖς ἐπιδικάζεσθαι προσήκει τῶν
 δοθέντων.
 4. 13: τὰναντία ταῖς τοῦ τεθνεώτος δ. μεταγραφῆναι.
Ibid.: οὐδὲν γὰρ μᾶλλον οἱ μάρτυρες εἰσονται, εἰ ἐφ' αἷς ἐκλήθησαν δ.,
 αὐταὶ ἀποφαίνονται.
 17: χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ταῖς μὲν δ. διὰ μαρτύρων ἡμᾶς δεῖ πιστεῦσαι, ὅφ'
 ὦν ἐνὶ καὶ ἐξαπατηθῆναι,
 24: οὐ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο γε ἀνοίας ἤκουσιν ὥστε πιστεύσαντες ταῖς διαθήκαις
 οὕτω ῥαδίως τοσούτων χρημάτων ἀφίστανται.
 7. 2: ὁ δ' ἐν δ. σημεινόμενος ἀδύλῳ ἐποίησε, διὸ πολλοὶ πεπλάσθαι
 φάσκοντες αὐτὰς ἀμφισβητεῖν ἀξιοῦσι πρὸς τοὺς ποιηθέντας.
 9. 13: ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' αἰσχυρῆναι οὐδενὶ προσήκει ἐπὶ ταῖς δ. ὥς πλείστους
 μάρτυρας παρίστασθαι, νόμου γε ὄντος ἐξεῖναι ὅτ' αὐτοῖς δοῦναι
 τὰ ἑαυτοῦ.
 18: οἶδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσειε μαρτυρῆσαι ἐναντία ταῖς δ. αἷς αὐτὸς
 ἀποφαίνει.
 11. 8: εἰ δέ τι καὶ αὐτὴ πάθοι, Γλαύκωνι τὰ ὄντα ἐδίδου, ἀδελφῷ ὄντι
 ὁμομητρῷ· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν δ. ἐνέγραψε.

- διαθήκας.** 1. 10: ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ὀργῆς Κλεώνυμος ταύτας ποιεῖται τὰς δ.,
 11: εἰτ' ὀρθῶς εἴτε μή, τὰς δ. ταύτας διέθετο.
 14: ἐβουλήθη ταύτας τὰς δ. ἀνελεῖν καὶ προσέταξε Ποσειδῖπ' αὖτις τὴν ἀρχὴν
 εἰσαγαγεῖν.
 15: οὐχ ἡμῖν ἐγκαλῶν ἀλλὰ Δεινίᾳ πολεμῶν ταύτας τὰς δ. διέθετο,
 18: ἡμεῖς δὲ σκοπεῖσθε τὰς δ. τὰς μετ' ὀργῆς γενομένης πότερα εἰκός
 ἐστὶ βουληθῆναι Κλεώνυμον ἀνελεῖν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἰκείως ἔσχεν,
 ἢ σκοπεῖν ὅπως ἔτι βεβαιότερον ἡμᾶς ἀποστερήσει τῶν αὐτοῦ.
 20: ἡμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διατίθεσθαι τοιαύτας δ.
 21: εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνελεῖν τὰς δ. βουλόμενος μετεπέμπετο τὴν ἀρχήν,
Ibid.: δικαίως ἂν δῆπου τὰς τοιαύτας δ. ἀκύρους ποιήσαιτε.
 26: εἰ τοίνυν καὶ τοῦτο συγχωρήσαιμεν, ὥς ἐκεῖνος ἐπανορθῶσαι τὰς δ.
 ἐβούλετο,
Ibid.: οἱ τινες ταύτας τὰς δ. ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι κυρίας,
 30: ὥσπερ ὅτε τὰς δ. ταύτας ἐποίησατο,
 34: οἱ γὰρ τὰς δ. μὲν ἀποφαίνουσιν οὐτ' ὀρθῶς ἐχούσας οὐτ' ἀρεσκούσας
 τῷ διαθεμένῳ,
 35: τίς ἂν ἡμῶν ταύτας εἶναι κυρίας τὰς δ. ψηφίσαιτο ἃς ὁ μὲν διαθέμενος
 ὥς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἐχούσας ἀπεδοκίμασεν, οὗτοι δ' ἔργῳ λύνουσιν ἐθέλοντες
 ἡμῖν ἰσομοιρῆσαι τῆς οὐσίας.

- διαθήκας. 1. 41: δ. δ' ἤδη πολλοὶ ψευδεῖς ἀπέφηναν, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ παράπαν οὐ γινόμενας, ἐνίων δ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς βεβουλευμένων.
- 42: τὰς δὲ δ., αἷς οὗτοι πιστεύοντες ἡμᾶς συκοφαντοῦσιν,
- Ibid.*: τὰς δὲ δ. ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀμφισβητουμένας· οὗτοι γὰρ τὸ ἀνελεῖν αὐτὰς ἐκείνου βουλομένου διακώλυσαν.
- 43: πολὺν κάλλιον ἐστὶ ψηφίσασθαι κατὰ τὸ γένος τὸ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν ὁμολογούμενον μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὰς δ. τὰς οὐ δικαίως γεγεννημένας.
- 48: διέθετο ταύτας τὰς δ. καὶ οὐδὲ πώποτε ὕστερον αὐτῷ μετεμέλησε,
- 50: ἐκείνῳ τε νομίζειν ὀρθῶς βεβουλευθῆσαι λῦσαι τὰς δ. βουλόμενον,
4. 13: τῶν διατιθεμένων οἱ πολλοὶ οὐδὲ λέγουσι τοῖς παραγιγνομένοις ὅ τι διατίθενται, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μόνου, τοῦ καταλιπεῖν δ.
- 14: ὁ νόμος, ὃ ἄνδρες, οὐκ ἐάν τις διαθῇται μόνον, κυρίως εἶναι τὰς δ., ἀλλὰ ἐὰν εὖ φρονῶν.
- Ibid.*: σκεπτέον δὴ ὑμῖν πρῶτον μὲν εἰ ἐποίησατο τὰς δ., ἔπειτα εἰ μὴ παρανοῶν διέθετο.
- 15: ἀντιλεγόντων δ' ἡμῶν μὴδὲ τὸ παράπαν γενέσθαι τὰς δ.,
- 18: οἱ κατὰ τὰς δ. ἀμφισβητοῦντες.
- Ibid.*: μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἢν ἀληθεῖς εἶναι δόξειν τὰς δ.
- 22: τὰς δ. σκοπεῖν, εἰ δοκοῦσι γενέσθαι·
9. 1: οὔτε ἐποίησατο ἐκείνος υἱὸν ἑαυτῷ, οὐτ' ἔδωκε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, οὔτε δ. κατέλιπε,
- 2: δ. ψευδεῖς κατεσκεύασαν καὶ ζητοῦσιν ἀποστερηθῆναι με τῶν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ.
- 5: καὶ τούτων δ. καταλίποι παρὰ Ἱεροκλεῖ Ἡφαιστιᾶδῃ.
- 6: ἀπεκρίνατό μοι ὅτι ἔχοι τὰς δ.
- 7: ἐλέγχειν ψευδεῖς οὔσας τὰς δ. ἃς ἐποίησαντο.
- 8: εἰ μὴ ἄνευ τῶν οἰκείων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τὰς δ. ποιῶτο,
- 11: ὅτε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν τούτου ἐποιεῖτο Ἀστούφιλος καὶ τὰς δ. κατέλειπε,
- 12: εἰ μὲν ὁ Ἀστούφιλος μὴδένα ἐβούλετο εἰδέναι ὅτι τὸν Κλέωνος υἱὸν ἐποιεῖτο μὴδ' ὅτι δ. καταλίποι,
- Ibid.*: εἰ δ' ἐναντίον μαρτύρων φαίνεται διαθέμενος, τούτων δὲ μὴ τῶν μάλιστα χρωμένων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐντυχόντων, πῶς εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἀληθεῖς εἶναι τὰς δ.;
- 14: καὶ οὐδ' ἐν μιᾷ τούτων τῶν ἐξόδων δ. κατέλιπε.
- 15: πῶς τοῦτον πιστὸν ἤδη τὰς δ. τότε καταλιπεῖν καὶ ἐκπλεύσαντα τελευτῆσαι;
- 22: ἀλλ' Ἱεροκλῆς, θεῖος ὢν καὶ ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἐμοί, οὕτως ἐστὶ τολμηρὸς ὥστε οὐ γινόμενας δ. ἥκει φέρων, καὶ φησι παρ' ἑαυτῷ Ἀστούφιλον ταύτας καταλιπεῖν.

- διαθήκας.** 9. 24: λέγων ὅτι θεὸς εἶη Ἀστυφίλῃ καὶ ἀποφανοίῃ δ. ἐκεῖνον καταλελοιπότα,
 25: ὡς δὲ ἐπηγγέλλετο περιῶν δ. ἀποφανεῖν,
 26: οὐδὲ Κλέωνι προῖκα τὰς δ. ἀποφαίνει,
 31: εἰ καὶ δεκάκις ὁ Ἱεροκλῆς δ. ψευδεῖς ἀποδεικνύει,
 32: ἔπειτα νῦν ἀξιώσουσι κληρονομεῖν τῶν Ἀστυφίλου οὐ μόνον τὰς δ. λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ γένος προστιθέντες,
 10. 9: κατὰ δ. αἱ εἰσαγωγαὶ τῶν εἰσποιήτων γίνονται,
 10: οὐδετέρῳ αὐτῶν ἐξῆν δ. ποιήσασθαι.
 22: οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστι τὰς ἐκείνου δ. ἀκύρους καθιστάναι.
Ibid.: οἶμαί δεῖν κυρίας εἶναι τὰς δ. ἅς ἂν ἕκαστος διαθῇται περὶ τῶν ἑαυτου,
Ibid.: περὶ μέντοι τῶν ἄλλοτρίων οὐ κυρίας τὰς δ.
 11. 9: ἡμεῖς δ' οὐ πάποτε' ἡξιώσαμεν ἀμφισβητῆσαι πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνου δ.
Ibid.: οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰς δ. ἡμφισβητήσαμεν.

387. PLATO¹

- διαθήκης.** 923 E: φανῇ κληῖρος ἐπιχώριος τῆς δ. γενόμενος ὕστερον,
 926 B: ἐάν τινες ἄρα περὶ δ. ἐγκαλῶσι τοῖς κειμένοις νόμοις,
διαθήκης. 922 C: εἰ τις ἐξουσίαν δώσει ἀπλῶς οὕτω κυρίαν εἶναι δ., ἣ ἂν τις διαθῇται ὁπωσοῦν ἔχων πρὸς τῷ τοῦ βίου τέλει.
 923 C: ὅς ἂν δ. γράφῃ τὰ αὐτοῦ διατιθέμενος, παίδων ὧν πατήρ, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν νῦν κληρονόμον ὃν ἂν ἀξίωση γίγνεσθαι γραφέτω.
 E: τῷ κληρονόμῳ τοῦ τὴν δ. διαθεμένῳ καταλειπέτω.
Ibid.: γραφέτω καὶ περὶ τῆς τοιαύτης τύχης ὁ τὴν δ. γράφων.
 924 A: ἐὰν δέ τις ἄπαις ὧν τὸ παράπαν δ. γράφῃ,

362. DEMOSTHENES²

- διαθήκη.** 45. 11: εἴθ' ἢ δ. γέγραπται.
Ibid.: τοῦ τις ἂν εἴνεκ' ἔφυγεν ἀνοίγειν τὸ γραμματεῖον. ἔν' ἢ δ. νῇ Δία μὴ φανερὰ γένοιτο τοῖς δικασταῖς.
 18: γραμματεῖον ἔχειν ἐφ' ᾧ γεγράφθαι “δ. Πασίωνος,”
 21: εἰ δ' ὥσπερ μεμαρτύρηκεν, ἐπὴν “δ. Πασίωνος,”
 22: ἐξελέγχεται κατεσκευασμένη μὲν ἢ δ.,
 29: ὅψεσθ' ὅτι πλάσμ' ὅλον ἐστὶν ἢ δ.
 46. 25: ἀκυρος μὲν ἢ δ. ἐστίν, ἣν φασιν οὗτοι τὸν πατέρα καταλιπεῖν,

¹ Ast, *Index*, 1855; E. Abbott, *Subject Index*, 1875.² Preuss, *Index*, 1892.

διαθήκης. 29. 42: μάλιστα δ' εἰ περὶ τῆς δ. ἀκούσειεν.

43: τὸ μισθοῦν τὸν οἶκον ἡ φάνιζεν ἐκ τῆς δ.

36. 7: λαβὲ τῆς δ. τὸ ἀντίγραφον

32: οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῆς δ. ἔστιν ιδεῖν

34: οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνό γ' ἔρει, ὡς ὅσα μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν τόνδ' ἔγραψ' ὁ πατήρ,
κύρι' ἐστὶ τῆς δ., τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἄκυρα.

45. 5: μάρτυρας παρέσχετο ψευδεῖς δ., οὐδεπώποτε γενομένας.

21: εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐπὶ τῆς δ. “Πασίωνος καὶ Φορμίωνος,” ἡ “πρὸς
Φορμίων’” ἡ τοιούτῳ τι,

27: τὸ κατασεύασμα τὸ τῆς δ.

Ibid.: οἳ δ' οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχει, τῆς δ. αὐτῆς ἀκούσαντες γνώσεσθε·

30: τῶν μὲν οἴκοι χρημάτων διὰ τῆς δ. αὐτὸν ἐποίησε κύριον,

41: κατεσκευασμένης δ. μάρτυς γεγονώς.

46. 18: κατεσκευασμένης δ. ψευδῆς μάρτυς γέγονε

25: ἀντίγραφά ἐστι τῆς δ. τῆς Πασίωνος·

28: οἳ δ. οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἀντίγραφα ἐποιήσατο,

διαθήκη. 29. 29: τὸν οἶκον οὐκ ἐμίσθωσε τῶν νόμων κελενόντων καὶ τοῦ πα-
τρὸς ἐν τῇ δ. γράφοντος,

42: τὰ καταλειφθέντα πάντ' ἐν τῇ δ. γράφαντος,

43: ἣν δὲ ταῦθ' ἃ γεγράφθαι φησὶν ἐν τῇ δ.

36. 52: ἐναντία τῇ δ. καὶ ταῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἀραιῖς,

45. 15: ἐκ τοῦ πρόκλησιν ὁμοῦ δ. μαρτυρεῖν.

42: ἐναντία δ', ἣν ἀνέγων ὑμῖν ἄρτι, μίσθωσις τῇδε τῇ δ.

διαθήκην. 27. 13: οὗτος γὰρ εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς θάνατον ᾧ κει τὴν
οἰκίαν εἰσελθὼν κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου δ.

42: οὗτος δ. μὲν γενέσθαι φησί,

43: οὗτος αὖ τὴν μὲν δ. γενέσθαι φησί,

48: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὴν δ. ἡφανικότα,

64: οἱ καὶ τὴν δ. ἡφανικάσιν ὡς λήσοντες,

28. 5: τὴν μὲν δ. μηδαμῶ ταύτην ἀποφαίνειν,

6: αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν δ. δι' ἧς καὶ τούτων ὧν ἐσημήναντο γραμμάτων . . .
ἐγίνοντο κύριοι, καὶ τοῦ μὴ μισθοῦν τὸν οἶκον τῆς αἰτίας ἀπελέλυτο,
ταύτην δ' οὐκ ἐσημήναντο, οὐδ' αὐτὴν ἀπέδοσαν.

10: τὴν μὲν δ. ἡφανίκατε, ἐξ ἧς ἦν εἰδέναι περὶ πάντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν,

29. 31: ἣν ἔλαβε προῖκα τῆς μητρὸς κατὰ τὴν δ. τοῦ πατρός.

33: λαβεῖν τὴν προῖκα τούτον τὴν ἐαυτῆς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς δ.

57: τὴν δ. οὐκ ἀποδόντα,

36. 8: τὴν μὲν γυναικα λαμβάνει κατὰ τὴν δ.

33: ἐτόλμα λέγειν . . . ἓνα μὲν τὸ παράπαν μὴ γενέσθαι δ., ἀλλ'
εἶναι τοῦτο πλάσμα καὶ σκενώρημ' ὅλον,

διαθήκην. 36. 34: ὅταν μὲν τοίνυν τὴν δ. ἀρνήται, ἐκ τίνος τρόπου πρεσβεῖα
Ibid.: λαβὼν τὴν συνοικίαν κατὰ τὴν δ. ἔχει, τοῦτ' ἐρωτᾷτ' αὐτόν.

35: πρεσβεῖά τε τὴν συνοικίαν ἔλαβεν κατὰ τὴν δ.

45. 9: τοῦτό γ' αὐτὸ θαυμάζειν, τὸ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τῆς μαρτυρίας εἶναι
 πρόκλησιν, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν δ.

12: εἰ μὲν τοίνυν μὴ προσεμαρτύρουν τῇ προκλήσει τὴν δ. οὔτοι,
Ibid.: παρείχεν τις αὐτοῖς γραμματεῖον ὥς δ.

19: οἱ μὲν δικασταὶ ταύτην τὴν δ. ἐπίστευσαν τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι,

28: λέγε δ' αὐτοῖς τὴν δ. αὐτήν, ἣν οὔτοι μετὰ τῆς προκλήσεως μεμαρτυ-
 ρήκασιν.

34: τοῦ τὴν δ. ψευδῇ δεῖξαι,

Ibid.: τοῦτο τοίνυν τὸ γράμμα παντελῶς δηλοῖ ψευδῇ τὴν δ. οὖσαν.

37: ἐμαρτύρησε μὲν Νικοκλῆς ἐπιτροπεῦσαι κατὰ τὴν δ.,

Ibid.: ἐμαρτύρησε δὲ Πασικλῆς ἐπιτροπευθῆναι κατὰ τὴν δ.

38: ἐπιτροπεῦσαι μὲν κατὰ δ. οὐδὲν δεινὸν ἡγήτο μαρτυρεῖν ὁ μαρτυρῶν,

Ibid.: οὐδ' ἐπιτροπευθῆναι κατὰ δ. ,

39: οὐδὲ καταλιπεῖν τὸν πατέρ' αὐτῷ ἐπιγεγραμμένον γραμματεῖον δ.

51: τοὺς δ. μαρτυρήσαντες διώκων,

Ibid.: διὰ τοὺς ἀφείναι μεμαρτυρηκότας ἀποψηφίσασθαι μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ τοὺς
 δ. μαρτυρήσαντας.

46. 2: ὥς ἡ διατιθεμένη τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμοῦ παρεγένετό που αὐτὸς ταύτην
 τὴν δ.

12: οὔτε διέθετο ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν δ. οὐδεμίαν, οὔθ' οἱ νόμοι ἐώσιν.

15: ὁ τοίνυν πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἐπεποίητο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πολίτης, ὥστε οὐδὲ
 κατὰ τοῦτο ἐξῆν αὐτῷ διαθέσθαι δ.

24: σκέψασθε δὴ καὶ τονδὶ τὸν νόμον, ὃς κελεύει τὴν δ. , ἣν ἂν παῖδων
 ὄντων γνησίων ὁ πατὴρ διαθῇται, ἐὰν ἀποθάνωσιν οἱ παῖδες πρὶν
 ἡβῆσαι, κυρίαν εἶναι.

διαθήκαι. 36. 7: τὰς μαρτυρίας ταυτασί, παρ' οἷς αἱ δ. κείνται.

43. 4: αἱ δὲ δ. , ἃς τότε παρέσχοντο, ἐξηλέγχθησαν ψευδεῖς οὔσαι.

45. 26: τί δ' ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν, εἴ τινές εἰσιν δ. Πασίωνος;

46. 16: εἰ δοκοῦσιν ὑμῖν εὖ φρονοῦντος ἀνδρὸς εἶναι αἱ δ.,

διαθηκῶν. 27. 44: δῆλον τοίνυν ἐστὶν οὐδὲν ἦττον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καταλει-
 φθέντων, καίπερ ἀφανιζόντων τούτων τὴν οὐσίαν ἐκ τῶν δ. , ἐξ ὧν
 τοσαῦτα χρήματ' ἀλλήλοις φασὶ δοθῆναι.

45. 25: εἰ μὴ φησιν ἀντίγραφα εἶναι τῶν δ. τῶν Πασίωνος —

26: “εἰ μὴ φημι” ἐγὼ ἀντίγραφα εἶναι τῶν δ.,” οὕτως “ὧν φησι Φορμίων
 Πασίωνα καταλιπεῖν,” οὐ “τῶν Πασίωνος.”

46. 3: μεμαρτύρηκεν ἀντίγραφ' εἶναι τῶν δ. τῶν Πασίωνος τὰ ἐν τῷ γραμ-
 ματεῖω γεγραμμένα,

διαθηκῶν. 46. 5: ἀντίγραφα δὲ τῶν δ. τῶν Πασίωνος μαρτυρεῖν εἶναι τὰ ἐν γραμματεῖω ὁ παρείλετο Φορμίων,

28: ἄξιον τοίνυν ᾧ ἄνδρες δικασταὶ καὶ τόδε ἐνθυμηθῆναι, ὅτι διαθήκης οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἀντίγραφα ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ συγγραφῶν μὲν, ἵνα εἰδῶσι καὶ μὴ παραβαίνωσι, δ. δὲ οὐ.

Ibid.: πῶς οὖν ὑμεῖς ἴστε ὅτι ἀντίγραφά ἐστι τῶν δ. τῶν Πασίωνος τὰ ἐν τῷ γραμματεῖω γεγραμμένα;

διαθήκαις. 28. 3: τέτταρα τάλαντα καὶ τρισχιλίας γραφήναι τ' ἐν ταῖς δ.

14: ταυθ' οὗτοι γεγραφήναι τ' ἐν ταῖς δ. . . . κατ' ἀλλήλων μαρτυροῦσι.

41. 16: τοὺς τὸ τελευταῖον ταῖς δ. παραγενομένους·

45. 22: οὔτε ἐμαρτύρησεν ἐκεῖνος περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς δ. ἐνότων οὐδέν.

39: ἀφαιρῶν ἐκάτερος τὸ μαρτυρεῖν τὰ ἐν ταῖς δ. ὑπὸ τούτου γεγραμμένα,

διαθήκας. 27. 40: ἔτι δ' ἀκριβέστερον ἐγνωτ' ἂν, εἴ μοι τὰς δ. ἃς ὁ πατὴρ κατέλιπεν, οὗτοι ἀποδοῦναι ἤθελον.

28. 5: ἐχρῆν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστ' ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ πατὴρ, εἰσκαλέσαντας μάρτυρας πολλοὺς παρασμῆναι κελεύσαι τὰς δ.

36. 8: εἰ δεήσει κατὰ τὰς δ.

41. 17: ὅτε γὰρ Πολυεύκτος διέθετο ταῦτα, παρὴν μὲν ἡ τούτου γυνή, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς δ. ἀνήγγειλεν,

43. 4: δ. δὲ ψευδεῖς ἦκον κατασκευάσαντες Γλαυκὸς τε

5: εἴ τις ἀμφισβητεῖν ἢ παρακαταβάλλειν βούλεται τοῦ κλήρου τοῦ Ἀγνίου ἢ κατὰ γένος ἢ κατὰ δ.

44. 65: εἰ μὲν ὁ τελευτηκοτὺς ἐποιήσατό τινα συνεχωροῦμεν ἂν αὐτῷ, ἢ εἰ δ. κατελελοίπει, καὶ ταύταις ἂν ἐνεμείναμεν,

45. 10: προκαλεῖσθαι Φορμίων' ἀνοίγειν τὰς δ.

Ibid.: εἶναι δ' ἃς αὐτοὶ μεμαρτυρήκασιν δ. ἀντιγράφους ἐκείνων.

11: οὐδέν πω λέγω, οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὰς δ. ἀληθεῖς ἢ ψευδεῖς εἶναι,

19: οἶδε δὲ τῇ προκλήσει χρησάμενοι παραπετάσματι, δ. ἐμαρτύρησαν,

26: τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἦν εἶναι δ. μαρτυρεῖν, ὅπερ ἦν τούτοις βούλημα,

37: ὁ γὰρ ἐπιτροπεῦσαι κατὰ δ. μαρτυρῶν, δῆλον ὅτι καθ' ὁποῖος ἂν εἰδείη.

Ibid.: καὶ ὁ ἐπιτροπευθῆναι κατὰ δ. μαρτυρῶν, δῆλον ὅτι καθ' ὁποίας ἂν εἰδείη.

38: τί οὖν μαθόντες ἐμαρτυρεῖθ' ὑμεῖς ἐν προκλήσει δ. ,

39: δ. δὲ μαρτυρεῖν, ἐν αἷς χρημάτων τοσοῦτων κλοπή, οὐδεὶς ᾔθελεν.

41: τὰς δὲ συνθήκας καὶ τὰς δ. καὶ τὰλλ', σεσημασέν' εἶσαι

- διαθήκας.** 45. 74: τί γὰρ αὐτὸν οἶσθ' εἰς τὰς δ. ἐγράψαι, “καὶ τᾶλλα, ὅσα ἐστίν, Ἀρχίππῃ δίδωμι;”
- 88: ἐὰν μεμαρτυρηκέναι τὸν μὲν ἐπιτροπευθῆναι κατὰ δ.
46. 3: τὰς δὲ δ. μὴ ἔχει ἐπιδεῖξαι μὴθ' ὥς ὁ πατὴρ διέθεθ' ἡμῶν,
- 8: οὐτ' εἰδὼς δ. καταλιπόντα τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν,
- 13: ἀποθανόντα δ. καταλιπεῖν, ἃς οὐ κύριος ἦν;
- 15: τοῦ μὲν νόμον ἀκηκόατε, ὅς οὐκ ἐᾷ δ. διαθέσθαι, ἐὰν παῖδες ὡσι γνήσιοι.
- 19: ἡ μάρτυρας ψευδεῖς οἶσθ' ἂν παρασχέσθαι καὶ δ. οὐκ οὔσας,

344. ARISTOTLE¹

- διαθήκαι.** *Prob.* 950. 3: δ. δὲ πολλὰ ψευδεῖς ἥδη ἐξηλέγχθησαν οὔσαι.
- διαθήκαις.** *Ibid.*: διὰ τί ἐνίοις δικαστηρίοις τοῖς γένεσι μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς δ. ψηφιοῦνται;
- διαθήκας.** *Sent. Fr.* 16; *Didot IV*, p. 339: ὁ ἐν νόσῳ δ. γράφων, παραπλήσια πάσχει τοῖς χεიმῶν θαλαττίῳ εὐτρεπίζειν ἀρχομένοις τὰ τῆς νηὸς ὄπλα.

324. DINARCHUS²

- διαθήκας.** *I.* 9: τὸ μὲν γὰρ συνέδριον . . . ὁ φυλάττει τὰς ἀπορρήτους δ., ἐν αἷς τὰ τῆς πόλεως σωτήρια κείται.

323. HYPEREIDES³

- διαθήκαι.** *v.* 17: ὅπου δὲ οὐδε [περὶ] τῶν αὐτοῦ ιδίων αἰ [ἐγγύα]ι καὶ αἰ δ. κύριαί εἰσιν,⁴
- διαθηκῶν.** *Ibid.*: ὁ περὶ τῶ[ν] δ. ν[όμο]ς παρ[α]πλήσιος τούτοις ἐστίν· κелеύει[ι γὰρ ἐξείν]αι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ [δια]τίθεσθαι[ι ὡς ἂν] τις βούληται,
- διαθήκαις.** *ii.* 47. 26: πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον, εἰ μὲν τι ἔπαθεν τὸ παιδίον ἢ γιγνώμενον ἢ καὶ ὕστερον, ταύταις ταῖς δ. ἰσχυρίζεσθαι ἂν αὐτούς, ἐν αἷς . . .
- διαθήκας.** *v.* 18: ἐὰν μὲν τι[ς εἰ]ς δι[οίκ]ησιν τ[ῶ]ν αὐτοῦ [γν]ναϊκὶ πειθόμενος διαθήκα[ς] γράψῃ, ἄκυροι ἔσονται·

¹ Bonitz, *Index in Acad. Reg. Bor.*, 1870.² Forman, *Index*, 1896.³ Blass, *Index*, 1894.⁴ αἰ ἐ[γγύα]ι καὶ αἰ, Revillout, *editio princeps* (in *Corpus Papyrorum Aegypti*). αἰ [μὴ δ]ίκαιαι, Blass, Teubner ed., 1894.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

It is thought advisable, for the sake of completeness, to append to this concordance a chronological catalogue of authors in whose writings the term does not occur. I have made a personal examination in all cases where an index is not named in a footnote. The number preceding each name is the "floruit."

900 B. C. ?, Homer;¹ 800 ?, Hesiod;² 800 ?, Homeric Hymns;¹ 730, Callinus Ephesius, Eleg.; 700, Archilochus Parus, Iambog.; 700, Asius, Eleg.; 693, Simonides Amorginus, Lyr.; 650, Alcman, Lyr.; 650, Tyrtaeus, Eleg.; 647, Pisander Rhodius, Lyr.; 630, Mimnermus, Eleg.; 611, Sappho, Lyr.; 611, Stesichorus, Lyr.; 610, Erinna, Lyr.; 606, Alcaeus Myrtilenaeus, Lyr.; 594, Solon, Eleg.; 580, Anaximander Phil.; 575, Acusilaus, Histor.; 570, Susario, Com.; 560, Ibycus, Lyr.; 546, Hipponax, Iambog.; 544, Anaximenes, Phil.; 544, Pherecydes (of Syros), Phil.; 544, Theognis, Eleg.; 540, Anacreon, Lyr.; 540, Ananias, Iambog.; 540, Phocylides, Eleg.; 538, Xenophanes, Phil.; 531, Pythagoras, Phil.; 525, Simonides Ceius, Lyr.; 523, Choerilus Atticus, Trag.;³ 520, Hecataeus Milesius, Hist.; 513, Heraclitus, Phil.; 510, Telesilla, Lyr.; 508, Lasus, Dithyr.; 504, Charon, Hist.; 503, Parmenides, Phil.; 500, Corinna, Lyr.; 500, Lamprocles, Dithyr.; 500, Timocreon, Phil.; 499, Pratinas, Lyr.; 490, Pindar, Lyr.;⁴ 489, Panyasis, Epic; 487, Dinolochus, Com.; 487, Chionides, Com.; 484, Aeschylus, Trag.;⁵ 480, Pherecydes, Hist.; 477, Epicharmus, Com.; 475, Phrynichus, Trag.; 470, Bacchylides, Lyr.; 470, Diocles, Com.;⁶ 468, Sophocles, Trag.;⁷ 466, Hellanicus, Hist.; 464, Zeno Eleaticus; 463, Xanthus, Phil.; 460, Ecphantides, Com.;⁶ 460, Magnes, Com.; 454, Cratinus Major, Com.;⁶ 451, Ion Chius, Trag.; 450, Anaxagoras, Phil.; 450 ?, Melanippides, Dithyr.; 450, Praxilla, Lyr.; 450, Aristias, Trag.; 450, Sophron, Mimog.;⁸ 449, Crates, Com.;⁶ 444, Melissus, Phil.; 444, Empedocles, Phil.; 444, Achaeus Eretrieus, Trag.;³ 443, Herodotus, Hist.;⁹ 441, Euripides, Trag.;¹⁰ 440, Antiphon, Orat.;¹¹ 440, Teleclides, Com.;⁶ 440, Choerilus Samius, Epic;¹² 438, Pherecrates, Com.; 434, Lysippus, Com.;⁶ 432, Hermippus, Com.; 432, Amipsias, Com.; 432, Alcidas, Rhet.; 430, Hippocrates, Med.; 430, Democritus, Phil.; 430, Philonides, Com.;⁶ 430, Myrtilus, Com.; 429, Phrynichus, Com.; 429, Eupolis, Com.; 427, Plato, Com.; 427, Gorgias, Phil.; 425, Aristomenes, Com.; 424, Callias, Com.; 423, Amipsias, Com.; 423, Thucydides, Hist.;¹³ 422, Leucon, Com.; 420, Cantharus, Com.; 420,

¹ Dunbar, *Concord.*, 1880.

² Paulson, *Index*, 1890; Capelle, *Lex.*, 1889.

³ Nauck, *Index*, 1892.

⁵ Wellauer, *Lex.*, 1830.

⁷ Ellendt, *Index*, 1872.

⁴ Rumpel, *Lex.*, 1883.

⁶ Jacobi, *Index*, 1857.

⁸ Kaibel, *Index*, 1899.

⁹ Schweighäuser, *Lex.*, 1824; Sayce, *Index Eng.*, I-III, 1883; Macan, *Index Gr.*, 1895.

¹⁰ Beck, *Index*, 1829.

¹² Näke, *Index*, 1817.

¹¹ Van Cleef, *Index*, 1895.

¹³ Essen, *Index*, 1887.

Aristonymus, Com.; 416, Agathon, Trag.; 415, Andocides, Orat.;¹ 415, Archippus, Com.; 413, Hegemon, Com.; 411, Critias, Trag.;² 410, Aristagoras, Com.; 410, Metagenes, Com.; 407, Apollophanes, Com.; 407, Sannyrio, Com.; 407, Strattis, Com.; 405, Antimachus, Eleg.; 404, Philistus, Hist.; 402, Polyzelus, Com.; 402, Cephisodorus, Com.; 401, Telestes, Lyr.; 401, Ctesias, Hist.; 401, Xenophon, Hist.;³ 400 ?, Ocellus Lucanus, Phil.; 400, Euthycles, Com.; 400, Nicochares, Com.; 400 ?, Clitodemus, Hist.; 400 ?, Archytas, Phil.; 400, Demetrius, Com.; 400, Polyidus, Lyr.; 399, Cebes, Phil.;⁴ 398, Astydamus, Trag.;² 398, Philoxenus, Lyr.; 398, Timotheus, Dithyr.; 394, Epilycus, Com.; 394, Eunicus, Com.; 392, Philyllius, Com.; 390, Theopompus, Com.; 390, Heraclides Ponticus, Pol.; 390, Autocrates, Com.; 388, Nicophon, Com.; 388, Alcaeus, Com.; 387, Antiphanes, Com.; 380, Ophelion, Com.; 380, Philiscus, Com.; 378, Epigenes, Com.; 376, Epicrates, Com.; 376, Anaximandres, Com.;⁵ 375, Araros, Com.; 375, Eubulus, Com.;⁵ 368, Ephippus, Com.; 366, Eudoxus, Astron.; 363, Diogenes, Cynic; 362, Aeneas Tacitus; 356, Alexis, Com.;⁵ 354, Diodorus, Com.; 353, Chion, Hist.; 350, Aristophon, Com.; 350, Alexander, Com.; 350, Timotheus, Com.; 350, Timocles, Com.; 350, Scylax, Geog.; 350, Philetaerus, Com.; 350, Nicostratus, Com.; 350, Ephorus, Hist.; 350, Calippus, Astron.; 350, Cratinus Minor, Com.; 350, Dionysius, Com.; 350, Dromon, Com.; 350 ?, Antidolus, Com.; 350 ?, Nausiocrates, Com.; 350 ?, Heniochus, Com.; 350 ?, Eriphus, Com.; 350 ?, Calliocrates, Com.; 350 ?, Athenion, Com.; 350 ?, Sophilus, Com.; 350 ?, Eubulides, Com.; 350, Amphis, Com.; 350, Xenarchus, Com.; 349, Demades, Orat.; 348, Heraclides, Com.; 347, Speusippus, Phil.; 345, Aeschines, Orat.;⁶ 345, Damoxenus, Com.; 340, Anaxilas, Com.; 340, Anaximenes, Rhet.;⁷ 340, Axionicus, Com.; 340, Hermesianax, Eleg.; 339, Xenocrates Chalcedonius; 333, Theopompus, Hist.; 332, Hecataeus Abderita, Hist.; 332, Stephanus, Com.; 330, Apollodorus, Com.; 330, Lycurgus, Orat.;¹ 330, Philemon, Com.;⁵ 330, Theophilus, Com.; 327, Eudemus of Rhodes, Phil.; 324, Crobylus, Com.; 323, Philippides, Com.; 322, Theophrastus, Phil.; 322, Menander, Com.;⁵ 322, Phantias, Phil.; 321, Philemon Minor, Com.; 320, Diphilus, Com.;⁵ 320, Hipparchus, Com.; 320, Dicaearchus, Geog.; 317, Demetrius Phalerius, Rhet.; 306, Epicurus, Phil.; 303, Anaxippus, Com.; 302, Archedicus, Com.; 300, Euhemerus; 300, Hegesippus, Com.; 300 ?, Herondas; 300, Hieronymus Rhodius, Phil.; 300, Lynceus, Com.; 300, Philetas, Eleg.

¹ Forman, *Index*, 1897.² Nauck, *Index*, 1892.³ Sturtz, *Lex.*, 1801; *Anab.*, Vollbrecht, *Lex.*, 1886; *Hell.*, Thiemann, *Lex.*, 1883; *Hist. Gr.*, Keller, *Index*, 1890; *Mem.*, Crusius, *Lex.*, 1844; *Oec.*, Holden, *Lex.*, 1895.⁴ Praechter, *Index*, 1893.⁶ Preuss, *Index*, 1896.⁵ Jacobi, *Index*, 1857.⁷ Bonitz, *Index*, 1870.

CHAPTER III

ΔΙΑΤΙΘΗΜΙ

The use of the verb διατίθημι has an important bearing on that of the noun διαθήκη, its derivative. The verb is often used to include the meaning of the noun; e. g., instead of διατίθεμαι διαθήκην we find simply διατίθεμαι. The verb has a much wider range of use, and is employed by authors in whose writings the noun is not found.

I. In the active it signifies, according to its derivation¹ to *put apart* or in two places, to *place separately*, and so it comes to mean—

1. To *place in order, distribute, arrange, dispose* (Lat. *dispono*): *Hymn to Ap.* 254, 294 of laying the foundation of a temple: διέθηκε θεμελίῳ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων εὐρέα καὶ μάλα μακρὰ διηνεκές.²

Herod. 7. 39, where Xerxes orders the son of a man who had offended him to be slain and his body to be divided in two, one half to be placed on the right side of the road and the other on the left, while the army marched between the parts: αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε τοῖσι προσετέτακτο ταῦτα πρῆσσειν τῶν Πυθίου παίδων ξευρόντας τὸν πρεσβύτατον μέσον διαταμεῖν, διαταμόντας δὲ τὰ ἡμίτομα διαθεῖναι τὸ μὲν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, τὸ δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερά, καὶ ταύτῃ διεξιέναι τὸν στρατόν.

Thuc. i. 126. 8, of *disposing* or *stationing* troops during a siege: χρόνον δὲ ἐπιγιγνομένων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρυχόμενοι τῇ προσεδρεΐᾳ ἀπῆλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἐπιτρέψοντες τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορσι διαθεῖναι ἢ ἂν ἄριστα διαγιγνώσκωσι.

Xen. *Mem.* 2. 1. 27, in the parable of the choice of Hercules, of the gods *disposing* or *arranging* affairs so that blessings are the reward of virtue: οὐκ ἐξαπατήσω δέ σε προοιμίους ἡδονῆς, ἀλλ' ἥπερ οἱ θεοὶ διέθεσαν τὰ ὄντα διηγῆσθαι μετ' ἀληθείας.

Arist. *A. M.* 8. 4, of *setting out* wine in earthen vessels to catch serpents: θήρουσί τινες καὶ τοὺς ἔχεις εἰς ὀστράκια διαθέντες οἶνον εἰς τὰς αἰμασίας.

Timon in Diog. Laert. 8. 67, of a philosopher *setting forth* the first principles or elements; cf. Diels, *Poet. Phil. Fr.*, p. 194.

καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀγοραίων
ληπτῆς ἐπέων· ὅσα δ' ἔσθene τοσσάδε εἶλεν
ἄρχων ὃς διέθηκε ἄρχας ἐπδενέας ἄλλων.

¹See chap. i.

²Allen and Sykes, *Homeric Hymns* (1904), say: "The verb [διατίθημι] is not found in Homer or Hesiod, and does not seem to occur elsewhere in serious poetry, though common in Attic prose." But see Eurip. *Ion*, 866. Its use is *rare* in poetry.

2. To *dispose* or *arrange* one's words in discourse, and so *to recite* (of rhapsodists, orators, and actors). Plato *Legg.* 658 D: ῥαψῳδὸν δέ, καλῶς Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν ἢ τι τῶν Ἑσαιοδείων διατιθέντα, ταχ' ἂν ἡμεῖς οἱ γέροντες ἤδιστα ἀκούσαντες. *Id. Charm.* 162 D: ὀργισθῆναι αὐτῷ, ὥσπερ ποιήτης ὑποκριτῇ κακῶς διατιθέντι τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ποιήματα.

3. With an adverb, *to dispose* or *arrange* affairs well or ill, *to manage, handle, treat.*

a) *To manage*, of State affairs. *Lys.* 29. 2: κακῶς διαθεῖς τὰ τῆς πόλεως πλεόν ἢ τριάκοντα ταλάντων οὐσίαν ἐκτήσατο. Of an estate, *Isaeus* 10. 25: οὐκ ἱκανόν ἐστι Ξεναίνετ' τὸν Ἀριστομένους οἶκον καταπεπαιδευασθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτον οἶται δεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον διαθεῖναι.

Of a campaign, *Thuc.* 6. 15: κράτιστα διαθέντι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου.

Of oneself or others, *Archytas Moral.* 1. 3: μὴ μόνον αὐταυτον οὕτω διατιθεῖς, etc.

b) *To handle, or treat* a person or thing in a certain manner. Of cities, *Isoc.* 4. (*Paneg.*) 113: τὰς ἐαυτῶν πόλεις οὕτως ἀνόμως διαθέντες καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀδίκως κατηγοροῦντες.

Of persons treating one another ill. *Isoc. Philip.* (5). 38: ἐπὴν δὲ κακῶς ἀλλήλους διαθῶσιν, οὐδενὸς διαλύοντος αὐτοὶ διέστησαν.

Of a soldier who had cut off his own nose and ears, and otherwise ill treated himself, in order to deceive the enemy. *Herod.* 3. 156: οὐκ ἐστι οὗτος ἀνὴρ, ὅτι μὴ σύ, τῷ ἐστι δύναμις τοσαύτη ἐμὲ δὴ ὧδε διαθεῖναι. *Ibid.*: φὰς διὰ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους σεαυτὸν ἀνηκέστως διαθεῖναι. Cf. *Xen. Anab.* 1. 1. 5 and *Plat. Legg.* 728 B.

c) The passive is also used in this sense, to be *handled, treated.* *Thuc.* 6. 57: οὐ ῥαδίως διετέθη, "he was not gently handled." *Isoc. Aig.* (19). 29: ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὕτω κακῶς διετέθην.

4. *To dispose a person so and so to someone or something* (πρὸς τινα or τι), *to give one an inclination or tendency to a certain action or sentiment.*

Isoc. Philip. (5). 80: ὅταν οὕτω διαθῇς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥσπερ ὁρᾷς Λακεδαιμονίους τε πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν βασιλέας. *Dem. De cor.* (18). 29: οὕτω διαθεῖς ὁ Φίλιππος τὰς πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας.

Also in passive *to be disposed* in a certain manner to someone or something (πρὸς τινα, τι).

Of Ceres being kindly disposed toward men. *Isoc. Paneg.* (4). 29: Δήμητρος . . . πρὸς τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν εὐμενῶς διατεθείσης ἐκ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν; cf. *id.* 43.

Isoc. Epist. 7. 13: πρὸ πολλοῦ ἂν οἰκείως (σὲ) διατεθῆναι πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

Plat. Symp. 207 C: *to be in love, ἐρωτικῶς.*

II. Middle: *To make a disposition for oneself, to dispose of one's own, to arrange according to one's own desires, to make a disposition, settlement, or agreement in one's own interest.*

1. In general, *to dispose of, arrange or manage to suit oneself.*

Of a daughter, Xen. *Cyr.* 5. 2. 7: τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα ταύτην ἐπιτρέπω διαθέσθαι, ὅπως ἂν σὺ βούλῃ.

Of beauty and wisdom. Xen. *Mem.* 1. 6. 13: παρ' ἡμῖν νομίζεται τὴν ὥραν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὁμοίως μὲν καλὸν, ὁμοίως δὲ αἰσχρὸν διατίθεσθαι εἶναι.

Of hopes; i. e., the matter of hope. Eurip. *Ion.* 866:¹ φροῦδαι δ' ἐλπίδες, ὥς διαθέσθαι.

Of the treatment of bodies or persons. Isoc. *Panath.* (12). 140: μὴδ' ἀνέξονται φονὴν τῶν τὰ μὲν σώματα τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν ἐπονειδίστως διαθεμένων, συμβουλευέειν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀξιούντων ("nor endure the voice of those treating their own bodies shamefully, yet planning to give advice to others").

To dispose of one's leisure, Chilo (656 B. C.) in Diog. Laert. 1. 69: σχολὴν εὖ διαθέσθαι.

2. *To dispose oneself* in a certain manner toward, *act in a certain way toward, conduct oneself.*

Of the way in which we conduct ourselves toward, or the attitude we assume to beauty and virtue. Isoc. *Laud. Hel.* (10). 55: γνοίῃ δ' ἂν τις κάκειθεν ὅσον διαφέρει τῶν ὄντων, ἐξ ὧν αὐτοὶ διατιθέμεθα πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν.

3. *To display for sale, to dispose of by sale, to sell.*

a) *To expose for sale*, Herod 1. 1. 1; of the Phoenicians setting out their wares for sale on their arrival at Argos: ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἄργος τοῦτο διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον.

b) *To dispose of by sale.* *Id.* 1. 1. 194: ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν χώραν οὐκ αὐτάρκῃ κεκτημένων ἐκαστῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐλλείπουσαν, τὰ δὲ πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν φέρουσαν, καὶ πολλῆς ἀπορίας οὐσης τὰ μὲν ὅπου χρὴ διαθέσθαι, τὰ δ' ὅπουθεν εἰσαγαγέσθαι. *Anab.* 7. 3. 5 and 7. 4. 2.

4. *To export.* Isoc. *Paneg.* 42: Ἐτι δὲ τὴν χώραν οὐκ αὐτάρκῃ κεκτημένων ἐκαστῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐλλείπουσαν, τὰ δὲ πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν φέρουσαν, καὶ πολλῆς ἀπορίας οὐσης τὰ μὲν ὅπου χρὴ διαθέσθαι, τὰ δ' ὅπουθεν εἰσαγαγέσθαι.

5. *To dispose of one's property according to his will, to make dispositions of it, to devise, to bequeath, to make a will.*

¹ Bayfield (London, 1889) says: "The compound διατίθημι is elsewhere found only in prose, excepting Ar. *Av.* 439." It is very rare in poetry, but it is found also in *Hymn Ap.* 254 and 294, and in Timon Fr. 42. 3 (Diels, *Poet. Gr.*); cf. Diog. Laert. 8. 67.

α) To bequeath, to leave something by will. Isae. *De Nicost.* (4). 4: περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλήρου μόνον διαφέροντο οὐδὲν ἂν ἔδει ὑμᾶς σκέψασθαι ἀλλ' εἴ τι διέθετο. *Id. De Apollod.* (7). 1: εἴ τις τελευτήσειν μέλλον διέθετο, εἴ τι πάθοι, τὴν οὐσίαν ἐτέρῳ καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν γράμμασι κατέθετο παρά τισι σημηνάμενος. See also Isoc. *Aig.* (19). 43; Plato 922 ff.; and "Concordance" in this dissertation.

β) *To make a will.* Used in this signification with or without διαθήκην or διαθήκας.

Isaeus *De Arist.* (10). 10: οὐδ' εἰ διέθεντο προσῆκεν αὐτῷ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων κληρονομῆσαι, "not even if they did make wills," etc. Lys. 19. 39: Κόνωνος θάνατος καὶ αἱ διαθήκαι, ὥς διέθετο ἐν Κύπρῳ.

Of dying *intestate*, Isae. *De Apollod.* (7). 19: εἰς ἀδελφὸς ὁμοπάτωρ ἅπαις τελευτήσει καὶ μὴ διαθέμενος; cf. 8. 31; Arist. *Pol.* 2. 9: ἣν ἀποθάνῃ μὴ διαθέμενος.

The *devisor, testator*, ὁ διαθέμενος. Isaeus *De Cleon.* (1). 26: τὰς διαθήκας ἀξιούσιν εἶναι κυρίας ὥς ὁμολογοῦσι μηδ' αὐτὸν τὸν διαθέμενον ὁρθῶς ἔχειν ἡγεῖσθαι.

See also "Concordance," chap. ii.

6. *To dispose for one's own interest, to make an arrangement or settlement for oneself in which another person or persons are necessarily involved*, and to which as a consequence the second party agrees (otherwise no settlement could be made); and so *to settle the terms of a dispute or quarrel, etc., to make a covenant*; not used, like συντίθεμαι, of an ordinary contract or bargain, but of a more dignified compact, where usually one party *lays down* or *disposes* the terms, and the other accepts them with all conditions and binds himself, by an oath or solemn promise, to abide by them.

α) *To arrange a settlement with someone, to come to an agreement by means of a disposition or arrangement of points in dispute, to settle mutually.*¹

Xen. *Mem.* 2. 6. 23: δύνανται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔριν οὐ μόνον ἀλύπως ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφερόντως ἀλλήλοις διατιθέσθαι. Socrates is here speaking of the "beautiful and good" among mankind (or, as we say, the "elite"). These, because of their excellent character and nobility, can *lay down* terms which the other party not only accepts without trouble, but which are advantageous to both sides. If no more than a simple agreement had been meant here, the word συντίθεσθαι would doubtless

¹Cf. the use of *dispose* in Shakespeare: "She had disposed with Caesar;" i. e., bargained or made terms with.

have been used. Cf. Appian *Civ.* 2. 8, where the word is used of making an arrangement with tormenting creditors: διαθέμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας ὡς ἐδύνατο.

Cf. Plat. *Legg.* 834 A: διαθεμένους αὖ περὶ τούτων νόμους. Cremer says that this phrase does not simply correspond with νόμους τιθέναι, to *institute laws*, or νόμους τιθέσθαι, to *give laws for oneself or the state*. He says this is the only recognized passage in classic Greek where it occurs, and here it means *to harmonize laws*.

δ) *To make a covenant*; i. e., a solemn compact in which one party lays down the terms and the other agrees to them and binds himself by oath. This agreement is mutual, but in a sense one-sided. It may be used with or without διαθήκην.

Aristoph. *Av.* 440 ff.: ΠΕΙ. ἦν μὴ διάθωνται γ' οἶδε διαθήκην ἐμοὶ ἦνπερ ὁ πίθηκος τῇ γυναικὶ δίεθετο, ὁ μαχαιοποιός, μήτε δάκνειν τούτους ἐμὲ μητ' ὀρχίπεδ' ἔλκειν μήτ' ὀρύττειν ΧΟΡ. διατίθεμαι γώ. ΠΕΙ. κατόμοσόν νυν ταυτά μοι. ΧΟΡ. ὀμννμ' ὡς τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ μὴ πρότερον παραβῶμεν.

From a study of the above citations it will appear that in the middle voice the meanings are all very closely allied. There is always a *disposition*, *laying-down*, or *setting-forth in order* of something in one's own interests, and then the idea of a second party being affected or involved, on whose course often the completion of the act depends; e. g., in the most common meaning, *to dispose of one's property by will*, the one party makes dispositions which affect another party, and which do not have complete fulfilment without the concurrence of the second party. Here the idea of agreement is usually remote, but in some instances it becomes quite evident. In No. 3—*to dispose of by sale*—one party lays down his wares in order, or displays them, and no completion of sale is made without the concurrence of a second party. In this sense our word is not a mere equivalent of πωλέω. In No. 6 this phase of the use becomes most evident and essential.

CHAPTER IV

ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ

The significations of the noun *διαθήκη* correspond in the main to those of the middle voice of its cognate verb *διατίθηναι*, discussed in the previous chapter. The sense of arrangement or disposition is always present in a greater or less degree, together with some idea of mutuality. It is not a common word. Out of 212 writers examined only nine use it, although there are several others who use *διατίθεμαι* in such a way as to imply the use of *διαθήκη*. Accordingly we find that this term is always used in a dignified sense, referring to a solemn transaction originally connected with religious rites and obligations.

1. *Arrangements or dispositions*¹ in a general sense, used in the plural number and referring to the arrangements or dispositions a person makes with reference to his property in view of death. This specific connotation is probably not necessary, but the context of the passages in which the word is found indicates that it has such reference in these instances. It is quite probable that, if we had more instances of its use, we should find it employed with reference to other things than distribution of property in view of death.

Isae. 1. 24: *εἰ γὰρ δὴ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὡς οὐτοὶ φασιν, ἐν ταῖς νῦν γεγραμμέναις διαθήκαις ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν οὐσίαν* ("if by means of these written dispositions he gave them his property").

Id. 4. 13: *τοῦ δὲ συμβαίνοντός ἐστι καὶ γεγραμματοῖον ἀλλαγῆναι καὶ τὰναντία ταῖς τεθνήκως διαθήκαις μεταγραφῆναι*. Here *ταῖς διαθήκαις* does not refer to the document as a whole, but to the arrangements or dispositions contained in the document. It cannot be translated here "will" or "testament."

Id. 9. 5: *ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπεδήμησα ἐγὼ καὶ ἡσθόμην καρπομένους τούτους τὰ ἐκείνου, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ποιηθείη ὑπὸ Ἀστυφίλου, καὶ τούτων διαθήκας καταλίποι παρὰ Ἱεροκλεῖ*.

2. *Arrangements or dispositions* which a person makes with reference to his property to take effect at his death, the terms or provisions of a will. In this sense the plural is used, but the word can be translated by "will" or "testament" in the singular. However, the writer has in

¹No English word expresses the exact sense of *διαθήκη*. These words are used for lack of a better term.

mind the several dispositions or provisions contained in the will, and not the instrument as a whole in a technical sense.

The fact that in a considerable majority (120 out of 210 examined) of instances in which reference is made to testamentary dispositions, the plural (διαθήκαι) is used, has led writers on Greek wills to take for granted that there is no difference of use between the singular and the plural of this word.

Lys. 19. 39: ὁ γὰρ Κόνωνος θάνατος καὶ αἱ διαθήκαι ἃς διέθετο ἐν Κύνρῳ, σαφῶς ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι πολλοστὸν μέρος ἦν τὰ χρήματα ὧν ὑμεῖς προσεδοκάτε.

Isae. 2. 14: ἐμὲ ποιεῖται, οὐκ ἐν διαθήκαις γράψας μέλλων ἀποθνήσκειν.

Demos. 27. 14: δῆλον τοίνυν ἐστὶν οὐδὲν ἦττον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καταλειφθέντων, καίπερ ἀφανιζόντων τούτων τὴν οὐσίαν ἐκ τῶν διαθηκῶν, ἐξ ὧν τοσαῦτα χρήματ' ἀλλήλοις φασὶ δοθῆναι.

3. The *disposition* or *arrangement* which a man makes with reference to his property in view of death. The word is here used in the singular number to denote the instrument as a whole—a Greek will or testament in the legal or technical sense. As the Greek testament does not correspond in all respects to ours, it will be necessary to discuss its characteristics in detail. This will be done in the second part of this dissertation.

Aristoph. *Vesp.* 584:

κὰν ἀποθνήσκων ὁ πατήρ τῷ δῶ καταλείπων παῖδ' ἐπὶ κληρον
κλαίειν ἡμεῖς μακρὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰπόντες τῇ διαθήκῃ
καὶ τῇ κόγῃ τῇ πάνυ σεμνῶς τοῖς σημείοισιν ἐπούσῃ,
ἔδομεν ταύτην ὅστις ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀντιβολήσας ἀναπείσῃ.

Cf. *ibid.* 589.

Demos. 46. 25: ἄκυρος μὲν ἡ διαθήκη ἐστίν, ἣν φασιν οἱ τοὶ τὸν πατέρα καταλιπεῖν, . . . ἀντίγραφά ἐστι τῆς διαθήκης τῆς Πασίωνος· cf. *id.* 45. 21.

Plato 923 C: ὅς ἂν διαθήκην γράφῃ τὰ αὐτοῦ διατιθέμενος.

4. A *disposition of relations between two parties, where one party lays down the conditions which the other accepts*. This is a "one-sided" transaction, in so far as one party does all the disposing; but, as another party is necessarily involved, and his consent is necessary to a settlement, it becomes to a certain extent a mutual agreement. διαθήκη is not used, like συνθήκη, of an ordinary bargain or contract, but of a more dignified and solemn compact or covenant.¹ In the case of συνθήκη the convention is entirely mutual, both parties being on an equality and having an equal part in arranging the terms.

¹ This signification is more fully illustrated by the use of διατίθεμαι (chap iii, 6).

a) *An agreement, or settlement*, arrived at by means of a disposition or arrangement of points in dispute, a *mutual settlement*.

Isae. 6. 23: εἰδότες δ' οἱ ἀναγκαῖοι ὅτι ἐξ ἐκείνου μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔτι γένοιτο παῖδες ταύτην τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχοντας, φανήσονται δ' ἄλλῃ τινὶ τρόπῳ, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἔσονται ἔτι μείζους διαφοραί, ἔπειθον, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὸν Φιλοκτήμονα εἶσαι εἰσαγαγεῖν τοῦτον τὸν παῖδα ἐφ' οἷς ἐξήτει ὁ Εὐκλήμων, χωρίον ἐν δόντα. (24) καὶ ὁ Φιλοκτήμων αἰσχνινόμενος μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνοίᾳ, ἀπορῶν δ' ὅτι χρήσαιτο τῷ παρόντι κακῷ οὐκ ἀντέλεγεν οὐδέν. ὁμολογηθέντων δὲ τούτων καὶ εἰσαχθέντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπηλλάγη τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ Εὐκλήμων, καὶ ἐπεδείξατο ὅτι οὐ παίδων ἔνεκα ἐγάμει, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦτον εἰσαγάγοι. . . . (27) μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ὁ Φιλοκτήμων τριηραρχῶν περὶ Χίον ἀποθνήσκει ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων· ὁ δ' Εὐκλήμων ὕστερον χρόνῳ πρὸς τοὺς κηδεστὰς εἶπεν ὅτι βούλοιο τὰ πρὸς τὸν υἱόν οἱ πεπραγμένα γράψας καταθέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Φανοστράτος ἐκπλεῖν ἔμελλε τριηραρχῶν μετὰ Τιμοθέου, καὶ ἡ ναὺς αὐτῷ ἐξώρμει Μουνυχίᾳσι, καὶ ὁ κηδεστὴς Χαιρέας παρὼν συναπέστειλεν αὐτόν· ὁ δ' Εὐκλήμων παραλαβὼν τινὰς ἦκεν οὐ ἐξώρμει ἡ ναὺς, καὶ γράψας διαθήκην, ἐφ' οἷς εἰσήγαγε τὸν παῖδα, κατατίθεται μετὰ τούτων παρὰ Πυθόδωρῳ Κηφισεῖ, προσήκοντι αὐτῷ. . . . (29) Κεμένον δὲ τοῦ γραμματείου σχεδὸν δὴ ἔτη καὶ τοῦ Χαιρέου τετελευτηκότος, ὑποπεπτωκότες οἶδε τῇ ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ὀρώντες ἀπολλύμενον τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὸ γῆρας καὶ τὴν ἄνοιαν τοῦ Εὐκλήμονος, ὅτι εἴη αὐτοῖς ἰκανὴ ἀφορμή, συνεπιτίθενται. (30) καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πείθουσι τὸν Εὐκλήμονα τὴν μὲν διαθήκην ἀνελεῖν ὥς οὐ χρησίμην οὔσαν τοῖς παισὶ· τῆς γὰρ φανεράς οὐσίας οὐδένα κύριον ἔσεσθαι τελευτήσαντος Εὐκλήμονος ἄλλον ἢ τὰς θυγατέρας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεγονότας· εἰ δὲ ἀποδόμενός τι τῶν ὄντων ἀργύριον καταλίποι τοῦτο βεβαίως ἔξιν αὐτούς. (31) ἀκούσας δ' ὁ Εὐκλήμων εὐθὺς ἀπῆγει τὸν Πυθόδωρον τὸ γραμματεῖον, καὶ προσεκάλεσατο εἰς ἐμφανῶν κατάστασιν. καταστάντος δὲ ἐκείνου πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα, ἔλεγεν ὅτι βούλοιτ' ἀνελεῖσθαι τὴν διαθήκην. (32) ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ Πυθόδωρος ἐκείνῳ μὲν καὶ τῷ Φανοστράτῳ παρόντι ὁμολόγει ἀναιρεῖν, τοῦ δὲ Χαιρέου τοῦ συγκαταθεμένου θυγάτηρ ἦν μία, ἧς ἐπειδὴ κύριος κατασταίη, τότε ἡξίον ἀνελεῖν, καὶ ὁ ἄρχων οὕτως ἐγίνωσκε, διομολογησάμενος ὁ Εὐκλήμων ἐναντίον τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ τῶν παρέδρων καὶ ποιησάμενος πολλοὺς μάρτυρας ὥς οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ κείτοιο ἡ διαθήκη, ὥχeto ἀπῶν.

In order to understand the significance of *διαθήκη* in these passages, we must know something of the context. Briefly the story is as follows:

Euctemon, a wealthy Athenian, died at the age of ninety-six. By his wife he had had three sons and two daughters. One of his sons, Philoctemon, outlived the other two, but all three died before their father. Both daughters survived him. One was a widow, her husband, Chaereas, having died seven years before Euctemon, leaving one daughter. The other was the wife of Phanostatus and had two sons, the eldest of whom, Chaerestratus,

put in a claim to Euctemon's estate, on the ground that he had been adopted by Philoctemon in a will.

Euctemon in his old age had formed an attachment for a woman of ill-repute named Alce, who kept a lodging-house that was owned by him. She gained such an ascendancy over him that he deserted his family and went to live with her. She had two sons, whose reputed father was a freedman named Dion. She finally persuaded the old man to introduce the eldest of her sons into his *φρατρία* as his son. Philoctemon resisted this, and succeeded in inducing the members of the *φρατρία* to reject the candidate. Euctemon, enraged, threatened to marry again, and the relatives, fearing further complications, in order to restore peace in the family persuaded Philoctemon to agree to a compromise on terms proposed by Euctemon (ἐφ' οἷς ἐξήτει ὁ Εὐκτῆμων). Euctemon laid down the terms of an arrangement or settlement with his son Philoctemon, in which, on condition of obtaining Philoctemon's consent to the admission of Alce's boy into his *φρατρία*, he agreed to give the boy only one farm (χωρὶον ἓν). To this arrangement Philoctemon agreed, and the boy was presented again and admitted (§ 24).

Some time afterward Philoctemon was slain in battle, and a considerable time after this, Euctemon told his sons-in-law that he wished to put into writing and deposit for safe-keeping the terms of the arrangement that he had made with his son (τὰ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν οἱ πεπραγμένα); and when Phanostratus was on the point of setting out on an expedition as trierarch, and Chaereas was with him to see him off, he came to them, bringing some witnesses with him; and having written out a settlement (γράφας διαθήκην), according to the terms of which (ἐφ' οἷς) he had introduced the boy into his *φρατρία*, he deposited it, in concurrence with them,¹ with Pythodorus, one of his relatives. Thus his sons-in-law, representing his daughters, became parties to the original compromise or agreement that he had made with Philoctemon.

Two years after this, when Euctemon influenced by Alce and her friends, demanded the document from Pythodorus, with a view to destroying it, and summoned him to produce it in court, Pythodorus refused to give it up without the consent of all the contracting parties. Euctemon said that he wished to get it back in order to destroy it. The consent of Phanostratus, who was present, was obtained, and still Pythodorus did not think it right to destroy it without the consent of a legal representative of the deceased Chaereas, who had been one of the depositors.²

This instrument served the purpose of a will as well as that of a compact. This explains the orator's words in § 28. He argues that, if Alce's boy were the legitimate son of Euctemon, it would not have been necessary for a *διαθήκη* to have been made in order that he might

¹ κατατίθεται μετὰ τούτων; cf. 32. 3, τοῦ δὲ Χαιρέου τοῦ συγκαταθεμένου.

² τοῦ δὲ Χαιρέου τοῦ συγκαταθεμένου.

have the inheritance, as he would receive it by the laws of intestate succession.¹ If it had been a mere will, the consent of the sons-in-law would not have been necessary to its revocation.² The fact that it was legally a contract explains Pythodorus' refusal to give it up without the consent of all the parties. If it were lost, he was liable to a suit for damages,³ and from a passage in Demosthenes it appears that it was not safe to intrust it even to a magistrate.⁴

Isae. 4. 12: *περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων συμβολαίων οὐ πάντῃ χάλεπον τοὺς τὰ ψευδῇ μαρτυροῦντας ἐλέγχειν ζῶντος γὰρ καὶ παρόντος τοῦ πράξοντος καταμαρτυροῦσι· περὶ δὲ τῶν διαθηκῶν πῶς ἂν τις γνοίῃ τοὺς μὴ τάληθῇ λέγοντας;*

Id. 10. 10: *παιδὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔξεστι διαθήκην γενέσθαι· ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κωλύει παιδὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι συμβάλλειν μηδὲ γυναικὶ πέρα μεδίμνον κριθῶν.*

In these passages Isaeus classes *διαθήκαι* among *συμβόλαια*. In an evident attempt to avoid the conclusion reached by some early writers⁵ on Greek testamentary law, that the Athenians considered the testament to be a "contract," later authorities⁶ have given far-fetched interpretations of this word. Isaeus himself uses it in another connection in 5. 33. A synopsis of the context is as follows:

Diceogenes and Leochares asked us to delay this trial, when we were bringing it on some time ago, and to refer the matter to arbitrators. We agreed. Two arbitrators were appointed by each side, and we both swore to abide by their decision. After learning the facts, the two arbitrators appointed by me wished to render sentence, but the two appointed by Leochares refused. Now, one of them was related to him, and was my personal enemy and opponent *ἐξ ἐτέρων συμβολαίων*.

¹Some writers have had difficulty with this document, because they take the word *διαθήκη* here to mean simply "testament," as the orator seems to refer to it as such in §28. The confusion has arisen from not recognizing the fact that the word *διαθήκη* had more meaning to Isaeus than "testament" has to us. The senses of "testament" and "compact" were so closely allied that the same word could be used for both, and the orator could have either or both in mind as suited his argument. In fact, we have no one word that exactly expresses the idea conveyed by *διαθήκη* to the Greeks.

²See Part II, 4. ³Dem. 33. 17, 38; cf. Bonner, p. 66. ⁴Dem. 45. 57.

⁵Bunsen, *De iure hereditario Atheniensium* (1813), p. 53; Gans, *Das Erbrecht in weltgeschichtlicher Entwicklung* (1824), p. 384.

⁶Schulin, *Das griechische Testament*, p. 8, n. 6, "Rechtsgeschäft;" Beauchet II, p. 364, "tout acte juridique;" III, p. 671, "acte en général;" Meier-Schömann-Lipsius, pp. 564, 595. "Geschäftsurkunde." Schulin and Beauchet give no authority for their opinion; Lipsius appeals only to an obscure article in Harpocration on *δόσεις* (*δόσις*: *ἰδίως λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς ῥήτορσι συμβόλαιον γραφόμενον ὅταν τις τὰ αὐτοῦ διδῷ τινὶ διὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὡς παρὰ Δεινάρχῳ*)

While the signification "contract" is doubtless too restricted to include all uses of the term, it is certainly a greater error to eliminate all elements of mutuality from it and make it so general as "legal transaction" (*Rechtsgeschäft*, *tout acte juridique*) or "instrument" (*Geschäftsurkunde*). In its widest signification it is used to mean *covenant*, *engagement*, *dealings*, and undoubtedly always refers to some relation or relations between two parties.¹

Cf. Eurip. *Ion*. 411: ὦ πότνια Φοῖβον μήτηρ, εἰ γὰρ αἰσίως | ἔλθοιμεν. ἃ τε τῶν συμβόλαια πρόσθεν ἦν | ἐς παῖδα τὸν σόν, μεταπέσοι βελτίονα.

Plut. *Alex*. 30: τί γὰρ εὐπρεπὲς ἀνδρὶ νέῳ πρὸς ἐχθροῦ γυναικα συμβόλαιον.

Plato also classes διαθήκαι among συμβόλαια: *Legg.* 922 A: τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα τῶν συμβολαίων, ὅσα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἄνθρωποι συμβάλλουσι, πλὴν γε ὀρφανικῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἐπιμελείας τῶν ὀρφανῶν, σχεδὸν ἡμῖν διατέτακται· ταῦτα δὲ δὴ μετὰ τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα ἀναγκαῖον ἀμῶς· γέ πως τάξασθαι. τούτων δὲ ἀρχαὶ πάντων αἷ τε τῶν τελευτᾶν μελλόντων ἐπιθυμῖαι τῆς διαθέσεως αἷ τε τῶν μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν διαθεμένων τύχαι· . . . πολλὰ γὰρ ἕκαστοι καὶ διάφορα ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐναντία τιθεῖντ' ἂν τοῖς τε νόμοις καὶ τοῖς τῶν ζώντων ἦθεσι καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν. πρὶν διατίθεσθαι μέλλειν, εἰ τις ἐξουσίαν δώσει ἀπλῶς οὔτω κυρίαν εἶναι διαθήκην. ἢν ἂν τις διαθήται ὅπως οὖν ἔχων πρὸς τῷ τοῦ βίου τέλει.

Plato here uses the term in its widest sense of "dealings between man and man." He has been giving (913-21) regulations with regard to *meum et tuum*, disputed ownership, slaves, freedmen, buying and selling, letting and hiring. He then says (922 A): "The greater part of the συμβολαίων which men συμβάλλουσι with one another have been regulated by us;" and then goes on to give regulations with regard to διαθήκαι.

Cf. *Rep.* 1. 333 A: συμβόλαια δὲ λέγεις κοινωνήματα, ἥ τι ἄλλο; κοινωνήματα δῆτα. "'By contracts do you mean partnerships.' The more general word is substituted for the sake of extending the analogy."²

(b) *A disposition or settlement of relations between two parties*, wherein one party lays down the conditions, and the other accepts them and binds himself by an oath or solemn promise to keep them; a settlement, arrangement, compact, covenant. This signification is quite fully illustrated by the use of διατίθεμαι (See chap. iii, 6).

¹ Compare the verb συμβάλλειν, which always expresses the idea of duality of action.

² Jowett III, p. 19.

Aristoph. *Av.* 435-61:

ΕΠ.	ἄγε δὴ σὺ καὶ σὺ μὲν πάλιν τὴν πανοπλίαν ταύτην λάβοντε κρεμάσατον τύχαγαθῇ ἐς τὸν ἱπνὸν εἴσω πλησίον τοῦπιστάτου σὺ δὲ τοῖσδ' ἐφ' οἷστισιν λόγοις ξυνέλεξ' ἐγὼ φράσον, διδάξον. ΠΕ. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω 'γὼ μὲν οὐ, ἦν μὴ διάθωνταί γ' οἷδε διαθήκην ἐμοὶ ἦνπερ ὁ πίθηκος τῇ γυναικὶ διέθετο, ὁ μαχαιοποιός, μήτε δάκνειν τούτους ἐμὲ μήτ' ὀρχίπεδ' ἔλκειν μήτ' ὀρύττειν—ΧΟ. οὔτι που τόνδ'; οὐδαμῶς. ΠΕ. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τῷφθαλμῷ λέγω.	435
ΧΟ.	διατίθεται 'γὼ. ΠΕ. κατόμοσόν νυν ταυτὰ μοι.	445
ΧΟ.	ὁμνυμ' ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅτῃπερ πράγματι ἦκεις τὴν σὴν γνώμην ἀναπέεις λέγε θαρρήσας, ὥς τὰς σπονδὰς οὐ μὴ πρότεροι παραβῶμεν.	460

This reference (vs. 440) is given by the lexicons and cited by many writers for the meaning "agreement," or "covenant." But as sufficient context has never been given, and a recent writer¹ has ventured the assertion that "it is not clear," I have given a full quotation. In brief, the story is as follows:

Two old men of Athens, Euelpides and Peisthetaerus, becoming wearied with the disputes, contentions, and lawsuits at home, decide to leave Athens and try to find a more congenial city where they may enjoy "the simple life." They have heard a great deal of Epops, king of the birds, who was once a man and had married an Athenian woman; and they determine to go to his kingdom and inquire of the birds where they can find such a city as they desire. They suppose that the birds will know, because of the fact that they travel more than any other people.

When they arrive in the bird's kingdom and consult King Epops, he mentions several cities; but they reject them all for various reasons. Then he tells them of the happiness of living in his own kingdom, and they are greatly pleased with the simple life of the birds. Peisthetaerus, who is a shrewd old fellow, suggests a scheme to improve it, and to make the birds superior to men and gods. Epops summons the birds together, that Peisthetaerus may address them and explain to them his scheme. They assemble in a great crowd at the call of the nightingale; but, on seeing the men, they become greatly disturbed, and, supposing that Epops has betrayed them into the hands of their enemies, they draw themselves up in battle array, and prepare

¹ Ramsay, p. 362.

to rush upon the men and tear them to pieces. The men are greatly alarmed, and hastily snatch up Epops' kitchen utensils, and, armed with pots, pans, and spits, prepare to make a stout resistance. Hereupon Epops interposes, addresses the birds, and pleads for his guests, whom he calls his wife's relatives. He tells the birds that they are men of great wisdom and friendly to his kingdom, and that they have come because they have fallen in love with the birds' way of life and want to live among them. The birds assume a more peaceful attitude, give back a little, and consent to listen to Peisthetaerus. Epops then addresses the two men: "Come, then, you and you; take this panoply and hang it up again for good luck in the kitchen beside the caldron; and do you (motioning to Peisthetaerus) speak to these (pointing to the birds) and explain to them the reasons why I assembled them." Peisthetaerus answers: "Not I, by Apollo, unless they make a covenant (διδάσκειν διαθήκην) with me such as that monkey, the sword-maker, made (διέθετο) with his wife, not to bite me nor drag me by the orchipeda nor poke" —

Chorus of Birds: "You don't mean the——? Surely not.

Peisthetaerus: "No, but I mean my eyes."

The Birds: "I covenant" (διατλήματι).

Peisthetaerus: "Swear it then."

The Birds: "I swear on these conditions . . . So, whatever you have come to say, speak boldly, for I will not be the first to break the treaty" (τὰς σπονδὰς).¹

This is evidently not a mere bargain or contract, but a solemn compact or covenant, ratified by an oath. Regarding the reference to the swordmaker and his wife, Droysen says:

According to the Scholiast, this is Panaetius. He was a great simpleton and a little man. He had a large wife, who sorely henpecked him. Having

¹ For the sake of comparison, I subjoin a metrical version of vss. 435 ff. by B. H. Kennedy (London, 1874):

<i>Ep.</i> "Now you and you this panoply take back And hang it up in prospect of good luck Within the kitchen by the plate-rack's side. And you, sir, make the statement which to hear I summoned these: expound,"	<i>Pe.</i> "Then swear it," <i>Cho.</i> "Well I swear: if I am faithful Then by the votes of all the judges here And all the spectators the first prize be mine."
<i>Pe.</i> "Not I, by Apollo, Unless they make the covenant with me Which with his wife that ape the sword- wright made That they won't bite or worry me, in short, Won't scratch my eyes out."	<i>Pe.</i> "Accepted," <i>Cho.</i> "But if I transgress the oath Then by one judge's casting vote—I win. So whatever be the thing you with full con- viction bring Let it now be boldly spoken, for our truce will not be broken."
<i>Cho.</i> "Good: I covenant,"	

J. II. Frere (London, 1886) renders vs. 440: "Unless they agree to an armistice [in a note he calls it "a formal treaty of peace"], such as the little baboon, our neighbor, concluded with his wife;" vs. 461: "The birds will adhere to the truce that we made."

been once caught by him committing adultery, she beat him till he concluded the above-mentioned treaty.

The big wife laid down the terms, and the little husband agreed to them. But, aside from this reference, the passage is quite clear. Peisthetaerus will not put down his weapons until the birds agree to make a covenant with him, the terms of which he lays down. There is no doubt of the reading *διαθήκην* here. The MSS give no other word, and no other word¹ would suit the context. We cannot say *διάθωνται συνθήκην*. It is referred to again in the next line by the word *δέετο*; and in the next line, when the chorus answer, they say *διατίθεμαι*.

I do not think that it would be possible to find a more definite and explicit example of the meaning of a word than that of *διαθήκην* in this passage. If there were no other occurrence of it in the language, this would be sufficient to establish clearly the signification of *solemn compact*, or *covenant*.

¹ See Ramsay, p. 362, note.

PART SECOND

THE HISTORICAL STUDY: THE GREEK WILL

CHAPTER V

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

The earliest reference in Greek literature to a bequest is found in Homer's *Iliad* ii. 106, 107. The story of Agamemnon's scepter is here given (106-8). It was made by Hephaestus, who presented it to Zeus. Zeus gave it to Hermes, Hermes to Pelops, and Pelops to Atreus. Atreus, when dying, left it to Thyestes, and he in turn left it to Agamemnon.¹ That this is not simple hereditary succession would seem to be evident from the fact that Atreus, who had sons, left it to his brother Thyestes, and Thyestes, who also had sons, left it to his nephew Agamemnon. The simple narrative reads as if the men in question had a right to dispose of it as they pleased, and did so.

Again in book xvii, lines 196, 197, reference is made to a bequest of the armor of Peleus to his son Achilles.² This is not so clear, and might be regarded as a *donatio mortis causa*; but the fact that such committal is mentioned seems to be an indication that the son was not looked upon as necessarily a universal heir to his father's property.

In Sophocles *Trachiniae* Deianeira is made to say that, when Hercules was going from home on his last journey, he left in the house an old tablet inscribed with *συνθήματα* that he had never explained to her before. He had always before gone off as if to conquer, not to die;

¹ Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπεν πολύαρνι Θυέστῃ,
αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι λείπε φορῆναι.

The word *ἔδωκε* is used of the transfer between the gods and from Pelops, a demi-god, to his son Atreus. Then a form of *λείπω* is used. *λείπω* or *καταλείπω* is used in the orators as equivalent to *διατίθεμαι*.

² ὁ δ' ἄρα ὦι παιδὶ ὅπασσε
γηράς· ἄλλ' οὐχ υἱὸς ἐν ἐντεσι πατρὸς ἐγήρα.

but he now told her what part of his property she was to take for her dowry, and how he wished his land divided among his sons.¹

I do not, of course, present this as evidence that Hercules made a will, but it certainly indicates that will-making of such a character as that which is exhibited in the citation was not only known at the time of Sophocles, but was then a matter of history.²

A brief Doric testament engraved on a bronze tessera found near Petelia (Strongoli), which cannot be of later date than the year 511 B. C., is preserved in the museum at Naples. It runs as follows: "God, Fortune. Saotis gives to Sicaenia his house and all his other property. Demiurge: Paragoras. Proxenoι: Mincon, Harmoxidamus, Agatharcus, Onatas, Epicurus."³

The beneficiary is a woman and is made universal heir. The name of the magistrate being inserted may indicate his co-operation or it may have been put in simply to indicate the year. There were five witnesses

¹ Soph. *Trach.* 155-63:

ὁδὸν γὰρ ἦμος τὴν τελευταίαν ἀναξ
ὥρματ' ἀπ' οἴκων Ἑρακλῆς, τότ' ἐν δόμοις
λείπει παλαιὰν δέλτον ἐγεγραμμένην
συνθήμαθ', ἅμοι πρόσθεν οὐκ ἔτλη ποτέ
πολλοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐξιῶν, οὐπω φράσαι,
ἀλλ' ὥς τι δράσων εἶρπε κοῦ θανούμενος.
νῦν δ' ὥς ἔτ' οὐκ ὦν εἶπε μὲν λέχους ὃ τι
χρεῖή μ' ἐλέσθαι κτήσιν, εἶπε δ' ἦν τέκνοις
μοῖραν πατρῷας γῆς διαιρετὸν νέμοι,

² Ἄ propos of the meaning of διαθήκη, the use of the word συνθήματα to denote the contents of this testamentary document is interesting. This word is used as the equivalent of συνθήκαι in Plat. *Gorg.* 492 C; Xen. *Anab.* 4. 6. 20, *Hell.* 5. 4. 6; Hdt. 5. 74; 6. 121; Thuc. 4. 6. 7; 6. 61, etc.; Plut. *Amit.* 19; Hdn. 2. 13. In Hdt. 8. 7 and Thuc. 4. 12 it means a *preconcerted signal*; in Xen. *Anab.* 1. 8. 16, a *watchword*, *password*.

³ *CIG.* 4; Roehl, *Inscr. ant.*, No. 544; Cauer, *Dilectus*, 2d ed. No. 274; Roberts, Intro., p. 304; Schulin, p. 44; Kaibel, No. 636 (with facsimile); *IJG.*, 2d Series I, p. 59. The text is as follows:

θεὸς· τύχα. Σάοτις δίδ-
οσι Σικαινίαι τὰν φοι-
κίαν καὶ τᾶλλα πάντ-
α. Δαμοργὸς Παραγόρ-
ας. Πρόξενοι Μίνκον,
'Ἀρμoxίδαμος, 'Αγάθα-
χος, 'Ονάτας, 'Επίκορ
ος.

For the name Σάοτις cf. *CIG.* II. 1247, 2496. Hesychius, Προξενοι· μαρτυρεῖ cf. Hdt. 6. 57.

whose names are affixed to the instrument. Although from the words used it might be claimed that this document was a *donatio inter vivos*, the universal character of the disposition (τᾶλλα πάντα) seems to preclude such an interpretation.

A bronze slab found at Tegea (Piali in Arcadia), and now in the museum at Athens is engraved on both sides with two independent inscriptions, each of which is at once a deposit and a will. One side has been intentionally defaced and replaced by more detailed dispositions on the other side. The inscriptions are in the Arcadian dialect and date from about the beginning of the fifth century. The slab was probably deposited in the temple of Athena Alea, which was burned in 393 B. C. The inscriptions run as follows:

Side A.—To Xouthias, son of Philachaeus, 200 minas. If he himself lives, let him come and take them up; but if he dies, they shall belong to his children, five years after they reach the age of puberty. If there shall be no children, they shall belong to those who have a right to them. The people of Tegea shall decide according to the law.

Side B.—To Xouthias, son of Philachaeus, a deposit, 400 minas of silver. If he lives, let him take them up himself. If he does not live, let his legitimate sons take them five years after they come to puberty. If these do not live, let his legitimate daughters take them. If these do not live, let his illegitimate sons take them. If the illegitimate sons do not live, let the nearest collateral relatives take them. If there is a dispute, the people of Tegea shall decide according to the law.¹

¹Roehl, No. 68; Cauer, No. 10; Roberts, No. 257 and p. 357; Schulin, p. 37; *IJG.*, II, p. 60.

- A. Ξουθίαι τῷ Φιλαχαίῳ διακάτι-
αι μυαί. αὐτὸς εἴ, ἴτο ἀνελέσ-
θο· αἱ δὲ κ' ἀποθάνει, τῶν τέκνων
² μὲν ἐπεὶ κα πέντε ῥέτεα
ἡβῶντι· αἱ δὲ κα μὲ γένετα-
ι τέκνα τῶν ἐπιδικατῶν ² μὲν
διαγνόμεν δὲ τὸς Τεγεάται[ς]
κα(τ)ὸν θεθμὸν.
- B. Ξουθίαι παρακαθὶ θ)έκα τῷ Φιλαχα-
ίῳ τετρακάτιαι μυαί ἀργυρίο. εἰ μ-
έν κα ζῶε, αὐτὸς ἀνελέσθο· αἱ δὲ κ-
α μὲ ζῶε, τοὶ υἱοὶ ἀνελῶσθο τοὶ γνέ-
σιοι, ἐπεὶ κα ἐβάσσοντι πέντε ῥέτε-
α· εἰ δὲ κα ζῶντι, ταὶ θυγατέρες
[ᾶ]νελῶσθο ταὶ γνέσiai· εἰ δὲ κα μὲ
ζ[ῶ]ντι, τοὶ νόθοι ἀνελῶσθο· εἰ δὲ κα
μὲ νόθαι ζῶντι, τοὶ σασιστα (sic) πῶθικ-
ες ἀνελῶσθο· εἰ δὲ κ' ἀνφιλέγοντ(ι, τ-)
οὶ Τεγεᾶται διαγνῶντο κα(τ)ὸν
θεθμὸν.

Roberts says:

The depositor is in both cases the same, Xouthias, son of Philachaeus. The documents cannot, therefore, be more than two or three decades apart; the similarity of the writing also points to the same conclusion. On side A the writing seems to have been purposely defaced, and it was probably intended to be canceled by side B, which was thus later. It is in agreement with this view that we find on A regularly *αλ*, on B chiefly *ελ*.

Dareste, Haussoullier, and Reinach say: "Nous avons ici un exemple de révocation ou tout au moins de modification d'un testament par un acte ultérieur." These inscriptions seem to indicate a free power of testation. He minutely regulates the succession: (1) legitimate sons; (2) legitimate daughters; (3) bastards; (4) collateral relatives. That the testator was not a native of Tegea is indicated by the last clause of each document. Some authorities think he was a Spartan, and had made his deposit and testament here to escape the more stringent laws of his own country; others, from philological reasons, judge that he was an Achaean.

Aristotle complains of the liberty of bequest as one of the causes of the decay of the Lacedaemonian state, making possible the inequality of holdings of land that existed in his day. He says that, while the law stigmatized the purchase or sale of one's patrimony, it gave him liberty to give or bequeath it.¹

Plutarch agrees with Aristotle in assigning, as one of the chief causes of the decline of Sparta, the freedom of gift and bequest. He says that a certain Epitadeus, an ephor of the fourth century, having quarreled with his son, had a law adopted "permitting a man to give his house and land to whomsoever he pleased, either during his life or by will after his death." Up to this time the number of houses instituted by Lycurgus had been maintained, and each father had left his estate to his son.²

¹ Aristot. *Politics* ii. 9: *ὠνεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἢ πολεῖν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν (γῆν) ἐποίησεν οὐ καλόν, ὁρθῶς ποιήσας, διδόναι δὲ καὶ καταλείπειν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκε τοῖς βουλευμένοις.*

² Plut. *Agis* 5: *Ἀρχὴν μὲν οὖν διαφθορὰς καὶ τοῦ νοσεῖν ἔσχε τὰ πράγματα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σχεδὸν ἀφ' οὗ τὴν Ἀθηναίων καταλύσαντες ἡγεμονίαν χρηυσίου τε καὶ ἀργυρίου κατέπλησαν ἑαυτούς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκῶν ὃν ὁ Λυκούργος ὥρισε φυλαττόντων ἀριθμὸν ἐν ταῖς διαδοχαῖς, καὶ πατὴρ παιδὶ τὸν κλῆρον ἀπολείποντος, ἀμῶς γέ πως ἡ τάξις αὕτη καὶ ἰσότης διαμένουσα τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνέφερεν ἀμαρτημάτων. ἐφόβησας δὲ τις ἀνὴρ δυνατὸς, αὐθάδης δὲ καὶ χαλεπὸς τὸν τρόπον, Ἐπιτάδευς ὄνομα, πρὸς τὸν νῦν αὐτῷ γενομένης διαφορᾶς βήτραν ἔγραψεν ἐξεῖναι τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν κλῆρον ᾧ τις ἐθέλοι καὶ ζῶντα δοῦναι καὶ καταλείπειν διατιθέμενον.*

Plato in his *Laws* finds fault with the ancient legislators for being too lenient in granting liberty of bequest, and proceeds to suggest stricter rules. He makes the Athenian representative say that "the ancient legislators passed a law to the effect that a man should be permitted to bequeath his property in all respects as he desired."¹ This seems to indicate that the utmost liberty of bequest was allowed in Plato's time, and that this state of affairs had existed for a long time — so long that he could speak of it as "ancient" in his day.

The law of Solon respecting wills, as stated by the orators, was to the effect that a man might bequeath his property as he pleased, if he had no legitimate male children, and was not disqualified by old age, drugs, or disease, influenced by a woman's persuasions, or under duress.²

Plutarch, in his life of Solon, says that he gained credit also by his laws about wills. Before his time these were not permitted, but the money and lands of a deceased person were inherited by his family in all cases. Solon, however, permitted anyone who had no children to leave his property to whom he would, honoring friendship more than nearness of kin, and giving a man absolute power to dispose of his inheritance. Yet, on the other hand, he did not permit legacies to be given without restrictions, but disallowed all that were obtained by the effects of disease or by the administration of drugs to the testator, or by imprisonment and violence or by the solicitations of his wife.³

The above citations and inscriptions show that will-making was known in several states of Greece as early as the sixth century. It is probable that it existed in a rudimentary and oral form for some time before such legislation as that of Solon gave it formal recognition, but it is evident that it was not known in primitive times.⁴ The ancient

¹ Plat. *Laws* 922 E: ΑΘ. μαλθακοὶ ἔμοιγ', ὧ Κλεινία, δοκοῦσιν οἱ πάλαι νομοθετοῦντες γεγερόναι καὶ ἐπὶ σμίκρον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων βλέποντές τε καὶ διανοούμενοι νομοθετεῖν.

ΚΑ. πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ὧ γαθέ, φοβοῦμενοι τὸν νόμον ἐτίθεσαν τόνδε, ἐξεῖναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διατίθεσθαι ἀπλῶς ὅπως ἂν τις ἐθέλῃ τὸ παράπαν.

² Dem. 20. 102: ὁ μὲν Σόλων ἔθηκεν νόμον ἐξεῖναι δοῦναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ᾧ ἂν τις βούληται, ἔαν μὴ παῖδες ᾧσι γνήσιοι. *Id.* 46. 14: τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διαθέσθαι εἶναι ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλῃ, ἂν μὴ παῖδες ᾧσι γνήσιοι ἄρρενες, ἂν μὴ μανιῶν ἢ γήρως ἢ φαρμάκων ἢ νόσου ἕνεκα, ἢ γυναικὶ πειθόμενος, ὑπὸ τούτων του παρανοῶν, ἢ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης ἢ ὑπὸ δεσμοῦ καταληφθεὶς. Cf. Dem. 44. 67; Isae. 6. 9; 2. 1; 9. 16, 17; Dem. 46. 16; 48. 56; Hyp. *Athenag.*, col. 8.

³ Plut. *Sol.* 21.

⁴ Cf. Maine, *Anc. Law*, pp. 193 ff., and Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique*, VII. 5, p. 87.

Hindoo legislation, which especially authorizes adoption when a man has no sons, knows nothing of the will in any form.¹ According to Plutarch, the law of Lycurgus did not recognize the will, and while Aristotle intimates that there was a free power of bequest in Sparta in his time, the fact that he assigns this as one of the chief causes of Sparta's ruin implies that it did not exist during all the five centuries of her prosperity that intervened between Lycurgus and his day. Plutarch tells us that the will was not permitted in Athens before the time of Solon. Aristotle speaks of a time when it was unknown in Corinth and Thebes.² The Cretan code of Gortyn, which dates from about the sixth century, knows nothing of the will, although it treats extensively of a highly developed form of adoption and intestate succession.³

We may then conclude that, while adoption was known in Greece from the earliest times, it is probable that will-making was not formally recognized till about the sixth century.

The sources for tracing the origin and development of the Greek will are very inadequate, and as a consequence writers on Greek law have usually contented themselves with taking it up at the time of the Attic orators, who afford a fertile field for the investigation of the subject. This is true not only of the will, but of Greek law in general. It is, in this respect, quite different from Roman law, for tracing the origin and development of which the sources are abundant. Hence it is that writers on the history of the will usually begin with the Roman, dismissing the Greek with a few desultory remarks. It is difficult, owing to the paucity of the sources, to trace with exactness the various steps in the evolution of Greek law from its earliest rudiments to the comparative complexity it had assumed at the time of the orators. But we are not left wholly to conjecture, for we find traces in the early poets of institutions and customs of the patriarchal period, and we have a few inscriptions that help to bridge over the gulf, although in some instances the exact significance of the terms used in these sources has not been determined.

Moreover, it is not easy to trace the development of the Greek will, although that development took place in the historical period; for until we come to the orators we have very little that is tangible outside of a few scattered, and not always very intelligible, inscriptions.⁴

¹ See *Laws of Manu*, 9. 104 ff.

² Arist. *Pol.* ii. 6, 12.

³ *Law of Gortyn*, X, XI; cf. IV and V.

⁴ Cf. Perrot., p. liii: "Nous n'avons sur la législation athénienne que des données bien incomplètes et bien fragmentaires; c'est donc à peine si, en ressemblant tous les

If we were to put implicit trust in the statements of the orators, we should believe that the final word with reference to wills, and in fact Greek law in general, was spoken by Solon; but this is evidently a professional device for working on the credulity of ignorant jurors; for it is easy to notice that when it suits their purpose they appeal to Solon, and when it does not they have no hesitation in ignoring his laws or quoting them to suit their argument.¹ Without doubt the laws of Solon were modified and added to between his time and that of the orators.²

Solon's laws, and especially those concerning inheritances, are often obscure; and this may have been intentional, with a view to giving greater power to the people as the interpreters of the law in the courts.³ The dicasts took oath to give their decisions according to equity in absence of law.⁴ A reflection of the power of the dicasts may be seen

textes, de quelque date qu'ils soient, nous n'arrivons à nous faire une juste idée de l'ensemble. Si nous prétendons traiter séparément l'œuvre législatif de Solon et celle de ces successeurs, nous n'avons plus que des détails qui ne s'assemblent et ne se rejoignent pas, qui souvent même se contredisent; toute vue générale nous est à peu près interdite. Mieux vaut ne pas s'attarder à des distinctions où il est bien difficile de porter quelque rigueur, à des déterminations qui sont presque toujours purement conjecturales; mieux vaut se placer tout d'abord en face de législation athénienne, telle qu'elle existait dans le dernier siècle de la république entre le rétablissement de la démocratie par Thrasybule et la guerre Ioniique."

¹ Cf. Isae. 6. 28: οὐδὲ διαθέσθαι ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἂν ὦσι παῖδες γνήσιοι with *id.* 10. 2: ὁ γὰρ νόμος κελεύει τὰ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ διαθέσθαι ὅτῳ ἂν ἐθέλῃ, τῶν δὲ ἀλλοτρίων οὐδένα κύριον πεποίηκε. In one case the clause "if there are no legitimate sons," suits his argument, and he misquotes the main clause in order to exaggerate its importance; in the other case it does not suit him and he omits it altogether. At one time the orators say, "A man can make any will he likes;" at another they say, "He can't make a will if ———" Cf. Hyp. *Athenag.* Col. 8; Isae. 10. 22., etc.

² Cf. Beauchet, p. xlvii: "Les textes originaux des prescriptions soloniennes n'avaient point inspiré le respect séculaire qui entourait à Rome les règles de la loi des XII Tables. Leur autorité s'était affaiblie; le soin de leur conservation avait été négligé, et il est certain qu'ils étaient déjà sensiblement altérés à l'époque où Démétrius et orateurs ses rivaux s'en prévalaient en les attribuant à Solon."

³ Cf. Aristot. *Αθ. πολ.* 9: ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ γέγραπθαι τοὺς νόμους ἀπλῶς μὴδὲ σαφῶς, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ περὶ τῶν κληρῶν καὶ ἐπικληρῶν, ἀνάγκη πολλὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις γίνεσθαι καὶ πάντα βραβεύειν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια τὸ δικαστήριον. Cf. Isae. 3. 68, 74, and Plut. *Sol.* 18.

⁴ Dem. 20. 118: περὶ ὧν ἂν νόμοι μὴ ὥσι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ κρινεῖν. Cf. Wyse, p. 176: "Solon committed the administration of justice to tribunals appointed by lot and invested with powers so ample that they became judges of equity as well as of law."

in *The Wasps* of Aristophanes, where one of them is represented as saying:

If a father when dying leaves an heiress daughter, assigning her to some husband, we tell the will and the case that sits so solemnly on its seals that it may go be hanged, for all we care, and we give her to whoever has won us over to his side by his persuasions. And this we do without fear of being called to account.¹

The character of the Greek will at the time of the orators may be deduced from their writings, where, as has been intimated, the material for such deduction is comparatively plentiful; but if we would determine what the will was in its origin, it will be necessary to look further back into the past.

While, as has been stated, the direct sources for tracing the origin and development of the Greek will are inadequate, I think there is a point of attack that will yield a clear understanding of the subject. I refer to the ancient religious beliefs of the Greek people, traces of which are abundant in their literature, and out of which I believe most of their institutions grew.²

It is commonly accepted that the first human society or organization was the family, and that the earliest form of government was the patriarchal. Traces of this have existed up to our own time in the highlands of Scotland and in Russia—small communities consisting of several of our modern families living together under the leadership of a grandfather or great-grandfather. This was the case in prehistoric Greece. Homer, writing of the Cyclops, tells us that "they did not assemble for deliberation in the agora, nor for judicial decisions, but each had jurisdiction over his children and wives, and they did not trouble themselves about each other."³ Plato asserts that men were originally under a patriarchal rule, such as is described by Homer in the above citation, and says: "This still remains in many places both

¹ Aristoph. *Vesp.* 583-87:

κὰν ἀποθνήσκων ὁ πατήρ τῳ δῶ καταλείπων παῖδ' ἐπὶ κληρον,
κλάειν ἡμεῖς μακρὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰποντες τῇ διαθήκῃ
καὶ τῇ κόγχῃ τῇ πάνυ σεμνῶς τοῖς σημείοισιν ἐπούση,
ἔδομεν ταύτην ὅστις ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀντιβολήσας ἀναπέλση,
καὶ ταῦτ' ἀνπνέθυνοι δρῶμεν.

² Cf. Maine 190 ff., De Coulanges, *La cité antique*, pp. 4 and 7 ff.; Beauchet, pp. 13 f.

³ *Odys.* 9. 112, 113: τοῖσιν δ' οὐ τ' ἀγοραὶ βουλευφόραι οὐ τε θέμιστες . . . θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος παίδων ἥδ' ἀλόχων, οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσιν. Cf. Hdt. 4. 106.

among Greeks and barbarians.”¹ Aristotle says that the most ancient society could be called a family colony, for the individuals composing it were ὁμογαλάκτες, παῖδες τε καὶ παίδων παῖδες.²

The most ancient people of Greece believed in the immortality of the soul. The soul, however, was not separated from the body at death, but was buried with it and lived in the tomb underground.³ After having buried the body, the mourners before departing called the deceased by name, and said: “May the soil lie lightly above thee!”⁴ They had a great dread of the possibility of lack of burial. If the body was not buried, the soul had no dwelling-place, and became a phantom restlessly roving over the earth and plaguing those whose neglect to perform the burial rites had caused its misery.⁵

The dead thus continuing to exist under ground had need of food, which it was the duty of their descendants to supply. This was done with regularity at set periods, and became a religious festival.⁶ These ceremonies are described by Ovid and Vergil, in whose days they continued to exist, although they had become empty forms; for the most cursory study of the religious beliefs of mankind will serve to show that forms and ceremonies continue to be observed long after the beliefs that gave them birth have become obsolete or mere superstitions. The tombs were decorated with flowers; cakes and fruits were placed on them; milk, wine, and sometimes the blood of a victim were poured on the ground over the body, and sometimes through a funnel leading to the mouth of the body.⁷ Lucian, who, as Suidas tells us, was called “The Blasphemer,” says, in ridiculing these old beliefs:

It seems then that they are nourished by the libations and victims offered by us upon their tombs; accordingly a dead person who has no friend or relative left above ground is always in a famishing condition.⁸

¹ Plat. *Legg.* iii. 680 C.

² Aristot. *Politics* 1. 2. 6.

³ Eurip. *Alc.* 163. Cf. Vergil describing the funeral of Polydorus: “We put to rest the soul (*animam*) in the grave.” *Aen.* iii. 66 f.

⁴ Verg. *Aen.* ii. 644, iii. 68; *Iliad* xxiii. 221; Eurip. *Alc.* 463; Pausan. ii. 7. 2.

⁵ *Od.* xi. 72; Eurip. *Troad.* 1085; Hdt. 5. 92.

⁶ See Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, pp. 510 ff.; cf. Ridder, *L'Idée de la morte en Grèce*.

⁷ Verg. *Aen.* iii. 66, 67, 301; v. 77 f.; Ovid *Fast.* 535-42; cf. Hdt. 2. 40; Eurip. *Hec.* 536; *Iphig. I. T.* 162; Aesch. *Coeph.* 483-87 and Ridgeway, p. 510.

⁸ Περὶ πένθους.

The care of the dead being thus obligatory upon their descendants, there grew up a religion of the dead in which they were regarded as gods.¹ Electra in her prayer to her dead father says:

I pray to thee that Orestes may come hither with some success and do thou hear me, father; and to myself grant that I may be far more chaste than my mother and more pious in action.²

This primitive religion was purely domestic. It was ancestor-worship. This is indicated by the word used by the Greeks to designate it.³ The *Laws of Manu* represent the dead as repeatedly expressing the wish that sons may be born of their race who at regular intervals will give them rice boiled in milk, with honey and ghee.⁴ It was considered a great crime for a son to fail to fulfil this obligation. As a consequence of these beliefs, it will appear that the perpetuation of the family was regarded as a sacred duty. Celibacy was impious, and the marriage became invalid if the wife proved barren.⁵ "No man," says Isaeus, "knowing that he must die, is so careless of himself as to be willing to leave his family without descendants, for there would be no one to render him the worship that is due to the dead."⁶ This duty could not be intrusted to a daughter, because when a daughter married she gave up her own ancestor's worship and adopted that of her husband. "From the hour of marriage the wife had no longer anything in common with the domestic religion of her fathers; she sacrificed at the hearth of her husband."⁷

When the natural means of procuring a son failed, in order that succession might remain unbroken the legal fiction of adoption was introduced. This seems to have been practiced as far back as we have any knowledge. The Hindoo law permitted a man who had no son by marriage to adopt one in order that the funeral rites

¹ Aesch. *Choeph.* 475-509; Soph. *Antig.* 451; Plut. *Sol.* 21; Plat. *Legg.* 927; Eurip. *Alc.* 1004.

² Aesch. *Choeph.* 138-41.

³ πατριάζειν.

⁴ *Laws of Manu* 3. 274. Cf. 9. 106, 107: "That son through whom the father pays his debt toward the manes and gains eternity is begotten for the sake of duty; the others they look upon as born of desire." The pregnant wife was called *djaha* because her husband was born again (*djahati*) in her (*ibid.* 9. 8). Cf. Jebb II, p. 316.

⁵ *Laws of Manu* 9. 81. Cf. Hdt. 10. 39; 11. 61. Cf. Plut. *Sol.* 20.

⁶ Isae. 7. 30.

⁷ Stephanus of Byzantium. *πατρα*.

might not cease.”¹ “Adoption,” says Isaeus, “is a right recognized by all men—Greeks and barbarians.”² Again:

All those who see death approaching think of what will come after them, so as not to leave their house desolate, but to have someone to bring to their manes the necessary offerings, and to give to them the honors consecrated by custom. Wherefore, if they are about to die childless, they procure a son by adoption to leave behind them. And this is not only recognized by the individual, but also by the state, for by law it enjoins upon the archon the care of seeing that houses do not become desolate.³

In another speech he says:

Read to me the law which orders that a man be permitted to dispose of his property however he wishes, if there be no legitimate children; for the law-giver, gentlemen of the jury, so made the law on this account, seeing that there was only this way of escape from desolation, this one consolation of life for all men, to be permitted to adopt whomever they wish.⁴

And in another place:

After this Menecles considers how he may not be childless, but have someone while living to take care of him, and when he died to bury him and for future time to perform the customary rites for him.⁵

If a man already had a son, the law did not permit him to adopt another;⁶ for, as has been seen, the only reason for adoption was to prevent the family from becoming extinct; but if he had no sons and adopted one, and after the adoption a son was born to him, this did not take away the rights of the adopted son. Says Isaeus:

Now, in what sense was he “childless” who had left his nephew as his adopted son and heir, an heir to whom the law allows the succession just as to the issue of the body? The provision in the law is express that if a son is born to a man who has already adopted a son, both sons shall share alike in the inheritance.⁷

We have seen that the ancestor-gods which the Greeks worshiped had their abode in the grave where they were buried. They did not have common burial-places by the wayside, as in modern times, but each family (γένος) had originally its own burial-ground near the door.⁸

¹ *Laws of Manu*, 9, 141, 142, 159, 180. ² Isae. 2. 21. ³ Isae. 7. 30. ⁴ Isae. 2. 13.

⁵ Isae. 2. 10; cf. *ibid.* 46 and 7. 30: “That there may be someone to sacrifice to his manes and to perform the customary rites for him.”

⁶ Isae. 2. 11–14; Dem. 44 *passim*; cf. Beauchet II, p. 28. ⁷ Isae. 6. 63.

⁸ Eurip. *Hel.* 1163–68; Dem. 43. 79; *id.* 57. 28. Cf. de Coulanges, *Cité ant.*, p. 34, and authorities there cited: “Chaque famille avait son tombeau . . . Tous ceux du même sang devaient y être enterrés et aucun homme d’une autre famille n’y pouvait être admis.” Cf. also Ridder I, chap. 2.

It was thus necessary that a man should remain on the place where his ancestors were buried, in order to perform the sacred rites. From this naturally grew up the right of family possession of land. The family gods dwelt there; it was under their protection. A man had therefore no right to part with his land, for it belonged not to him, but to his family; and a family was a corporation, and corporations never die.¹ Hence we are not surprised to find that the ancient legislators in various states of Greece made laws forbidding the sale of one's patrimony and enjoining that the original allotments should remain unchangeable.²

From what has been said it will appear that the right to the land was transmitted in the same way as the right and duty to perform the religious rites, through sons only. A daughter could not inherit because she could not be intrusted with the celebrating of the family worship.³ When a man left a daughter, but no sons, the difficulty was obviated by adopting a son and leaving him the estate on condition of his marrying the daughter. In such a case she was called an *ἐπίκληρος* — one on the estate, forming a part of it, as it were. She went with the estate to the heir.

This adoption was originally a solemn and public ceremony performed with the accompaniment of public assemblies, sacrifices, and oaths.⁴ As the primary duty of the adopted son was to continue the family worship, it was natural that adoption was primarily a religious institution, and that the adopted son must be introduced into the sacred rites of the family of the adoptive father.⁵ The first formality was his introduction into the phratry, or brotherhood of families, to which his adoptive father belonged. This took place at the regular meeting of the members of the phratry. The adoptive father presented a lamb or a goat for sacrifice. If the phratry refused to admit the person presented for adoption, the victim was removed from the altar.⁶ The adoptive father led to the altar the person he desired to adopt and, placing his hand upon the altar, took oath that this person was born in lawful wedlock of a woman who was a citizen of the state. The members of the phratry then took oath to decide according to the laws, and, if the vote was favorable, the candidate was enrolled.⁷

¹ Cf. Maine, pp. 186 ff.

² Aristot. *Politics* ii. 6, 12; cf. ii. 7.

³ See p. 48.

⁴ Isae. 7. 14-17; cf. *Code of Gortyn*, X.

⁵ *ἐπὶ τὰ ἐνὰ ἄγειν* (Isae. 7. 1).

⁶ Isae. 7. 22; Dem. 43. 14; cf. Jebb II, p. 347, note.

⁷ Dem. 43. 14.

The religious initiation of the candidate was not complete until he had also been introduced into the γένος¹ of the adoptive father, which was also a religious ceremony.² After this a third enrolment had to take place in the deme,³ in order that he might be admitted to full political privileges.⁴

The son thus adopted was pledged to perform the duties of a son by marriage, and to fulfil all the obligations of his adoptive father, both divine and human.⁵ Of course, he could not be adopted without his own consent, or, if he were a minor, the consent of his guardian was required.⁶ The guardian could refuse to give his consent.⁷

Adoption among the Greeks was thus a solemn covenant. It was a contract, and could not be dissolved without the consent of both parties. Demosthenes tells us of a man who, having no son by marriage, adopted one and gave him his daughter with a certain portion. Afterward he quarreled with his adopted son, and took away the daughter and gave her to another man. The adopted son brought an action against him, and he "was compelled to meet all the demands that the adopted son brought against him." Then they came to a settlement on certain terms and "gave mutual releases from all demands."⁸

It is true that the law of Gortyn seems to show a weakening of the adopted son's claim. There the adoptive father appears to have had the right to put him away by making a public declaration before the assembled people, but even here his claim was recognized, for the adoptive father had to pay him ten staters by way of compensation.⁹

There were several good reasons why this public adoption should not suit in all cases. It probably often happened that a man did not wish to offend his other relatives and friends by the selection of one as his heir.¹⁰ Anxiety to be on the safe side would lead a man to adopt a

¹ The original family, all of whose members were supposed to have been derived from a common ancestor.

² Isae. 7. 15: ἡγαγέ με ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς εἰς τοὺς γεννήτας τε καὶ φράτορας.

³ The demes were political divisions established by Clisthenes (508 B. C.) on a democratic basis. The divisions were made by districts instead of by families, and aimed at breaking the power of the old aristocracy and admitting aliens to citizenship. Of course, previous to Clisthenes only the twofold registration in phratry and γένος was required.

⁴ Dem. 44. 41, 44; cf. Isae. 7. 26-28, and see Jebb II. 327.

⁵ Cf. *Code of Gortyn*, X.

⁶ Isae. 7. 14.

⁷ Isae. 2. 21: ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν, ἅπαιδα αὐτὸν καθιστάς.

⁸ Dem. 41. 3-5.

⁹ *Code of Gortyn* XI.

¹⁰ Cf. Isae. 4. 13; cf. 9. 12: μηδένα ἐβούλετο εἰδέναι ὅτι τὸν Κλέωνος υἱὸν ἐποιεῖτο. Cf. *id.* 3. 72 and 4. 26; see also Wyse, p. 57.

son, sometimes when there was a possibility of his having sometime in the future a son born of his body,' especially if he were about to set out on a dangerous journey. If he should afterward have a son born to him, he could not, as we have seen, get rid of the one he had adopted. Again, the position of the adopted son was too sure during the life of the adoptive father to suit all cases. Even if he turned out to be disreputable and unworthy, or if the adoptive father quarreled with him, he could not revoke his decision.² There is no doubt that, in the ordinary course of human nature, it would not infrequently happen that the adopter would give a great deal to undo what he had done. These considerations led to putting off the adoption of a son as long as possible—in fact, till it was felt that death was imminent (*adoptio in extremis*), or the person was going to set out on a dangerous journey.³

Now, there was the serious objection to this course that an adoption could not be completed in a moment. The ceremonies required were too formal and extended, and they could be performed only at certain fixed times of the year.⁴ A people of versatile genius, as quick of intuition and as little bound by formality and set laws as were the Greeks, naturally soon arrived at a solution of this problem. A man supposing himself to be in imminent danger of death, with the day for the assembling of the phratry several months distant, and facing the impossibility of making a complete adoption by the usual public ceremonies, called in his relatives and friends, and declared to them his choice of a person to continue his family worship and inherit his patrimony. The young man, of course, would be present (and, if there were time, would be initiated into the family worship), and would engage, either in his own person or in that of his guardian, to complete the adoption by the public registration ceremonies in the phratry and the deme after the death of the *de cuius*. These dispositions (*διαθήκαι*) came to be committed to writing for greater exactness and to prevent misunderstanding; the document was called *διαθήκη*, and the *de cuius* was thus said *διατίθεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ*. This embryonic will-making was thus still public; and, if the *de cuius* did not die immediately, it had some of the serious

¹Isaeus tells of a case where a man adopted the son of his sister by will (*ἐν διαθήκῃ*), on the condition that he should not have a son by his wife. Such an adoption could not have been made *inter vivos*, for adoption *inter vivos* was not revocable at will. Isae. 6. 5, 7; cf. Robiou, p. 63, and Beauchet II, p. 70.

²Dem. 41. 3-5.

³Cf. Isae. 7. 9; 6. 27; 9. 14, 15; 6. 5; 11. 8.

⁴Isae. 7. 5; cf. Meier-Schömann-Lipsius, p. 542; Beauchet, II, p. 12; Schulin, p. 17.

disadvantages, already mentioned, of the ordinary adoption *inter vivos*. Again, a man sometimes desired to make such provision when about to set out on a dangerous journey.¹ The natural desire for secrecy² caused him sometimes to refrain from communicating his intentions to the witnesses, and he merely declared to them that they were contained in a document which he sealed in their presence.³ Thus the διαθήκη became secret.⁴

It is quite probable that Solon's law which permitted a man to dispose of his property as he pleased, if he had no legitimate male children born of his body, was intended to meet such a case as we have just described, and to make it formally legal.⁵ The last clause seems to indicate that the purpose of the law was to provide a way for the continuance of the family, and this is in accord with what we have seen with respect to the early religious beliefs of the Greeks.

This "testamentary adoption" was not identical with adoption *inter vivos*, because the εἰσποίησις⁶ was not legally complete. The term διατίθεσθαι came in to take the place of εἰσποιεῖσθαι, and the term διαθήκη for εἰσποίησις. It was a solemn setting-forth of the intentions of the *de cuius*, but the εἰσποίησις was not complete until the public ceremonies were gone through with after his death. This "testamentary adoption," for the reasons stated above, became the more popular, and we find that by the time of the orators it had almost driven out adoption *inter vivos*. It was not a complete legal contract like adoption *inter vivos*, but rather like an instrument drawn up and signed by one party and waiting for the signature of the other. The heir did not become legally a party to it until he had publicly signified his agreement by having himself enrolled in the phratry and the deme. As it was, of course, usually known that he would consent, and in fact he was most probably consulted beforehand,⁷ it was regarded as a virtual εἰσποίησις, and often

¹ Cf. Soph. *Trach.* 155 ff.; Isae. 6. 5, 27; 7. 9; 9. 14, 15; 11. 8.

² Isae. 6. 27; cf. 9. 12.

³ Cf. Isae. 4. 13: ἔτι δὲ, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τῶν διατιθεμένων, οἱ πολλοὶ οὐδὲ λέγουσι τοῖς παραγιγνομένοις ὅ τι διατίθενται, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ μόνου, τοῦ καταλιπεῖν διαθήκας, μάρτυρας παρίστανται.

⁴ On the relation between adoption and the Greek will, cf. Beauchet II, p. 19: "Il existe dans le droit attique, entre le testament et l'adoption un lieu étroit qu'on ne retrouve à un tel degré dans aucun autre législation."

⁵ Cf. Dem. 44 *passim*.

⁶ This word is used in Isae. 10. 14. The words ποιήσις and θέσις are also used. ποιέω or εἰσποιέω with or without υἱόν signifies "to adopt."

⁷ Cf. Dem. 41. 17, 18; 27. 43; 28. 14; and see chap. vi.

at first referred to as such,¹ and consequently was, in the eyes of the people of the time, a virtual contract or covenant. Hence the word used to designate the act and the document.² But it must be remembered that it was not a contract in the eye of the law, and therefore there was nothing to prevent its revocation at the volition of the testator.³

Whatever interpretation may have been put upon Solon's law in the beginning, it is evident that soon it was not considered imperative that the son adopted by will should receive all of the estate. Isaeus tells of a case where a man without sons adopted the son of a friend in a will, leaving to him only one-third of his estate.⁴ So in cases of testamentary adoption other bequests came to be made in the will, and while it is probable that Solon's law intended to permit will-making only to those who had not legitimate natural sons—and when it suits them the orators make a point on this interpretation⁵—yet we find that the common interpretation must have been rather that sons could not be disinherited;⁶ for wills were made by men who had legitimate sons, and bequests to others sometimes amounting to more than half the property of the testator.⁷ Wills dividing up the property between the sons, giving one more than another, were made.⁸

It is not likely that it ever occurred to Solon that a man would want to bequeath his patrimony without adopting a son;⁹ but such a restriction is not actually expressed in his law which gives a man liberty "to dispose of his own," and might easily be interpreted "to dispose of his own with full freedom." At any rate, as time went on and the old religious belief in ancestor-worship began to die out, especially

¹ Cf. Isae. 3. 1, 42, 56, 57, 60, 61, 68, 69, 75, etc.

² See chap. iv.

³ On this point see further chap. viii.

⁴ Isae. 5. 6.

⁵ Cf. Isae. 6. 28.

⁶ Cf. Isae. 6. 44, where the statement is made that, if a man has legitimate sons, the law does not permit him to cast them off (*ἐπαιέσαι*).

⁷ Dem. 36. 8; 45. 28; 27. 4-5; Lys. 19. 39-45. See chap. ix.

⁸ Cf. Dem. 36. 34, 35.

⁹ Cf. Robiou, pp. 67, 68: "Les principes du droit attique, les doctrines et les coutumes dont il découlait si directement, la foi à la religion domestique induisent à penser que jamais le législateur n'avait cru qu'il fût seulement possible de poser la question. L'abandon de son patrimoine à une famille étrangère, sans la faire entrer dans la sienne, c'eût été la renonciation à toujours pour soi-même et pour ses ancêtres ceux libations funèbres qui devaient à la fois les honorer comme les dieux et les nourrir comme des hommes, c'eût été le plus sacrilège des parricides, et si le vieux législateur d'Athènes a cru impossible le parricide matériel, ni lui ni aucun de ses contemporains n'avaient sans doute jamais prévu celui-là."

after the reforms of Clisthenes (508 B. C.), and the consequent weakening of the power of the γένος by the division of the people according to locality instead of family, men would naturally chafe under the restriction. There seems to have been a protest against any restriction of will-making power in Plato's time, and a belief in the right of absolute individual ownership of property. In the *Laws* a man about to die is represented as saying:

O ye gods how monstrous if I am not allowed to give or not to give (bequeath) my own to whom I will—less to him who has been bad to me, and more to him who has been good to me, and whose badness or goodness has been tested by me in time of sickness or in old age and in every other kind of fortune.¹

As this sentiment grew, it is natural that the laws of Solon would be interpreted more and more liberally. We have seen that men who had sons made bequests, at the time of the orators, of a greater or less amount, and men who were childless did not leave all of their property to adopted sons. When the religious beliefs grew still weaker and at last became obsolete toward the end of the fourth century and the beginning of the third, we find, as we would expect, that the testament became entirely independent of adoption. Its religious significance disappeared, and people saw in it only a convenient means of regulating the disposal of their property in view of death. At this point the evolution of the will from adoption becomes complete.

¹Plat. *Legg.* 922 C, D (Jowett).

CHAPTER VI

ITS FUNDAMENTAL CHARACTER

In the previous section I have endeavored to trace the origin and development of the Greek will. There remain some points connected with it that have long been matters of dispute, and so may warrant a separate treatment.

One of these questions is that of the legal character of the will. Some writers, claiming that it was a contract, have labored to account for the cases of seeming revocation at the volition of the testator; others concluding from these cases that it could not have been looked upon in such a light.

The word (*διαθήκη*) used to designate the Greek will, as we have seen in chap. iv, was also used to denote a solemn one-sided compact, or covenant. The Greeks themselves classed *διαθήκαι* among *συμβόλαια*.¹ The word *συμβόλαιον* ordinarily means "contract," but can be used in a wide sense to denote "dealings between man and man."² There is an interesting case in this connection in the speech of Demosthenes against Spudias. He says:

When Polyeuctus made this will, the defendant's wife was present, and of course she reported to him the will of her father, especially if he did not have an equal share, but it was to his disadvantage in all respects, and the defendant himself was invited to attend, so that he cannot say that it was a clandestine transaction and contrived behind their backs. When asked to come, he said he was engaged himself, but it would be sufficient for his wife to be there. Aristogenes gave him a full report of what had been done, and even then he made no remark about it; but, though Polyeuctus lived after that five days, he neither expressed any dissatisfaction when he went to the house nor made any remonstrance, nor did his wife, who was present at all of it from the beginning.³

Spudias, the defendant mentioned, was one of two testamentary co-heirs who had married the two daughters of Polyeuctus.

¹ Isae. 4. 12; 10. 10; Plato *Legg.* 913-22.

² For a fuller discussion of this word see chap. iv, pp. 34 f.

³ Dem. 41. 17, 18.

In his first speech against Aphobus Demosthenes says:

But as to the legacy which was given to himself [Aphobus], though he admits that it was mentioned in the will, he says that he did not agree to it (ὁμολογῆσαι) in order that he may appear not to have received it.¹

These citations seem to indicate that it was customary on making a will to consult the prospective heir and obtain his consent.

In Isaeus' speech concerning the estate of Philoctemon, as we have seen, we have a clear case of an instrument called διαθήκη that was a contract or covenant, and also served the purpose of a will.²

Contracts and wills were treated alike, at the time of the orators, with respect to the precautions taken to prevent fraud and the means for proving their authenticity. Witnesses were called at the making of both, and their names were recorded in the documents.³ They were both sealed and deposited with persons who were held responsible for their safe-keeping.⁴

In a speech of Hyperides we have an illustration of how the Greeks classified wills. The speaker affirms that his written agreement (συνθήκη) with Athenogenes is invalid because of fraud and undue influence exerted upon him when it was made. He says:

Athenogenes will plead that the law declares that all agreements between man and man are binding.⁵ Righteous (δίκαια) agreements, my dear sir. Unrighteous ones, on the contrary, it declares shall not be binding. . . . One law forbids falsehood in the market-place; yet you have in open market made a contract with me to my detriment by means of falsehoods. . . . There is a second law bearing on this point which relates to bargains between individuals by verbal agreements.⁶ . . . If a man shall give a woman in marriage justly and equitably (ἐπὶ δικοίους), the children of such marriage shall be legitimate, but not if he betroths her on false representations and inequitable terms. Thus the law makes equitable marriages valid, but inequitable ones invalid. Again, the law relating to wills (τῶν διαθηκῶν) is of a similar nature. It enacts that a man may dispose of (διατίθεσθαι) his own property as he pleases, provided that he be not disqualified by old age or

¹ Dem. 27. 43; cf. 28. 14 ff.: "Says that he did not agree to any of the arrangements, but only heard Demophon reading a document and Therippides saying that the testator had made these dispositions."

² See chap. iv, § 4, where the citation is given in full.

³ Isae. 9. 12; Dem. 35. 13; Diog. L. 5. 57. 74; *IJG* II, p. 62.

⁴ Isae. 6. 7; 7. 1, 2; Dem. 32. 16; 33. 15, 35, 36; 34. 6; 35. 14; 48. 11; Isoc. 17. 20; Hyp. 5. 8, 9, 18; Diog. L. 4. 44; 5. 57. See Wyse, p. 386.

⁵ ὡς ὁ νόμος λέγει ὅσα ἂν ἕτερος ἐτέρῳ ὁμολογήσῃ κύρια εἶναι.

⁶ ὅσοι ὁμολογοῦντες ἀλλήλοις συμβάλλουσιν.

disease or insanity, or be influenced by a woman's persuasions, and that he be not in bonds or under any other constraint. In circumstances, then, in which unrighteous wills relating solely to a man's own property are invalidated, how can it be right to maintain the validity of such an agreement as I have described which was drawn up by Athenogenes in order to steal property belonging to me.² And if anyone under the persuasions of a woman writes a will (*διαθήκας*) for the arrangement of his property, shall it be invalid, while, if I am persuaded by Athenogenes' mistress and entrapped into making this agreement (*ταῦτα συνθέσθαι*), I must be ruined in spite of the express support which is given me by law? Can you dare to rely on the contract (*συνθήκαις*) of which you and your mistress secured the signature by fraud?³

In this connection the analogy of the ancient Roman will may be instructive, especially in view of the fact that it has been recently demonstrated that Greek law was one of the chief sources of Roman law,³ or that they were derived from a common source and followed a similar course of development.⁴ It is asserted by several ancient authorities that the Romans sent a delegation to Greece to get materials for the preparation of the famous code of the Twelve Tables.⁵

The ancient Roman plebeian will — *Testamentum per aes et libram* — had its origin in the *mancipium* and required a solemn and intricate ceremonial.⁶ It was a conveyance *inter vivos*. The heir was called *familiae emptor*, purchaser of the estate (*familia*). The transaction required the presence of a scale-holder (*libripens*) with a pair of scales to weigh the copper money. This became later a symbolical ceremony.⁷

We have seen that the adoption out of which the Greek will developed was a solemn covenant publicly instituted with religious ceremonies. Although in case of adoption by will the act was not completed in the will itself—not until the heir had himself enrolled in the

² ὅπου δὲ οὐδὲ [περὶ] τῶν αὐτοῦ ἰδίῳ αἱ [μὴ δ]ίκαιαι διαθήκαι κύριαί εἰσιν, πῶς Ἀθηνογ[έ]νει γε κα[τὰ τῶ]ν ἐμῶν συνθεμέν[ων τ]οιαῦτα δεῖ κύρια εἶναι.

³ Hyp. 5. 13 ff.; Kenyon, pp. 17 ff. I have used Kenyon's translation in the main, taking the liberty of altering it to make it more literal in a few sentences, and to suit Blass's text, which I have preferred in one instance.

⁴ By Hofmann, *Griechisches und römisches Recht*, pp. 1 ff.; cf. Beauchet I, pp. xxii–xxvii; Gide, p. 85; Reinach in *Nouvelle revue historique du droit*, 1893, p. 14.

⁵ de Coulanges, *Cité ant.*, p. 1.

⁶ Livy (iii. 31) says that before the code was drawn up "missi legati Athenas . . . iussique inclitas leges Solonis describere, et aliarum Graeciae civitatum mores iuraque noscere."

⁷ The ceremony is described by Gaius ii. 104; cf. iii. 173, 174.

⁸ The evolution of the will from this source is traced at length by Maine, pp. 203 ff.

phratry and the deme after the death of the testator—yet, as it was understood that this would follow as a matter of course, it was natural that in its origin the will should be looked upon in the same light as the institution whose place it was incipiently taking and whose functions it was fulfilling. This accounts for the fact that the people classed it among contracts, and used a word to designate it which signified a solemn one-sided covenant.¹

¹ See chap. iv. It is a significant fact that the earliest author in whose writings this word is found uses it clearly in both senses—"covenant" and "will." See Aristoph. *Av.* 440; *Vesp.* 584, 589.

CHAPTER VII

MAKING AND SAFE-KEEPING

The ceremony of will-making was at first no doubt elaborate and formal, requiring the presence of the archon as well as of members of the γένος, phratry, and deme;¹ but as the will became more and more independent of the old religious beliefs, these formalities were dispensed with at the discretion of the testator. At the time of the orators usually a large number of witnesses were called in, consisting of the testator's relatives, phratores, demesmen, and friends.² In their presence the testator designated a document as his will, and sealed it.³ When a man desired to avoid publicity, he called in few witnesses. The father of Demosthenes called only one besides the three men whom he appointed guardians of his children.⁴ In fact, when a man did not want it known that he was making a will, he could dispense with witnesses altogether, although, for obvious reasons, it is not probable that this was often done.⁵

The names of the witnesses were written in the document,⁶ but they did not affix their signatures to it; for Isaeus says that they could only testify to the fact that a will had been made by the testator, and not that the will produced in court was the same as that which they had been called to witness.⁷ It seems not to have been necessary even that

¹ de Coulanges, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 36.

² Isae. 9. 8: μὴ ἄνευ τῶν οἰκείων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ τὰς διαθήκας ποιῆσθαι· ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν συγγενεῖς παρακαλέσαντα, ἔπειτα δὲ φράτορες καὶ δημότας τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ὅσους δύναίτο πλείστους· οὕτω γὰρ εἴτε κατὰ γένος εἴτε κατὰ δόσιν ἀμφισβητοίη τις, ῥαδίως ἂν ἐλέγχοιτο ψευδόμενος.

³ Isae. 7. 1: διέθετο τὴν οὐσίαν ἐτέρῳ, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν γράμμασι κατέθετο παρὰ τισὶ σημηνάμενος.

⁴ Dem. 28. 15.

⁵ Isae. 9. 9-12. In § 12 he says: εἰ μὲν ὁ Ἀστύφιλος μηδὲνα ἐβούλετο εἰδέναι ὅτι τὸν Κλέωνος υἱὸν ἐποίεῖτο, μηδ' ὅτι διαθήκας καταλίποι, εἰκὸς ἦν μηδὲ ἄλλον μηδὲνα ἐγγεγράφθαι ἐν τῷ γραμματεῖ μάρτυρα· εἰ δ' ἐναντὶον μαρτύρων φαίνεται διαθέμενος, . . . Cf. Meier-Schömann-Lipsius, p. 695, n. 299; Schulin, p. 8; Caillemier in *Annuaire*, p. 173; Beauchet III, p. 658; and Wyse, p. 634.

⁶ Isae. 9. 12; Diog. Laert. 5. 57, 74; cf. Beauchet III, p. 659.

⁷ Isae. 4. 12, 14. He overlooks, probably "with malice aforethought," the fact that they could identify it by means of the testator's seal, but he would not have been able to use such an argument if the witnesses usually had signed the will.

the document be written by the testator himself, or that he should affix his own signature to it.¹

This mode of making a will provided no adequate protection against forgery, as it is evident that the document might be changed altogether or in part by anyone who could get access to it.² Accordingly, sometimes the testator read the document to the witnesses, but, on account of the usual desire for secrecy, this was seldom done.

The usual method of safeguard was the affixing of the testator's seal to the will.³ This took the place of his signature, and served as a positive means of identification.⁴

The will thus made and sealed was usually deposited with some trustworthy person (or persons, if more than one copy were made) for safe-keeping.⁵ This person might be a relative or friend of the testator. Isaeus tells us of a will that was deposited with an uncle;⁶ of another deposited with a brother-in-law;⁷ of another, with a relative (προσῆκων).⁸ Referring to the depositing of wills in general he uses the expression "with certain persons."⁹ Demosthenes uses a similar expression.⁹

Sometimes as a further safeguard several copies (ἀντίγραφα) were made and deposited with different persons. There were three copies of the will of Theophrastus "sealed with the ring of Theophrastus." These were deposited with three different persons, who are named, and each deposit was made in the presence of four witnesses, whose names are set down in the will. These seem to be private citizens, friends of the testator. There were three copies also of the will of Arcesilaus, Theophrastus' pupil and founder of the Middle Academy, which were deposited in three different cities with three friends.¹⁰

We find only two instances in which a will was deposited in official custody: one mentioned by Isaeus, where it was deposited with one of the astynomoi;¹¹ and one in an inscription from Amorgos, where it was

¹ M.-S.-L., p. 595; Beauchet III, 660; Schulin, pp. 7, 8. ² Isae. 4. 12, 13.

³ Isae. 7. 1, 2; Dem. 45. 17; Diog. Laert. 5. 57; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 585 ff.

⁴ Perrot, *Éloquense politique*, p. 372.

⁵ Isae. 7. 1 (where he is speaking of wills in general): κατέθετο παρά τισι.

⁶ Isae. 9. 5; cf. 9. 6 and 9. 18.

⁷ Isae. 6. 7: καὶ τὴν διαθήκην κατέθετο παρὰ τῷ καδεστῇ Χαίρεα, τῷ τὴν ἐτέραν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν ἔχοντι.

⁸ Isae. 6. 27. ⁹ Dem. 36. 7: παρ' οἷς αἱ διαθήκαι κεῖνται. ¹⁰ Diog. L. 5. 57; 4. 44.

¹¹ Isae. 3. 14, 15, 18, 25. Cf. Wyse, p. 194: "No other example is known of State officials taking charge of a will in which the State had no interest." Accordingly, he thinks this may have had some connection with State affairs.

deposited in three copies "in the temple of Aphrodite, and with the archon Eumonides, and with the thesmothete Ctesiphon."¹ This will contained a legacy in favor of the goddess, and this probably accounts for its official depositing.

There is no evidence or trace of registration of Greek wills in the classic period, nor of official inspection of their contents.²

¹ *CIG* 2264 u; *IJG* I. 110, n. 24.

² "The registration of wills in Ptolmaic Egypt (Mahaffy, *Flinders Petrie Papyri*, I, nn. 11-21) was a consequence of the Egyptian succession duty." Wyse, p. 194; cf. Ramsay, pp. 354 f.

CHAPTER VIII

CODICILS, MODIFICATION, REVOCATION

If at any time after a man had written his will he wished to add something to it or to correct it, it is obvious that, if he had not deposited it nor communicated its contents to witnesses, he could do so at pleasure. If he had deposited it, and could get it back from the depositee, the same would be true. If, however, he could not get it back from the depositee in time, he could write additional clauses (*προσγράψαι*) in another document (*γραμματεῖον*).¹ He was at liberty also to demand it back from the depositee for the purpose of making corrections (*ἐπανορθῶσαι*).²

We have seen that the adoption from which the Greek will was derived was a legal contract which could not be revoked without the consent of both parties to it. This, together with the facts with respect to its fundamental nature discussed in chap. vi, has given rise to the idea that it was also a contract, and consequently irrevocable. But, as has been shown, since even in its rudimentary stage of testamentary adoption the *εἰσποίησις* was not completed by the will itself, it was not a contract in the eye of the law, and consequently, while adoption *inter vivos* was irrevocable except by the consent of both parties, testamentary adoption could be revoked at the pleasure of the testator.

Obviously, if the contents of the will had not been communicated to witnesses, as long as the testator kept it in his own possession he could revoke it by the substitution of another document, or by simply destroying it and dying intestate. If, however, he had deposited it for safe-keeping as indicated above, it seems to have been the custom to demand it back from the depositee in order to destroy it. This would probably be done in the presence of a magistrate and witnesses (preferably the original witnesses to the will). Isaeus tells of a man who, having quarreled with the guardian of his intestate heirs—his nephews

¹ Isae. I. 25: εἴ τι προσγράψαι τοῦτοις ἐβούλετο, διὰ τί οὐκ ἐν ἑτέρῳ γράψας γραμματεῖον κατέλιπεν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ γράμματα παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων οὐκ ἐδυνήθη λαβεῖν; If codicils were not permitted, such a question would have been absurd in the mouth of the most sophistical lawyer and before the most ignorant judges. Continuing he says: γράψαι δ' ἐξῆν εἰς ἕτερον εἴ τι ἐβούλετο, καὶ μηδὲ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀμφισβητήσιμον ἔαν. Cf. Meier-Schömann-Lipsius, p. 597; Schulin, p. 9; Beauchet III, p. 668; Guiraud, p. 253; Hille, p. 76.

² Isae. I. 26.

—made a will in favor of several more distant relatives. Just before his death he sent for the magistrate (*ἄστυνόμος*) who had charge of it, but one of the legatees refused to admit him. The testator became angry and ordered the magistrate to be summoned for the next day, but died that night without having seen him. The nephews now claimed that their uncle had virtually revoked his will, because he had sent for the magistrate for the purpose of revoking (*λῦσαι, ἀνελεῖν*) it; and the legatees claimed that he had sent for him in order to make corrections (*ἐπανορθῶσαι*) in it and to confirm (*βεβαιῶσαι*) the bequest to themselves. As both of these are treated as valid suppositions, whatever may have been the testator's intentions, we may conclude that a will could be legally revoked or revised in the manner indicated.¹

The only instance we have of the refusal of a deposittee to deliver over a *διαθήκη* at the demand of the *διαθέμενος* is explained by the fact that the document in question was a contract as well as a will.² The deposittee, when summoned to produce it in court, refused to give it up for revocation without the consent of all the contracting parties. The *διαθέμενος* obtained the consent of all the parties to the *διαθήκη* that were present, but the deposittee still refused to give it up until a guardian should be appointed to act for the daughter of one of the depositors who was now deceased. In this he was sustained by the archon. The *διαθέμενος* then made an agreement of some kind, which is not specified, before the archon and the assessors and many witnesses, to the effect that the *διαθήκη* was no longer binding upon him.³ This was the regu-

¹ Isae. 1. 3: The defendants rely on a will which he made in anger and annulled (*ἔλυσε*) before his death, having sent Poseidippus for the magistrate.

Ibid. 14: When he was suffering from the illness from which he died, he desired to revoke (*ἀνελεῖν*) this will, and charged Poseidippus to bring in the magistrate.

Ibid. 18: They rely on the will, asserting that Cleonymus sent for the magistrate, not because he wished to annul (*λῦσαι*) it; but to correct (*ἐπανορθῶσαι*) it and to confirm (*βεβαιῶσαι*) the legacy (*δωρεάν*) to themselves. Now it is for you to consider, whether, when Cleonymus became friendly to us, he desired to revoke (*ἀνελεῖν*) the will made in anger, or to take measures how he should more surely deprive us of his property.

Ibid. 21: If he sent for the magistrate because he wished to revoke (*ἀνελεῖν*) the will, as we affirm, there is not a word for them to say.

Ibid. 25: For it was not possible to revoke (*ἀνελεῖν*) any other document than the one deposited with the magistrate.

Ibid. 42: The defendants prevented him from revoking (*ἀνελεῖν*) the will when he wished to do so.

Ibid. 43: Cleonymus annulled (*ἔλυσε*) the will when in his right mind, but he made (*διέθετο*) it in anger.

Ibid. 50: He was right in determining to annul (*λῦσαι*) the will.

² Isae. 6. 31–33. See chap. iv, § 4.

³ *διομολογησάμενος ἐναντίον τοῦ ἀρχοντος καὶ τῶν παρέδρων καὶ ποιησάμενος πολλοὺς μάρτυρας ὥς οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ κέοιτο ἡ διαθήκη.*

lar method of procedure when a man wished legally to free himself from the obligation of a contract, when he had what he considered legitimate reasons for so doing.¹ In the case just mentioned a settlement seems to have been arrived at before the archon and assessors, and soon after we find the διαθέμενος acting in such a manner as to indicate that this mode of procedure was regarded as effective (§ 33).²

It does not seem that the practice of canceling an earlier will by a later prevailed at Athens.³ We find, however, what appears to be an example of this custom in an inscription from Tegea referred to above.⁴

¹See Dem. 48. 46, 47: ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτὸν, εἰ τι ἄλληθες ἦν ὧν λέγει, . . . παραλαβόντα πολλοὺς μάρτυρας ἀξιοῦν ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὰς συνθήκας παρὰ τοῦ Ἀνδροκλείδου, ὡς παραβαίνοντος ἐμοῦ καὶ τάναντία πράττοντος ἐαυτῷ καὶ οὐκέτι κυρίων οὐδῶν τῶν συνθηκῶν ἐμοὶ καὶ τούτῳ, καὶ τῷ Ἀνδροκλείδῃ τῷ ἔχοντι τὰς συνθήκας διαμαρτύρασθαι, ὅτι αὐτῷ οὐδὲν ἐστίν ἔτι πρᾶγμα πρὸς τὰς συνθήκας ταύτας.

² Authorities on Greek law, while generally recognizing the fact that the διαθήκη in question must have been essentially a contract, have invariably referred to it as an example of the revocation of a "testament," in case the testator could not recover it from the deposittee. The reference is not to the point when treating of a "mere will," unless regarded as an argument *a fortiori*. Cf. Meir-Schömann-Lipsius, pp. 597, 598; Schulin, p. 9; Guiraud, p. 253; Hille, pp. 76 ff.; Beauchet III, pp. 669-72.

³ If in the speech of Isaeus concerning the inheritance of Cleonymus the nephews were right in affirming that the purpose of sending for the will was to revoke it, it would seem that we might conclude that the Attic law did not permit the liberty of canceling an earlier will by a later; but if he wished merely to modify it, this would not be so evident. As the orator produces proof of his being at variance with only one of the legatees (Pherenicus), he may have desired to modify his dispositions with reference to him only. He may have had still other reasons for its recall. The sentence generally cited in proof of the opinion that a will could not be revoked without getting it back from the deposittee (Isae. I. 25: ἀνελεῖν . . . οὐχ οἶός τ' ἦν ἄλλο γραμματεῖον ἢ τὸ παρὰ τῇ ἀρχῇ κείμενον) is such a peculiar statement as to awaken suspicion either that the text has been corrupted in transmission, or that the orator was intentionally obscure at this point.

Wyse asks: "If the former dispositions of a testator could be altered in a supplement, what prevented the use of a 'codicil' as an instrument to revoke a prior will?" It is quite probable that corrections might practically revoke the original will, and to this there seems to be no serious objection. The custom of demanding the will back from the deposittee for the purpose of destroying it, instead of making a new one, was probably due to the fact that they had not yet caught the idea that came to the Romans later. Even the simplest, and *after they are known* apparently self-evident, ideas are often slow in coming to the mind.

Since writing the above, I have noticed a good brief discussion of this point in an article in *Hermathena* XXXII (1906), by W. A. Goligher, M.A.: "Isaeus and Attic Law."

⁴See pp. 41, 42.

CHAPTER IX

LIMITATION BY THE EXISTENCE OF SONS

A very interesting question with reference to Greek wills, and one that has been the source of much argument, is whether a man who had legitimate sons could make a valid will; and, if so, under what limitations, if any. The answer to this question has already been given in brief in the chapter on origin and development, but because of the importance I will now discuss it more fully.

Solon's law which says that a man "can bequeath his property as he pleases if he have not legitimate male children" does not mean, as it has been sometimes interpreted, that a man with legitimate sons cannot make a will. It seems to me that the most that can be deduced from it is that, if a man have legitimate sons, he cannot make whatever kind of will he pleases—his power of testation is restricted, he must take his sons into account.

It should be noticed also that, when quoting Solon's law concerning wills, the orators do not always put in the clause "if there be no legitimate sons." As has been intimated before, Isaeus omits it when it does not suit his argument. It is still more significant that Hypereides, who quotes this law with minuteness in all the other details, omits this clause altogether—and this in a case in which its insertion would not be detrimental to his argument.¹ Aristotle also, when quoting this law in his *Athenian Constitution*, makes no reference to the clause in question, and says that the Thirty "made the testator absolutely (καθάπαξ) free to dispose of his property as he pleased."² Plato says that the ancient legislators allowed a man to dispose of his property by will in all respects "as he pleased," and makes no mention of the limiting clause in question.³

However these citations may be explained, it is indisputable that at the time of the orators men with legitimate sons could and did make valid wills.

¹For the complete citation see pp. 57, 58.

²Αθ. πολ. 35: περί τοῦ δοῦναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ᾧ ἂν ἐθέλῃ κύριον ποιήσαντες καθάπαξ τὰς δὲ προσούσας δυσκολίας, ἐὰν μὴ μανίων ἢ γήρως ἕνεκα ἢ γυναικί πειθόμενος, ἀφείλον.

³See p. 43.

Demosthenes tells of a banker named Pasion who had two sons, and who made a will dividing the bulk of his estate unequally between them.¹ He left to his wife a legacy of two talents, a lodging-house worth two hundred minas, and female slaves and household property.² Lysias tells us of a man who had two sons and a daughter, and who left a will bequeathing one talent and the household stuff to his wife, and one talent to his daughter, and the remainder to his sons.³ He tells us also of another man who in his will bequeathed to Apollo and Diana sixteen talents and forty minas; to a brother, three talents; and to his only son, the remainder, consisting of seventeen talents, less than half of his estate.⁴ The father of Demosthenes in his will bequeathed to Therippides, who was no relation to him, the income from seventy minas till his son should come of age; to Demophon, a nephew, his daughter with a portion of two talents; and to Aphobus, another nephew, his widow with a portion of eighty minas, and the use of his house and furniture; and the rest of his property to his only son.⁵

In an inscription from Erythrae (Ionia) of about the middle of the third century we learn of a man with two sons who left a will dividing his property between them and his wife.⁶

At Sparta in the fourth century, according to Plutarch, by the law of Epitadeus a man was free to dispose of his property by will as he pleased, even if he had sons.⁷

Polybius tells us that in Boeotia toward the end of the third century many men who had children bequeathed the greater part of their property for the maintenance of feasts and convivial entertainments.⁸

There seems to have been no specified restriction on the part of an estate that could be bequeathed away from the sons. It was rather, like many other things in Greek law, left to custom, and to the decisions of the courts in cases of dispute. Demosthenes argues that the fact that his father had left four and a half talents in doweries and legacies was a presumption in favor of his reckoning the total value of the estate at about fourteen talents, "for," says he, "it could not be supposed that he would desire to leave me, his son, in poverty, and to heap riches upon these men who were rich enough already."⁹ He seems to argue

¹ Dem. 36. 8, 34.

⁶ Dittenberger 600.

² Dem. 45. 28.

⁷ Plut. *Agis*. 5. See p. 42.

³ Lys. 32. 5, 6.

⁸ Polyb. xx. 6.

⁴ Lys. 19. 39-41.

⁹ Dem. 29. 44.

⁵ Dem. 27. 4, 5.

here only from probability (having already arrived at the total of fourteen talents in another manner), and to admit the possibility of a father's leaving his son in poverty and enriching other men.

We have seen that Lysias gives an example of a will in which more than half was bequeathed away from the son; that among the Boeotians "the greater part" could be bequeathed away from the family; and that, in Sparta, a man could disinherit his son altogether by will.

CHAPTER X

RELATION TO ADOPTION

Could a valid Greek will be made without adoption? Perhaps there has been more misunderstanding on this question than on any other point connected with Greek wills, the difficulty arising, as in other cases, from overlooking the fact of the development of Greek law in consequence of the changing of the old religious beliefs. The answer depends on the time to which reference is made. As we have noticed in tracing the origin and development of the Greek will, the chief stages were first adoption *inter vivos*, then testamentary adoption, then wills adopting a son and making bequests to others, and finally wills entirely divorced from adoption. It is, of course, impossible to draw strict lines of demarkation at definite periods.

The text of Solon's law which says that a man "may bequeath his own as he will if there be no legitimate sons born of his body" (ἐξεῖναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διαθέσθαι εἰάν μὴ παῖδες ὧσι γνήσιοι ἄρρενες, κτλ.) would seem to give absolute liberty of testation to those who had no legitimate sons. To escape this interpretation it is sometimes claimed that διαθέσθαι is equivalent to εἰσποιεῖσθαι or ποιεῖσθαι. Some color is given to this claim by the fact that a majority of the cases of will-making mentioned in the orators include adoption, and in some instances the person adopted is made universal heir. In this last case, of course, the terms are mutually inclusive, but the orators do not use them as equivalent.¹

That the terms in question are not equivalent is shown conclusively by the fact that διατίθεσθαι (also διαθήκη) is used of wills which do not

¹Cf. Isae. 6. 53: "How do you know that Philoctemon *neither made a will nor adopted* Chaerestratus as his son?" (οὔτε διέθετο οὔτε υἱὸν Χαίρεστρατον ἐποιήσατο). Here the terms διέθετο and υἱὸν ἐποιήσατο seem to be mutually exclusive. This is shown by the use of οὔτε . . . οὔτε instead of using a participial construction, or at least καί.

Dem. 44. 65: "If the deceased *had adopted* anyone, we would have agreed to it; or if he *had left a will*, we would have stood by it" (εἰ μὲν ὁ τελευτηκῶς ἐποιήσατό τινα συνεχωροῦμεν ἂν αὐτῷ, ἢ εἰ διαθήκας καταλελοίπει, καὶ ταῦτα ἂν ἐνεμελίναμεν).

Isae. 9. 7: "If he had intended to leave a son by adoption" (υἱὸν ποιησάμενον καταλιπεῖν). Why use this circumlocution, if διατίθεσθαι meant the same thing?

Ibid. 9. 1: ὥς οὔτε ἐποιήσατε ἐκείνος υἱὸν ἑαυτῷ οὔτε ἔδοξε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, οὔτε διαθήκας κατέλιπεν. If the terms in question were synonymous, surely the first clause is an unwarranted superfluity.

Cf. 3. 42, 68; 9. 34, 35; Beauchet III, p. 696; Wyse 326.

contain any adoption, and where in fact no adoption was possible because the testator had legitimate sons; for example, the will of the father of Demosthenes, of Pasion, of Conon, of Diodotus, and of others mentioned in the previous chapters.¹

These just referred to are examples of valid wills which do not include any adoption where the testator had one or more sons. Wills were made also bequeathing all of the estate without adoption when the testator was childless. To this class probably belongs the will of Cleonymus, mentioned by Isaeus. Cleonymus died childless, and bequeathed his estate away from the intestate heirs, his nephews, to several remote kinsmen—Poseidippus, Diocles, and Pherenicus and his brothers. There is no mention or hint of adoption. The fact that there are several heirs by the will who seem to share equally, as well as the word that is used to designate the inheritance,² speaks against any idea of adoption. He would not, of course, adopt them all, and no one of them seems to be singled out.

Another example from Isaeus of such a will seems to be the case in which Eupolis claimed to have been made universal heir to the estate of his brother Mneson,³ in the speech concerning the inheritance of Apollodorus. There are several other instances in the orators in which no reference is made to adoption, and it cannot be determined whether any such thing was included in the will or not.

The wills of the philosophers, Theophrastus,⁴ Straton,⁵ Lycon,⁶ and Epicurus,⁷ dating from the third century have been preserved for us entire.⁸ In all of these the whole estate of the testator is distributed in various legacies; details are given with reference to various matters, such as the burial of the testator, enfranchisement of favorite slaves, appointment of executors, etc.; but none of them contains any adoption.⁹

¹ Dem. 27. 4, 5; 36. 8, 34; Lys. 19. 39-41; 32. 5, 6.

² Isae. 1. 18. The beneficiaries under the will claimed that Cleonymus had sent for his will *ἐπ'αναρθῶσαι καὶ βεβαῖωσαι σφίσι αὐτοῖς τὴν δωρεάν*. *Δωρεά* is a bequest. A son or an adopted son would refer to his inheritance as *κλῆρον*. Cf. Schulin, p. 22; Beauchet III, p. 695.

³ Isae. 7. 6. ⁴ Diog. Laert. 5. 51. ⁵ 5. 61. ⁶ 5. 69. ⁷ 10. 16.

⁸ There is no doubt as to the authenticity of these documents. See Dareste in *Annuaire*, 1882, p. 1. As Theophrastus was a jurisconsult of ability, the author of several works on jurisprudence, his testament should be of special importance from a legal standpoint.

⁹ These wills have been edited and annotated by Bruns in the *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, Vol. I, "Romanistische Abtheilung," 1, pp. 1-53; and by Dareste in *Annuaire des études grecques*, Vol. XVI; cf. Schulin, pp. 32 ff.

In a Doric inscription will dating from the fifth century there is no adoption, and a woman is made universal heir.¹

In an inscription from Dodona (in Epirus) dating from the fourth century a man leaves all his property to a corporation.²

In a long and complete inscription will of the second century a certain Alcesippus of Colydon (Delphi) makes a testamentary foundation of a definite amount and bequeaths all the rest of his estate to the city of Delphi, deducting the expense of his funeral.³

I have not found any example of adoption in any of the inscription wills, nor in any of the inscriptions in which wills are mentioned.⁴

As has been seen, the law of Epitadeus made testation absolutely free in Sparta in the fourth century.⁵

Aristotle says that the Thirty gave a man absolute liberty to bequeath his property as he pleased.

Adoption was not necessary to will-making in Boeotia in the third century. Men without children often bequeathed all their property for the maintenance of feasts, and many even of those who had children bequeathed the greater part of their estates for a like purpose.⁶

In the time of Isaeus at Athens a woman could not make a valid will,⁷ but we find examples of wills made by women, dating from the end of the third and the beginning of the second centuries.⁸

We may then conclude that at the time of the orators a man could dispose of his property by will without adoption; that wills not including adoption were perhaps unusual at that time, but became more and more common until, in the third century, the will came to be entirely divorced from the idea of adoption that had given it birth.

¹ *CIG* 4. See p. 40.

² Rhanganbá, *Archäol. Zeitung* XXXVI. 116; *IJG*, 2d ser. I, p. 61.

³ *IJG*, 2d ser. I, p. 62.

⁴ Cauer, Nos. 10 and 123; Dittenberger 600; *Bull. corr. hell.* X, 18, p. 381; Collitz *Dialectinschr.* III. 3380 and 3634; *CIG* 1850, 2264 u, 2448, 2690, 3142, 3394, 3631, 3847 p, 3953 b, 4303 h.

⁵ The ephor had the law passed for the express purpose of disinheriting his son, with whom he had quarreled.

⁶ Polyb. xx. 6: οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄτεκνοι τὰς οὐσίας οὐ τοῖς κατὰ γένος ἐπιγενομένοις τελευτῶντες ἀπέλειπον, ὅπερ ἦν ἔθος παρ' αὐτοῖς πρότερον, ἀλλ' εἰς εὐωχίας καὶ μέθας διετίθεντο, καὶ κοινὰς τοῖς φίλοις ἐποιοῦν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐχόντων γενεὰς ἀπεμέριζον τοῖς συσσιτοῖς τὸ πλεῖον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας.

⁷ Isae. 10. 10.

⁸ E. g., *CIG* 2448, the long and complete "testament of Epicteta," and Cauer (1st ed.), No. 19, the will of "Agasicrates' daughter Tisias." Cf. Schulin, pp. 42 ff., who edits several wills of this class.

THE IRENAEUS TESTIMONY TO THE
FOURTH GOSPEL

The Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek, of The University of Chicago, proposes to issue, from time to time, Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament. These Studies will be grouped in three series: I, Texts; II, Linguistic and Exegetical Studies; III, Historical Studies. The volumes in each series will be issued in parts from time to time.

VII

The Irenaeus Testimony to the Fourth Gospel

Its Extent, Meaning, and Value

By
FRANK GRANT LEWIS

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PREFACE

The reader will observe the narrow limits of the following discussion. It makes no claims to grappling with "the Johannine Problem," nor with the general problem of the fourth gospel alone, nor even with the single question of the authorship of the fourth gospel. I have simply set myself the task of discovering what the testimony of Irenaeus to the fourth gospel is and of estimating its significance. My essay, therefore, deals with only one aspect of the problems mentioned above. That it is an important aspect, however, will not be denied. Even when the study of Irenaeus leads to an elimination of his testimony from the factors which have to do with the Johannine question, as the study of Harnack did, the study is recognized as essential and significant.

That the question of the significance of the Irenaeus testimony is a mooted one cannot be evaded. When Ernest F. Scott, one of the latest and most suggestive writers on the fourth gospel, in the preface of *The Fourth Gospel: Its Purpose and Theology*, says: "It may be granted that the external evidence is not sufficient to warrant a decisive verdict on either side," the situation appears to be hopeless. He was undoubtedly influenced by the immense difference in the conclusions of Lightfoot, Harnack, Bacon, and Zahn, in view of which it might seem that nothing more can be said. The very diversity of their conclusions, however, raises the question whether some more common and more tenable ground may not be discovered. This is to be done, nevertheless, not by a mere combination of these important views, but by a fresh examination of all the data involved. Such an examination I have endeavored to make.

The crucial question is: Did Irenaeus have actual knowledge of Christian affairs in Asia at the close of the first century? If this essay makes any contribution toward answering this question, it is through a more careful criticism and evaluation of the Irenaeus testimony attributed to Polycarp and the presbyters, as it bears upon that question, than has been made heretofore.

In view of the present condition of the text of Irenaeus, nothing more practical appeared possible than to use the Stieren text without criticism. This could be done with the less hesitation because, as the discussion endeavors to show, the meaning and value of the Irenaeus testimony to the fourth gospel must be found in a more general interpretation than that which bases its conclusions on mere variation of text. No theory can be

secure which hinges on uncertain, or conjectural, readings. Fortunately there appears opportunity for a theory in which such readings may largely be disregarded.

I have freely laid under tribute all available works which offered assistance. This puts me under obligation to many for whose suggestions only this general acknowledgment can be made. I am grateful to all. I am particularly indebted to Professor Ernest DeWitt Burton and to the researches of a seminar conducted by him in The University of Chicago during the autumn of 1906, in which the entire field of the external evidence to the authorship of the fourth gospel was patiently examined. If I have here succeeded in going beyond that study and finding what, until now, has been overlooked in Irenaeus, this is largely due to the suggestive criticisms of Professor Burton which were received in that seminar and others which he has given in the preparation of this dissertation itself. I need hardly add that it has been a personal pleasure to have my independent study work out in accord with his "booklet" theory of the composition of the gospel.

FRANK GRANT LEWIS

NOVEMBER, 1907

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

	PAGE
THE EXTENT OF THE IRENAEUS TESTIMONY TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL	9
Table showing extent from point of view of the gospel.—Inferences from this table.—Table showing extent from point of view of the progress of Irenaeus' work.—Inferences from this.—Conclusion	

CHAPTER II

THE AUTHOR OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL FOR IRENAEUS	17
The gospel the work of John of late apostolic times.—Irenaeus knew only one John, other than John the Baptist and John Mark, of apostolic times.—The writer of the gospel an apostle.—Irenaeus' usage of the word "apostle."—The writer of the gospel the son of Zebedee	

CHAPTER III

THE VALUE OF THE IRENAEUS TESTIMONY FOR US	24
Irenaeus not critical.—Irenaeus' relation to Polycarp.—Trustworthiness of the letter to Victor.—Trustworthiness of the letter to Florinus.— <i>Heresies</i> 3.3.4.—The meaning of the Polycarp testimony concerning the John of Asia.—Concerning the Johannine writings in the time of Polycarp.—Application of this conclusion to <i>Heresies</i> 3.1.1c and to 3.11.1a.—Irenaeus' relation to the presbyters and other unnamed men.—Conclusions of Lightfoot, Harnack, and Zahn.—Further investigation of the data.—The presbyter material was oral	
CONCLUSION	57
APPENDIX: RESULTING HYPOTHESIS FOR THE JOHANNINE QUESTIONS .	61
INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS	63
INDEX OF IRENAEUS REFERENCES	64
INDEX OF NEW TESTAMENT TEXTS	64

CHAPTER I

THE EXTENT OF THE IRENAEUS TESTIMONY TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL

The extent of the Irenaeus testimony to the fourth gospel is in itself significant. What that extent is may be seen from the following tables.

The first table is an arrangement of the references to the testimony from the point of view of the gospel. It serves especially to show how much of the gospel Irenaeus used, what parts were of particular interest to him, and, indirectly, the portions which he did not use.

The second table is an arrangement of the same references from the point of view of Irenaeus' work. It calls attention particularly to his attitude toward the gospel as that attitude is to be seen at different stages of the progress of his discussion.

The tables are intended to present the references and, at the same time, to offer some interpretation of the testimony to which the references direct. In order to make such interpretation, certain abbreviations and symbols are employed. These are of three classes:

1. Those which precede the references to the gospel. Here—

No symbol = an exact quotation.

v = a quotation varying merely *verbally* from the Westcott and Hort text, and so not materially affecting the sense.

s = a quotation varying from the WH text in *sense* as well as verbally.

r = any looser *reference*, not a quotation.

By an "exact" quotation is meant, where the Greek is preserved, an agreement with the WH text; where we have only the Latin, a Latin reading which seems to represent the WH text. In some instances indicated as "exact" quotation, however, only a part of the verse, or verses, of the gospel as referred to is quoted; but the quotation is "exact" as far as it is used, even when, as in some passages, words of interpretation are fused with the quotations (e. g., 4.25.3b).¹

It may be added that Irenaeus often used language which is colored by the influence of the gospel but which does not show a sufficient number of the words of the gospel to warrant calling it even a "reference." His language received such coloring from the thought of the prologue especially. But the prologue was the part of the gospel which he liked particularly to quote. In view of this, there is less occasion to attempt to include among the references every passage which indicates even a coloring from the gospel.

Still further, it is to be noted that these tables do not include such passages

¹ All references are to the *Adversus Haereses*, unless otherwise indicated.

in Irenaeus as mention the name of John but mention it without making a quotation from the gospel or a reference to it (e. g., 1. 9. 1b).

2. The abbreviations between the references to the gospel and those to Irenaeus, showing the authorities to which Irenaeus attributed the portions of the gospel indicated by the references preceding them. Here—

Ap=Apostle	JA=John (apostle, as shown by context)
C=Christ	JD=John the disciple of the Lord
DL=Disciple of the Lord	L=Lord
G=Gospel	S=Son of God
GJ=Gospel according to John	Sc=Scripture
J=John	W=Word of God, or Word

References not accompanied by any of these abbreviations indicate passages of the gospel which are either introduced without any external authority or those which are introduced with an authority of such indefinite kind as to make it of no considerable value.

The John indicated by the abbreviation JA is not to be understood as distinguished from the John indicated by the J alone. Frequently the passage combines the two in such manner as to leave no doubt that the two are one. The separate indication of those passages of the gospel which are, by the context, attributed to an apostle is merely for the convenience of reference in study. It is to be understood, also, that these are not the only passages which, as the context shows, are to be attributed to an apostle (cf. pp. 18-20).

3. The abbreviations following the references to Irenaeus. Here—

a advises the reader that the passage of the gospel indicated in the first column will be found somewhere within the first third of the section of Irenaeus indicated in the second column.

b refers similarly to the second third of a section.

c refers similarly to the last third of a section.

This division and notation has been found convenient in the preparation of the essay. Perhaps it will be equally convenient for any reader who may wish to examine the merits of the discussion for himself.

TABLE I

Showing Irenaeus' use of the fourth gospel from the point of view of the gospel. The numbers in the first column refer to the chapter and verse of the gospel; those in the second, to the *Adversus Haereses*, except one passage preserved only by another writer, which is referred to as "Fr. 35," according to the numbering of Stieren.

Gospel		Irenaeus	Gospel		Irenaeus
11:1		2.25.3c	1:1-5	JD	3.11.1b
1:1-2	JD	1.8.5a	11:1-14	J	1.9.2a
1:1-3	GJ	3.11.8b	1:3	J	1.8.5a
11:1-3		3.18.1a	1:3	Sc	1.22.1a
1:1-3	JD	5.18.2b	1:3	JD	2.2.5a

Gospel		Irenaeus	Gospel		Irenaeus
I:3	J	3.8.3a	4:50	L	2.22.3a
I:3		3.21.10a			
I:3	G	4.32.1b	r5:1-9	JD	2.22.3a
SI:6-8	DL	3.11.4a	r5:1-9	L	2.23.2b
I:10-11	J	3.11.2a	5:14	L	4.36.6b
I:10-12	JD	5.18.2b	5:14	L	5.15.2a
I:12		5.18.3b	v5:28-29	L	5.13.1c
VI:13		3.19.2a	v5:39-40	J	4.10.1a
VI:13-14		3.16.2c	5:43	L	5.25.4a
I:14	J	1.8.5c	v5:46	Sc	4.10.1a
I:14	JA	1.9.2c	s5:46-47	J	4.2.3a
I:14	J	3.10.3c			
I:14	G	3.11.2c	r6:1-13	JD	2.22.3a
I:14	DL	3.11.3c	r6:11	L	3.11.5b
I:14		4.20.2b			
I:14	J	5.18.2b	s7:30		3.16.7b
VI:15-16	J	3.10.3b	r7:38-39		5.18.2a
SI:18		3.11.6a			
II:18		4.6.5c	v8:34	L	3.8.1c
SI:18	G	4.20.6c	8:36	S	3.19.1a
SI:18	L	4.20.11a	s8:44	L	5.22.2c
I:20	J	3.10.3b	8:44	L	5.23.2c
II:20	J	3.10.3c	8:56	C	4.5.3a
I:47, 49		3.11.6a	r8:56		4.5.5a
VI:50	L	4.9.2a	r8:56		4.7.1a
			8:56-57	L	2.22.6a
r2:1-11	JD	2.22.3a	8:58	W	4.13.4c
r2:1-11		3.11.5a			
2:4	L	3.16.7a	r9:1-42		2.17.9c
v2:19-21	L	5.6.2b	9:3	L	5.15.2b
v2:23	JD	2.22.3a	s9:7		5.15.3c
v2:25		3.9.3c			
			III:1-57	JD	2.22.3b
v3:5	L	Fr. 35	11:25	L	4.5.2c
3:18-21	L	5.27.2c	III:35		3.22.2c
v3:36		4.37.5b	III:39		5.13.1a
			11:43-44		5.13.1b
r4:1-54	JD	2.22.3a			
4:6	JD	3.22.2b	II2:1-19	JD	2.22.3c
r4:14	S	4.36.4a	SI2:27	L	1.8.2c
4:35-38	L	4.23.1a	II2:32		4.2.7c
4:37		4.25.3b			
4:41-42		4.2.7a	II3:1-30	JD	2.22.3c

Gospel		Irenaeus	Gospe		Irenaeus
113:5	W	4.22.1a	VI7:24	L	4.14.1c
114:2		3.19.3c	118:37		1.6.4b
VI4:2	L	5.36.2a			
114:6	Ap	3.5.1a	19:11		4.18.3c
VI4:6-7	L	4.7.3c	19:15	C	4.21.3a
SI4:7, 9-10	L	3.13.2a	119:18	JD	2.22.3c
14:11	L	5.18.1b	119:34		3.22.2c
114:16	JA	3.11.9a	119:34		4.33.2c
14:28	L	2.28.8c	119:34		4.35.3c
115:9		3.20.2b	S20:17	L	5.31.1c
VI5:15	L	4.13.4b	R20:20	C	5.7.1a
15:16	L	4.14.1b	R20:20	L	5.31.2a
			R20:24		1.18.3c
116:7	L	3.17.2a	S20:31	JD	3.16.5b
17:5	W	4.14.1a	V21:20	JD	3.1.1c
117:12	L	2.20.5b	R21:20	J	4.20.11b

A study of the above table offers some considerations which are worthy of special attention as indicating the use which Irenaeus made of the gospel.

1. The student can hardly fail to be struck with the fact that the prologue possessed an apparently undue place in the thinking of Irenaeus. More than one-fourth of the use which he made of the gospel was quotation from the prologue or reference to it. If the influence of the prologue which is to be seen in the mere "coloring" of Irenaeus' language (cf. p. 9) without any specific "reference" were to be taken into account, this disproportionate attention to the prologue would be increased. His large use of the prologue may indicate his estimation of it as compared with other portions of the gospel. Or, he may have employed it so largely because he regarded its statements as conclusive refutations of the theories put forth by his Gnostic opponents.

2. Irenaeus allowed himself a large measure of freedom in making quotations from the gospel. This is particularly true of the quotations outside of the prologue. It suggests that he usually quoted from memory and that most, if not all, of the statements of the gospel to which he appealed were those which he knew sufficiently well to recall without turning to his text. Of the 115 quotations from the gospel, or references to it, which I have credited to Irenaeus, thirty-nine or a full third of these, are merely loose references, while the exact quotations are limited to some twenty-seven different statements, and the inexact ones make up the remainder.

If he did turn to his text at all, it could hardly have been more than occasionally, when, e. g., he wanted such a statement as that of 3:18-21.

3. The reader will observe the great diversity of usage on the part of Irenaeus in acknowledging the source of the material which he employed from the gospel. Even the thirteen classes of acknowledgments which I have enumerated do not exhaust the data, for the thirteenth is a varied datum in itself. Altogether, his usage is very loose. He did not even take the trouble to advise his readers as to whether his "John" was the Baptist, or the Evangelist, so that the references to "John" in 3.10.3 are really to the Baptist, though Irenaeus' general usage would lead one to expect that they were to the Evangelist. The words which the gospel attributes to Jesus are most often said to be the words of "the Lord," but a variation from this usage may occur at any time. There is considerable variety in the way in which a single passage of the gospel is used (e. g., 1:18, or 8:44).

4. A reference to the twenty-first chapter is not certain. The reference to John as the one who leaned on Jesus' breast, in 3.1.1c and 4.20.11b, is better explained, however, from 21:20 than from 13:25 and is to be regarded as a use of 21:20. No reference to the tenth chapter is discoverable. But Clement of Alexandria, only a few years later, quoted this chapter several times and made one clear reference and partial quotation (*Paedag.* 1.5.1a) from the twenty-first chapter. In view of this, it is fair to assume that Irenaeus' gospel contained the tenth chapter and that the reference to John as the one who leaned on Jesus' breast is a reference to the twenty-first chapter.

TABLE II

Showing Irenaeus' use of the gospel from the point of view of the progress of his work. The abbreviations and symbols are the same as in the preceding table.

Irenaeus		Gospel	Irenaeus		Gospel
1.6.4b		118:37	2.22.3a	JD	12:1-11
1.8.2c	L	112:27	2.22.3a	JD	12:23
1.8.5a	JD	1:1-2	2.22.3a	JD	14:1-54
1.8.5a	J	1:3	2.22.3a	L	4:50
1.8.5c	J	1:14	2.22.3a	JD	15:1-9
1.9.2a	J	11:1-14	2.22.3a	JD	16:1-13
1.9.2c	JA	1:14	2.22.3b	JD	111:1-57
1.18.3c		120:34	2.22.3c	JD	112:1-19
1.22.1a	Sc	1:3	2.22.3c	JD	113:1-30
			2.22.3c	JD	119:18
2.2.5a	JD	1:3	2.22.6a	L	8:56-57
2.17.9c		19:1-42	2.23.2b	L	15:1-9
2.20.5b	L	117:12	2.25.3c		11:1

Irenaeus		Gospel	Irenaeus		Gospel
2.28.8c	L	14:28	4.5.5a		r8:56
			4.6.5c		r1:18
3.1.1c	JD	v21:20	4.7.1a		r8:56
3.5.1a	Ap	r14:6	4.7.3c	L	vi4:6-7
3.8.1c	L	v8:34	4.9.2a	L	vi:50
3.8.3a	J	1:3	4.10.1a	J	v5:39-40
3.9.3c		v2:25	4.10.1a	Sc	v5:46
3.10.3b	J	vi:15-16	4.13.4b	L	vi5:15
3.10.3b	J	1:29	4.13.4c	W	8:58
3.10.3c	J	1:14	4.14.1a	W	17:5
3.10.3c	J	r1:29	4.14.1b	L	15:16
3.11.1b	JD	1:1-5	4.14.1c	L	vi7:24
3.11.2a	J	1:10-11	4.18.3c		19:11
3.11.2c	G	1:14	4.20.2b		1:14
3.11.3c	DL	1:14	4.20.6c	G	si:18
3.11.4a	DL	si:6-8	4.20.11a	L	si:18
3.11.5a		r2:1-11	4.20.11b	J	r21:20
3.11.5b	L	r6:11	4.21.3a	C	19:15
3.11.6a		si:18	4.22.1a	W	r13:5
3.11.6a		1:47, 49	4.23.1a	L	4:35-38
3.11.8b	GJ	1:1-3	4.25.3b		4:37
3.11.9a	JA	r14:16	4.32.1b	G	1:3
3.13.2a	L	si4:7, 9-10	4.33.2c		r19:34
3.16.2c		vi:13-14	4.35.3c		r19:34
3.16.5b	JD	s20:31	4.36.4a	S	r4:14
3.16.7a	L	2:4	4.36.6b	L	5:14
3.16.7b		s7:30	4.37.5b		v3:36
3.17.2a	L	r16:7			
3.18.1a		r1:1-3	5.6.2b	L	v2:19-21
3.19.1a	S	8:36	5.7.1a	C	r20:20
3.19.2a		vi:13	5.13.1a		r11:39
3.19.3c		r14:2	5.13.1b		11:43-44
3.20.2b		r15:9	5.13.1c	L	v5:28-29
3.21.10a		1:3	5.15.2a	L	5:14
3.22.2b	JD	4:6	5.15.2b	L	9:3
3.22.2c		r11:35	5.15.3c		s9:7
3.22.2c		r19:34	5.18.1b	L	14:11
			5.18.2a		r7:38-39
4.2.3a	J	s5:46-47	5.18.2b	JD	1:1-3
4.2.7a		4:41-42	5.18.2b	JD	1:10-12
4.2.7c		r12:32	5.18.2b	J	1:14
4.5.2c	L	11:25	5.18.3b		1:12
4.5.3a	L	8:56	5.22.2c	L	s8:44

Irenæus		Gospel	Irenæus		Gospel
5.23.2c	L	8:44	5.31.2a	L	120:20
5.25.4a	L	5:43	5.36.2a	L	VI4:2
5.27.2c	L	3:18-21			
5.31.1c	L	529:17	Fr. 35	L	v3:5

A study of this second table is hardly less suggestive than that of the preceding.

1. From it one might infer that Irenæus had neglected the use of the gospel in the early portion of his work, for only twelve of the chapters of his entire first two books have even a reference to the gospel. This neglect is merely apparent, however, not real. In his first book Irenæus was only stating the teachings of his opponents preparatory to making a criticism of them, and even the slight use which he made of the gospel was not strictly in accord with the plan which he outlined for himself. In his second book he presented his own more philosophical criticism of the Gnostics, and this did not properly allow a considerable use of the gospel. Not till the beginning of his third book did his general scheme make it appropriate for him to appeal largely to the Scriptures.

2. The summary of the contents of the gospel in 2.22.3 is worthy of special attention. In discussing the chronology of Jesus' life, Irenæus referred to those parts of the gospel which seemed to him to prove that the ministry of Jesus extended over more than a year. His reference becomes a kind of epitome of the contents of the gospel and indicates, in compact form, the contents of the gospel as he had it. A glance at the gospel references, in the table, opposite to 2.22.3 gives considerable reason to infer, from this reference alone, that Irenæus had before him chaps. 2-19 inclusive of our gospel.

3. In the preceding table, the variety of abbreviations for the authorities to whom Irenæus attributed the statements of the gospel indicated the looseness of his usage. Here this variety offers a different suggestion. The reader will observe a change of usage during the progress of the work. In the early portion of his discussion Irenæus attributed his quotations and references chiefly to "John," or to "John, the disciple of the Lord." Later there is more variety, as though his thought of the source of the gospel statements was changing and becoming unstable. In Book 5 he attributed the statements of the gospel almost entirely to "the Lord." The simplest conclusion is that his conception of Jesus had developed in the course of the composition of his apology and manifested itself in the selection of the titles for his authorities. Such a development in his thought was natural enough, for the summaries at the beginning and close of his different books

make it probable that the composition extended over some months at least, perhaps over a longer period; he may even have published the work in instalments, for he was evidently eager to offset the Gnostic teachings as early as possible. If the work did thus cover an extended period, he would easily come to feel that the gospel was more directly the product of Jesus himself, not as to its writing, but as to its source and authority.

From the extent of Irenaeus' use of the fourth gospel, as seen in the above varied ways, we are warranted in concluding that he possessed substantially the same gospel which has come down to us, and that his text was not very different from the one which we read.

CHAPTER II

THE AUTHOR OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL FOR IRENAEUS

The large use which Irenaeus made of the fourth gospel leaves no doubt that he was much interested in the material which the gospel gave to him. This gospel was one of the chief authorities to which he appealed. If he did not think it superior to other scriptures to which he turned in support of his arguments, he at least did not regard it as inferior to others. It is of interest and of importance, therefore, to know what Irenaeus thought of the authorship of the fourth gospel. Anticipations of this have already appeared in the titles which the two tables present for Irenaeus' authorities in referring to the gospel. The following statements will put the matter into more definite form.

1. For Irenaeus, the fourth gospel was the work of John of Asia of late apostolic times, apostolic times extending, for him, as far as the days of Trajan (2.22.5c; 3.3.4c).

The evidence for this statement is so ample that there is little need to discuss it. Reference to the above tables is all that is required to warrant it. From those it is seen that about one-fourth of the references to the gospel were attributed, in one form of expression or another, to John. Sometimes the quotation or reference was attributed to John without any further identification of the person of whom he thought. Frequently the author of the gospel was John, "the disciple of the Lord." Again he was simply "the disciple of the Lord," but the context makes it certain that the author so designated was this same John. The very freedom which Irenaeus felt in his reference to the gospel is an indirect assurance of his certainty concerning the author.

2. Aside from John the Baptist and John Mark, Irenaeus recognized only one John of apostolic times.

John Mark is mentioned in 3.14.1a, but with a clear recognition that he was a different person from the John of whom Irenaeus thought as the author of the gospel. John the Baptist is named, or the language which the gospels attribute to him is quoted as his, several times (e. g., 1.3.5b; 1.30.12b; 3.10.3a; 4.4.3b; 5.17.4b). In some instances, as already pointed out (p. 13), Irenaeus did not concern himself to inform his readers whether he was speaking of the Baptist, or the Evangelist. In 4.4.3b he chose to say that the John he was introducing was the Baptist, even though

he had referred to him simply as John only a few lines earlier on his page. No sufficient reason for this appears. Perhaps it was due to the general habit of looseness of expression which is a characteristic of Irenaeus' style and is the outcome of looseness of thought. At the same time, to anyone who examines the references in their contexts, it is evident that Irenaeus was never in doubt as to whether John the Baptist was a different man from the author of the gospel.

This is an important point. It limits at once the possibilities as to the author of the fourth gospel for Irenaeus. For him, the author of the gospel was the one John of New Testament times other than John the Baptist and John Mark.

3. This John of Asia who was, for Irenaeus, the writer of the fourth gospel, was not only "the disciple of the Lord," but also an "apostle."

Those who have discussed the testimony of Irenaeus have sometimes minimized, or even entirely overlooked, this point. It is important, therefore, that the meaning of Irenaeus' language be made clear, and a single passage seems sufficient to put the matter beyond question. It is that in 1.9.2*b*, where Irenaeus declared that the interpretation of the fourth gospel which his opponents had offered would make John refer to "the primary ogdoad, in which there was as yet no Jesus, and no Christ, the teacher of John. But that the apostle did not so speak . . . he himself has made evident; for he declares, 'And the word was made flesh and dwelt among us.'" It is true, of course, that this does not give the phrase for which some have asked, "John, the Apostle," or "John, the son of Zebedee." But the reader of the statement in its context, if not in the quotation, can hardly find the language less definite. The expression is an incidental one, but it can hardly mean that Irenaeus had in mind any other than the apostle John, the son of Zebedee.

A passage from the third book is hardly less decisive. At the close of 3.3.4, Irenaeus wrote: "The church in Ephesus, founded by Paul, and having John remaining among them permanently until the times of Trajan, is a true witness of the traditions of the apostles." The obvious meaning of this statement is that, for Irenaeus, the John of Asia was an apostle. Taken with the point which has been made above—that Irenaeus recognized only one John of apostolic days other than John the Baptist and John Mark—the statement means that the writer of the gospel was an apostle. The passage in 2.22.5*c* contains similar language and gives the same conclusion.

Again, in 3.5.1*a*, Irenaeus referred to "those apostles who did also write the gospel . . . pointing out that our Lord Jesus Christ is the truth."

This is manifestly a reference to John 14:6, and makes the author of the statement an apostle. This apostle must have been John, for John was Irenæus' author of the fourth gospel.

Four other passages yield essentially the same evidence, though not in so specific form. In 3.11.9b Irenæus urged that the Valentinian writing which the Valentines called "The Gospel of Truth" did not at all agree with "the gospels of the apostles." Thus, by the use of the plural, "the apostles," two at least of the evangelists were made apostles, one of whom, for Irenæus, is most naturally thought of as the fourth. In 3.12.5a the Peter and John who are described in the fourth chapter of Acts are said to have returned "*ad reliquos co-apostolos*." This John, according to Acts, is evidently the apostle, and Irenæus could hardly have thought of him differently. From the close of 3.16.1 we learn that Irenæus judged it necessary to take into account "the entire mind of the apostles," which he made to include the mind of John as well as of Matthew and others. Later (3.21.3c), he insisted that the LXX translation harmonized with the traditions of "the apostles; for Peter, and John, and Matthew, and Paul, and the rest successively," followed that translation.

Remembering that John the disciple was, for Irenæus, the writer of the gospel, Irenæus' letter to Victor (Eus. *H. E.* 5.24) gives a specific statement that the author of the gospel was an apostle. Irenæus wrote that Polycarp would not forego his custom of observing Easter because he had received it from John and "other apostles." John is thus described, indirectly, as an apostle.

This cumulation of evidence places Irenæus' opinion beyond doubt. The author of the fourth gospel was as certainly an apostle for him as though he had taken a page, to state, argue, and prove the point. He would have been astonished if he could have known that any reader would ever think otherwise. One can hardly believe that those who have been in doubt about the matter have read Irenæus.¹

¹ E. g., H. L. Jackson, *The Fourth Gospel and Some Recent German Criticism*, 1906, p. 45: "The decisive word 'apostle' is missing." Cf. especially the hesitation of Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 1906, p. clxxiv: "No second-century testimony, except that of the Leucian Acts, excludes the hypothesis that the John who lived in Asia and wrote the Apocalypse [and as certainly, substantially, the gospel, according to Swete] was the Elder, or compels us to believe that John the Apostle ever resided in Asia. Moreover, it is certainly remarkable that in so many of the earliest references to him John of Asia is called 'the disciple,' and not, expressly at least, the Apostle." C. A. Scott, in reviewing Swete's work for *The Expositor* (January, 1907, p. 45) blindly follows in the same direction, and speaks of "Irenæus' steady refraining from calling 'John' an apostle."

Though the conclusion is so evident and convincing, one may still ask why Irenaeus never used the phrase, "John, the apostle." The answer is an easy one for those who have so read Irenaeus as to catch his spirit and to discover the principles which guided him in the choice of expressions. Such readers discover that the terminology of Irenaeus was that of the New Testament. Now, the New Testament usually introduces a person by name without any further designation. This is the New Testament usage concerning John, except that he is distinguished as the brother of James; and it accounts for the usage of Irenaeus, for John, "the apostle," is not a New Testament expression. But "disciple" is New Testament language. In the gospels, "disciple" is the ordinary word, "apostle" being very uncommon as compared with it. From the New Testament we could not expect to get "John, the apostle." Still further, "*the* disciple," in the singular, as a title for a person, is an expression found in the fourth gospel only.¹ To be sure, the expression, "the disciple of the Lord" is not found in the gospel. On the other hand, Irenaeus did not use the name "Jesus" alone, but, as has been pointed out above (p. 15), he spoke frequently of "the Lord."² It was a very natural thing, then, for Irenaeus to retain "the disciple," but to change "of Jesus" into "of the Lord." With this slight change, the gospel itself offered a unique title for its author, while to have spoken of him, either as an author or otherwise, as "apostle," would have been to disregard entirely the usage which the New Testament gave. When he was referred to as an apostle, it was only incidentally.

This conclusion naturally raises the question: What was Irenaeus' general use of the word "apostle"? The material offered in reply is interesting indeed. It shows not only his thought of an "apostle," but also his attitude to the apostolic age as a whole.

According to his statement in 3.11.4c, he regarded John the Baptist as an apostle. The Latin reads: "*Ipse* [John the Baptist] *et prophetae et apostoli locum habuerit.*" The genitive with "*locum*" might seem to be a careful method of avoiding the statement that John was an apostle, of saying only that John was a kind of vice-apostle. But this is to attribute to Irenaeus a carefulness of language which he never observed. Moreover, such an interpretation proves too much. If it proves that John was only a vice-apostle, it proves that he was only a vice-prophet, for the con-

¹ See John 18:15, 16; 19:26, 27; 20:2, 3, 4, 8; 21:7, 20, 23, 24; in some of which the Greek shows the article as the English cannot.

² See *Heresies* 2.22 for an extended example of his usage, the more striking because he is there discussing Jesus' age, which would, if any topic would, lead him to use the name Jesus.

struction is the same for both words. But Irenaeus had just made him a prophet by comparing him with "the other prophets." Accordingly, he intended the phrase to mean that John was an apostle as well as a prophet.

A statement at the close of 3.11.9 is even more inclusive. Irenaeus had just discussed, in order, the evidence from the four gospels. He continued: "*Examinata igitur sententia eorum qui nobis tradiderunt evangelium, . . . veniamus et ad reliquos apostolos.*" This makes Mark and Luke apostles, for it is evident that Irenaeus had these men in mind, rather than Peter and Paul—whom he had previously (3.1.1) made sources, for Mark and Luke respectively, of the second and third gospels—because he proceeded at once to discuss Peter as one of the "remaining apostles." These latter also are interesting, for they include not only Peter, but John (3.12.3*a*), Philip (3.12.8*a*), Stephen (3.12.10*a*), and Barnabas (3.12.15*c*), as though Irenaeus was writing with Acts before him and arranging the material about these prominent persons who are mentioned in the book. This accounts for the repetition of testimony from John. And he made the matter still more definite when he introduced his summary of the entire argument with the statement: "*Sic apostoli . . . religiose agebant.*" As though to clinch the point—yet to do so never occurred to him—he later (3.21.4*a*) quoted Matt. 1:18 and Luke 1:35 together as statements which "*ipsi [the apostles] testificantur.*"¹

Indeed, the apostles, for Irenaeus, were not limited to such a list as that which has just been given. He thought of all the Christian men of the apostolic days, at least all the prominent ones, as essentially apostles. This statement cannot be proved as definitely as the several persons named above have been proved to have been, for Irenaeus, apostles, but it is implied in such expressions as the following: "This tradition from the apostles" (2.9.1*c*); that Soter was the twelfth bishop of Rome "from the apostles . . . from the apostles till now" (3.3.3*c*); "the tradition from the apostles" (3.5.1*a*); "the succession from the apostles" (4.26.2*a*); "the doctrine of the apostles and the ancient constitution of the church" (4.33.8*a*); "all these [Irenaeus' opponents] are of much later date than the bishops to whom the apostles committed the churches . . . the sure tradition from the apostles" (5.20.1*a, b*).

Accordingly, when Irenaeus spoke of a man as an "apostle," that in itself means merely that the man belonged to the first century. The term

¹ Cf. Monnier, *La notion de l'apostolat*, 1903, p. 362: "L'apostolat de Paul et des Douze n'est pas exclusif d'un apostolat plus étendu. Irénée invoque, à l'appui des Évangiles, le témoignage du *reste des apôtres* (3.11.9*e*). Il identifie donc les Évangélistes avec les Apôtres. Barnabas aussi est un apôtre."

becomes more definite only through a limitation by other data which he offers, as e. g., in the case of John the author of the gospel, who, in the manner indicated above, is not only distinguished from John the Baptist and John Mark (p. 17), but is also found to be clearly an apostle (pp. 18, 19).

"*Sacerdotes autem sunt omnes Domini apostoli*" in 4.8.3b appears to indicate an even looser use of the word "apostle," as though apostles were not confined to the first century. But perhaps Irenaeus did not mean that. The context can hardly be said to make the time of the verb certain. There is less reason for pressing the point in either direction because we have only the Latin. The Greek which Irenaeus wrote may have given the passage a different coloring.

A statement of Irenaeus in 3.12.15c further illustrates his attitude to the apostolic age as a whole. Inasmuch as it is usually misinterpreted and made to create a prejudice against his testimony to the fourth gospel, its consideration here will serve a twofold purpose. It is the parenthetical statement, "*ubique enim simul cum eo adstantes inveniuntur Petrus et Iacobus et Ioannes*," in which the reference to James, directly after Irenaeus had been speaking of James the brother of Jesus and without anything to differentiate them, is usually understood to be a manifest confusion of the two men. But the language of Irenaeus, when rightly understood, does not involve such a conclusion. The key to the language is to be found in what has been said above (p. 20) of the way in which Irenaeus adopted New Testament phraseology. The combination, "Peter, James, and John," was a New Testament expression of special prominence and significance. At this point of his discussion it served Irenaeus admirably. He was appealing to what he regarded as general Judaeo-Christian custom in the apostolic age concerning eating with gentiles. This is seen from the form of his concluding statement: "*Sic apostoli, quos universi actus et universae doctrinae Dominus testes fecit . . . religiose agebant*." It is seen also in the tenor of the entire section. Accordingly, he could include James the brother of John as proof of his argument; and the familiar gospel phrase was used without stopping to consider that, in its context, it could be misunderstood. It was not Irenaeus' nature or custom to stop to consider such possibilities of misunderstanding. To fail to recognize this is to do Irenaeus much injustice.

Aside from the case of 4.8.3b above, therefore, and perhaps inclusive of it, the language of Irenaeus implies that he thought of the apostles as men belonging to the first century only and as forming a group of Christians by themselves. They occupied this unique position, however, not because they belonged to the circle of the twelve, or of the twelve and Paul, but

because they had the privilege of a peculiar relation to Jesus. Many of them had associated with him. Others (especially Mark and Luke) had been honored with the position of writing of his life and mission. Others (e. g., Stephen, Philip, and Barnabas) had rendered special service appropriate to the period. One, John, who had been most intimately associated with Jesus, had lived to remarkably advanced years and preserved the character of the age. While he remained, the "apostolic" age continued; when he died that age passed away. In view of all this, the heritage which came from the age of the apostles was unique and was worthy of pre-eminent consideration, whether this heritage came in written form or through personal tradition. Irenæus did not think of criticizing it, if it was well attested. That which was assured to have come from the apostles was authoritative.

4. While it must be admitted, therefore, that the word "apostle" applied by Irenæus to the John whom he recognized as author of the gospel would not, of itself, identify him as the son of Zebedee, yet it remains true that "apostle" usually meant for him what it means in the New Testament. Accordingly, when we take into account that he recognized only one John other than John the Baptist and John Mark and that this one John, on the basis of Irenæus' own testimony rightly understood, was an "apostle," the conditions which his testimony as a whole imposes are satisfied only by the conclusion that the son of Zebedee was, for Irenæus, the author of the fourth gospel.

CHAPTER III

THE VALUE OF THE IRENAEUS TESTIMONY FOR US

We have seen that Irenaeus thought of the son of Zebedee as the author of the fourth gospel. His certainty concerning the authorship of the gospel, however, cannot be accepted as affording the same certainty for us. Even with all his assurance, Irenaeus may have been led into error. His work was not the result of critical investigation, at least in the sense in which we now think of critical investigation, and we cannot accept his confident statements at their face value, unless we have discovered that they are worth that. We know that he made a mistake concerning the third gospel, for he wrote that Luke, as "the companion of Paul, recorded in a book the gospel preached by him" (3.1.1c). The student of the synoptic gospels at the present time does not understand that Luke gained the material for his gospel from Paul. Irenaeus may have made a mistake concerning the composition of the fourth gospel also. The material which he transmitted to us must be critically examined, therefore, that we may discover how well founded his assurance was.

This material, as it bears upon the fourth gospel, is presented in what he wrote of his relation to Polycarp, to the presbyters, and to Papias. We may consider that concerning Polycarp first. It is extant in three significant passages from Irenaeus' writings. These are: His letter to Victor, bishop of Rome, preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* 5.24); a letter to Florinus, also preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* 5.20); and *Heresies* 3.3.4.

The significant phrases of Eusebius' introduction to the letter to Victor and of the letter itself, for this study, are as follows: 'Εν οἷς [the different ones who wrote to Victor] καὶ ὁ Εἰρηναῖος ἐκ προσώπου ὧν ἡγείτο κατὰ τὴν Γαλλίαν ἀδελφῶν . . . ἐπιλέγων . . . Καὶ τοιαύτη μὲν ποικιλία τῶν ἐπιτηρούντων, οὐ νῦν ἐφ' ἡμῶν γεγονυῖα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν . . . καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλαττον πάντες οὗτοι εἰρηνεύσαν τε, καὶ εἰρηνεύομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους . . . καὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Πολυκάρπου ἐπιδημήσαντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ Ἀνικήτου . . . εὐθὺς εἰρηνεύσαν . . . οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Ἀνίκητος τὸν Πολύκαρπον πείσαι ἐδύνατο μὴ τηρεῖν αὐτε μετὰ Ἰωάννου τοῦ μαθητοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν καὶ λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων, οἷς συνδιέτριψεν, ἀεὶ τετηρηκότα· οὔτε μὴν ὁ Πολύκαρπος τὸν Ἀνίκητον ἔπεισε τηρεῖν. . . . The language warrants the following statements concerning the source and trustworthiness of the testimony.

1. The letter was written, on behalf of the Christians in Gaul, to Victor

as the bishop of the church in Rome. It was evidently a letter which was intended to be of a public nature, an "open letter," so that it was expected to be subject to criticism. It became public property and stood the test of criticism well enough to be regarded as valuable for preservation.

2. From the letter we learn that Polycarp was in Rome in the time of Anicetus (who was bishop of Rome about 154 to 156). One of the leading topics of conversation at that time was the observance of Easter. In this discussion Polycarp maintained his position, because he could say that his custom of observance rested on the custom of "John, the disciple of our Lord, and the rest of the apostles," with whom he had observed it.

3. In this letter Irenæus asserted that, in spite of the difference between the Roman Christians and those of Asia as to the observance of Easter, there had been fellowship and peace between them at the time of which he was speaking, i. e., at a little past the middle of the second century. The Roman Christians in the time of Irenæus were in a position to know whether such had been the situation in the time of Anicetus, only thirty or forty years before. The memory of some of the older ones could have bridged the time with substantial accuracy, and documents of one kind or another were almost certainly in existence bearing on a topic which was regarded as so important as that of Easter and the earlier relations between Asia and Rome. Irenæus' appeal to Victor must have been well founded, and we are led to conclude that the situation at the middle of the second century was substantially that which Irenæus described toward the close of the century.

4. Such a presentation of the question in dispute as Irenæus made in this letter implies that he was independently and directly well informed as to the situation in Asia at the time of Anicetus. Otherwise he could not have written to Rome as he did. If he had gotten his information merely through Rome, Rome could have replied that his argument had no value for her, since she was already in possession of as much information as he was. At most his letter could only have been an appeal, and he would naturally have made such an appeal on the basis of reference to what he had received from Rome. But the letter contains no such reference. Rather it proceeds in an independent manner. The dispute had not arisen within the times in which he was living, he said, but long before; and the statement implies that he had known of the entire history of the dispute independently of his relations with Rome. He could easily have known this, of course, since close communication between the East and the West is well known to have been an ordinary event of the times.¹

¹ That his letter to Victor did not accomplish the purpose for which it was sent is

5. The fact that the dispute had arisen long before the time of Irenaeus implies that it had been under discussion long enough to bring out all the facts in the case and make them well known. As a corollary, the statement of Irenaeus implies that an error of claim would easily have been recognized and set aside. There were plenty of well-recognized data, and Irenaeus naturally confined himself to them.

6. Putting all this material together, it is seen that the testimony of Irenaeus in this letter is not a single testimony from the last part of the second century. Instead, it is the generally accepted understanding of conditions by the Christians of the middle of the second century, both in Rome, in Asia, and in Gaul.

7. But this takes the testimony, at least as much of it as came from Polycarp, back to his lifetime and activity, and makes it substantially his testimony. We have in this letter a presentation of some of the affairs of Asia as Polycarp had been familiar with them during his long life in the midst of Asian events.

8. Inasmuch as Polycarp was a man some thirty years of age at the close of the first century, we are here given the testimony of a man who was fully conversant with events and opinions of that time, and the testimony which we are considering is seen to be the testimony of the close of the first century.

The letter to Florinus (Eus. *H. E.* 5.20) may now be examined in a similar way. Florinus had renounced some views which Irenaeus regarded as essential to Christian teaching, and Irenaeus wrote in protest. The portions of the letter which bear on the worth of the testimony and its significance for the fourth gospel are as follows: Ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις συμφουτήσαντες, οὐ παρέδωκάν σοι. Εἶδον γάρ σε, παῖς ὢν ἔτι, ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσίᾳ παρὰ τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ πειρώμενον εἰδοκιμῆν παρ' αὐτῷ. Μᾶλλον γὰρ τὰ τότε διαμνημονεύω τῶν ἐναγχος γινομένων ὥστε με δύνασθαι εἰπεῖν καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ καθεζόμενος διελέγετο ὁ μακάριος Πολύκαρπος, καὶ τὰς προόδους αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα τοῦ βίου καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἰδέαν καὶ τὰς διαλέξεις ὡς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννον συναστροφὴν ὡς ἀπήγγελλε, καὶ τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἑωρακῶτων τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ὡς ἀπεμνημόνευε τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν· καὶ περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου τίνα ἦν ἂ παρ' ἐκείνων ἀκηκόει, καὶ περὶ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτοῦ, καὶ

not a serious objection to my argument, for the entire account of the affair, as given by Eusebius, indicates that Victor acted arbitrarily, perhaps for ecclesiastical purposes, rather than in the spirit which had prevailed in the time of Anicetus. Though Eusebius did not take sides in the matter, it is evident that he felt the strength of the Asian claim, as may be seen by his various comments throughout the chapter.

περὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας, ὡς παρὰ τῶν αὐτοπτῶν τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ λόγου παρεληφώς ὁ Πολύκαρπος, ἀπήγγελλε πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς. Ταῦτα . . . ἤκουον. . . . Καὶ δύναμαι διαμαρτύρασθαι . . . ὅτι εἴτι τοιοῦτον ἀκηκόει ἐκείνος ὁ μακάριος πρεσβύτερος . . . πεφεύγοι ἂν . . . Καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὧν ἐπέστειλεν ἦτοι ταῖς γειννιώσαις ἐκκλησίαις ἐπιστηρίζων αὐτάς, ἣ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τισὶ νουθετῶν αὐτοὺς καὶ προτρεπόμενος, δύναται φανερωθῆναι. This is a vivid and detailed account of a situation, and its trustworthiness is of prime importance. As to what this trustworthiness is, the letter justifies the following statements:

1. Irenaeus was writing to a man who was somewhat older than himself. They had both lived in Asia in early life and had known each other there. Apparently Florinus had remained in Asia after Irenaeus had removed to Europe. Whether he had, or had not, he had been at least a young man as early as the middle of the second century.¹ He had thus been in a position to know the situation in Asia at that time. Because of this personal knowledge which Florinus had, Irenaeus sought to dissuade him from a course of thought and action which that early knowledge and the training from it, according to Irenaeus, fully condemned. The argument of Irenaeus was based on the intimate relations which had existed between Florinus and Polycarp and on Irenaeus' knowledge of those relations to a sufficient extent to be certain of what they were. The facts must have been substantially as Irenaeus stated them. Otherwise he would have made himself ridiculous before Florinus and merely have played into the hand of his opponent.²

2. This trustworthy letter traces many of its claims to Polycarp. The fundamental ones for determining the relation of Irenaeus to the fourth gospel are of that kind. The material offered by the letter, therefore, is not so much the testimony of Irenaeus as it is the testimony of Polycarp, for Irenaeus rested his case on the claim that Florinus had received these things from Polycarp and recognized that he had so received them. If this had not been substantially the situation, Irenaeus' letter would have been of trifling worth and probably of only temporary interest.

¹ I am assuming the chronology of Harnack, according to which Irenaeus was born probably as early as 135, and may have been born earlier.

² It may be objected that the letter must have been such that Florinus could use it against Irenaeus, or Florinus would have suppressed it. But to say that is to overlook the fact that the contents of the letter would be used in other ways. If Florinus attempted to suppress it, such an action would only lead to a re-writing of the substance of the letter. Most probably the letter originally was an open communication, and we must believe its presentation of affairs for the middle of the second century to have been essentially correct.

3. Here, then, as in the case of the letter to Victor, we discover that the testimony which we gain from Irenaeus is that which comes from Polycarp and reaches back to the close of the first century. Perhaps the early date of the testimony is somewhat more certain in this case than it was in the other, for Florinus was in a better position to know Asia and its thought at the middle of the second century than any of the Roman Christians were. At least, we do not know that Victor, or any of those in Rome in his time, had lived in Asia at the middle of the century as Florinus had. If Victor had lived there in his early life, Irenaeus would have been likely to refer to the fact in the letter to him, just as he referred to Florinus' life there. Florinus had been closely associated with Polycarp, and what Florinus recognized as coming from Polycarp was well authenticated.

4. There is one important datum in this letter which is not brought out into the same relief in the letter to Victor. It is the fact that one link made the connection between Florinus and Irenaeus, on the one hand, and the apostles on the other. The link is perhaps implicit in the letter to Victor, but it has not the certainty there which appears here. Here it is expressly said that Polycarp and other presbyters were associated with the apostles and later were associated with Florinus. The significance of this is two-fold: it introduces the word "presbyter," and thus shows a point of contact with the other presbyter testimony, which will be considered later; and, more important, it means that Florinus recognized that the testimony which he had received from Polycarp he had received at first hand. He knew whether Polycarp had spoken to him of things which Polycarp had received from John and other apostles. Irenaeus and Florinus both knew whether communication had passed between them concerning the things which Florinus had received from Polycarp. When Irenaeus appealed to Florinus, therefore, he did it assuming a background created by such communication. If we had the letter entire, we should probably find in the first part of it some reference to such communication.

Irenaeus' statements concerning Polycarp in *Heresies* 3.3.4 do not add very materially to the data already found in these two letters, as far as the questions raised by the fourth gospel are concerned. That they do not is natural, or even an indirect evidence of the spontaneity and genuineness of both. The discussion here is a general one, most of the readers of which would not be in a position to verify details concerning Polycarp. Therefore Irenaeus did not attempt to enter into details. A comprehensive statement served his purpose.

There are two phrases in the passage, however, that may be worth noting. One of these is the statement that Polycarp was bishop of the

church in Smyrna. This is of some importance because it emphasizes the fact that he occupied an important place in Asia and was therefore in a position to know well of Asian men and affairs.

A more important assertion, perhaps, is, that the things of which Irenæus wrote were attested by all the churches of Asia and by the (episcopal) successors of Polycarp to Irenæus' own day. A statement like this would soon be read in Asia, and some of the Christians there would be able to know whether the statement was correct. Irenæus wrote with the knowledge that this would occur. He must have had good authority for the assertion. Thus the statement becomes another assurance that Irenæus was so fully in communication with Asia that he could appeal directly to Asian conditions.

Altogether, the letter to Victor, the letter to Florinus, and the passage in the *Heresies* are in accord, at the same time that they give sufficiently different details to show that they were spontaneous statements, called out by different sets of conditions. Their agreements and, at the same time, their supplementary nature corroborate their trustworthiness which has been assured on independent grounds. They tell us of the place which Polycarp and those associated with him occupied at the close of the first century, and they convey an account of some of the most important things which were then being said.

Especially, these writings tell us of the Asian John and of what Asia thought of Johannine writings. What is thus preserved for us concerning John and the Johannine writings we are now in a position to see, no longer on the basis of testimony from the close of the second century alone, but also on the assurance of that testimony traced back to the close of the first century and verified as the testimony of that earlier time. The findings from the testimony may be summed up as follows:

I. John the disciple is now an apostle on the authority of Polycarp, as the following considerations taken together show.

Both the letter to Victor and that to Florinus refer to the way in which Polycarp used to speak of John the disciple of Jesus. In the letter to Victor Polycarp made this John specifically an apostle. There is no discussion in either of the letters as to whether the John so mentioned was an apostle; that he was one of the twelve apostles of Jesus appears to have been taken for granted. Whether he was such an apostle or not Polycarp had been in a position to know. The John so mentioned, as Harnack has pointed out (*Chron.* I, 656), was a man of marked distinction. At the same time, as we have already seen (chap. ii), Irenæus, whose thought in the letters before us, as we have further seen, was the testimony of Polycarp, knew the

celebrated John of Asia only as the son of Zebedee. All these several data are explained, if Florinus, the Christians in Rome, Irenaeus, and those who were associated with these men learned from Polycarp that he had been associated in Asia Minor with the son of Zebedee and did not learn from him of any other eminent John. It is natural to conclude, therefore, that the celebrated John of Asia was the son of Zebedee.¹

¹ The argument of de Boor (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, V, 2) to the effect that the death of John the son of Zebedee occurred in Palestine at about the middle of the first century does not rest upon such early and trustworthy testimony as that of Polycarp through Irenaeus, which has led to the conclusion that John resided in Asia Minor till near the close of the century. Even the fragments of Georgius Hamartolus and Philippus Sidetes, though they both say that John suffered death at the hands of Jews, do not agree in the significant parts of the statement; and neither one locates the death of John in Palestine. These fragments, therefore, when all the evidence is taken into account, are unsatisfactory evidence for the early martyrdom of John. At the same time, their existence at a later period may be readily explained; they are the variant traditions, it would seem, which developed during the later decades, variants which naturally appeared as the tradition became separated from those who had been personally associated with apostolic leaders.

The remainder of the possible evidence for the death of John in Palestine at an early date is still less convincing. Of this evidence, Mark 10:39 and the parallel account in Matthew (20:22) are perhaps the best, but the arguments from the statements (e. g., that of Bacon on "The Martyr Apostles" in *The Expositor* for September, 1907) lack cogency. In Mark the tenses of the significant verbs are probably sufficient alone to indicate that the second evangelist did not understand Jesus' language to refer to martyrdom, for Jesus is made to speak of the cup which "I am drinking" and the baptism with which "I am being baptized," both verbs being presents and probably progressive presents. Accordingly, the cup of which Jesus was thinking for himself, and the one which he predicted for James and John, was one which was to be drunk by living rather than by dying; if its outcome should prove to be death, that was merely incidental. The emphatic element in the language of Mark is that James and John must be prepared to do in the future what Jesus was doing at the time he was speaking; they must be prepared to live as he was living, whatever might be the result. In Matthew the verb does appear to indicate that the evangelist put Jesus' cup beyond the time when Jesus was speaking, though μέλλω does not always have the future idea and does not necessarily have it here. Let us assume, however, that it is future in this case. Then the Matthew change of the Mark material might give a considerable probability that John became a martyr after the second gospel was written but before the composition of the first, if, at the same time, we had no other evidence bearing on the question. But, when the evidence from Polycarp is taken into account, we are under obligation to see whether the first evangelist may have been led by some other motive than the intervening death of John to modify the Mark material. One such motive may have been that, as he mentioned only a "cup," but not a "baptism," so he may have concentrated his thought on the death of James and interpreted Jesus' statement accordingly. Or, he may have been controlled by some other motive, the evidence of which we do not possess. Bacon's finding that "the disciple

II. The testimony from Polycarp offers suggestive material concerning the Johannine writings as well as concerning the Asian John.

In the letter to Florinus, from which quotation has been made above (p. 26), there occurs the following statement: ὁ Πολύκαρπος ἀπήγγελλε πάντα σύμφωνα ταῖς γραφαῖς. The πάντα, as a reading of the letter shows, were the details of the stories which Polycarp used to relate concerning

whom Jesus loved" was Paul (*The Expositor*, October, 1907) is highly ingenious, but not convincing. His discussion probably merely carries appreciation of the actual symbolism of the New Testament to an absurdity.

The omission of John's name from the letters of Ignatius is most easily explained by a residence of John in Asia and his natural death there. If John lived in Asia and died there a natural death, Ignatius could not have introduced his name into the letters as he introduced the names of Paul and Peter, for he wrote of both as martyrs (Rom. 4:3; Eph. 12:2). Aside from Paul and Peter, he named only living Christians. Peter and Paul were not named in any one of the remaining five of his letters. This might appear to indicate that, if we did not have his letters to the Romans and to the Ephesians, we should be justified in concluding that he did not know Peter and Paul had been in Rome; but the mere statement of such a conclusion shows how untrustworthy it would be. Even great men are not mentioned on all occasions and in every letter. Ignatius did not mention John because the nature of the letters he was writing was not such as to lead to such a mention.

In a similar way Polycarp's mention of Paul in his letter to the Philippians without a mention of John is readily accounted for. In one case (9.1, 2), he, like Ignatius, spoke of Paul as a martyr. In the other two references (3:2 and 11.2, 3) Paul's letter to the Philippians was the occasion of the mention. If, then, John lived in Asia for a time, died a natural death, and did not write a letter to the Philippians, Polycarp could not have mentioned John as he mentioned Paul. We can hardly assume that a letter from Polycarp to the Philippians must have mentioned John in any case. The lack of mention in the letter we have is accounted for if we assume that John did not die a martyr and did not write to the Philippians.

Papias' statement preserved by Eusebius (*H. E.* 3.39.3, 4) probably corroborates the theory that there was only one celebrated John in Asia and that this John was the son of Zebedee. This often-discussed statement includes the name John twice, but in each case it is applied to a presbyter. Eusebius, in his unfortunate guess concerning the authorship of the Apocalypse, had to interpret Papias' language to mean that Papias knew two Johns and located both of these in Asia. Papias certainly did not say this, and his language does not require such an interpretation. In the fact that the name John is each time given to a presbyter, together with the form of the verbs, is to be found the key to the language. The significant words are as follows: Εἰ δὲ που καὶ παρηκολουθηκώς τις τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἔλθοι, τοὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἀνέκρινον λόγους· τί Ἀνδρέας . . . εἶπεν . . . ἢ τί Ἰωάννης . . . ἃ τε Ἀριστίων καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος Ἰωάννης . . . λέγουσιν. A comparatively simple interpretation of the somewhat ambiguous language is this: At the time of which Papias was writing—i. e., near the close of the first century—Andrew and the other presbyters named in the first part of the sentence, except John, were dead, and their younger associates, who told Papias of what they had said, spoke of each one in the past tense (εἶπεν).

Jesus' life and teachings, as he had heard them from John and others who had associated with Jesus. It is of great importance, therefore, to determine what these writings were in harmony with which Polycarp used to speak of Jesus' deeds and words. For this determination we must be guided by a consideration of the different possible meanings which *ταῖς γραφαῖς* may have in such a connection as that in which the expression here occurs.

The presence of the article without any other limitation of the noun indicates either that these were writings already mentioned in the preceding context, to which the article restricts them, or that they were the well-known writings which required no further description. As no writings are mentioned in the preceding context, we are limited to a consideration of the possible well-known writings. These appear to be the following:

1. The writings referred to were the well-known Old Testament Scriptures. This is possible, no doubt, for Irenaeus often interpreted the Old Testament statements as predictions of the events in Jesus' life. The context, however, has in it nothing to indicate that such a reference was intended here; rather, it seems to assure us that Irenaeus' interest here

Aristion and John were still alive, and the men who reported their teachings used the present tense (*λέγουσιν*). These two men were put in a different class, through a change in the form of the last part of the statement, because they were still alive at the time referred to. Aristion seems not to have been thought of as a presbyter; at any rate, he was not called one. But, in the case of John, the significantly restrictive *ὁ πρεσβύτερος* was used, apparently referring back to the fact that John had already been called a presbyter and intending to indicate directly that this John was the same one who had been mentioned in the first group and could now be mentioned again because he belonged also in the same class as Aristion.

The course of events, accordingly, was somewhat as follows: Papias, in his early life, used to inquire what the personal disciples of Jesus, while several of them were still alive, used to say. He inquired also what those still alive in his own time were saying. John, in view of the advanced age to which he attained, belonged to both classes. Papias, when he wrote in later life, preserved this distinction and repeated the descriptive phrase applied to John to show that it was the same man who was mentioned twice. His testimony is a testimony to one John, then, rather than to two. Where this one lived, either in the earlier period or the later, however, he did not say, for he did not locate any of the persons whom he named. Apparently the list is made without reference to location. Probably it was made for other reasons alone, namely, their relation to Jesus, as the language indicates. It is left to us, therefore, to locate John by means of evidence which we have from other sources than Papias. This will naturally lead us to say that, if Papias spoke of only one John and knew of him as one who had come to advanced age, the John whom he thus knew will almost certainly be the son of Zebedee, whom the testimony of Polycarp locates in Asia at the time of which Papias was speaking.

was in the accounts which he had of New Testament times—that he was appealing to history rather than to prophecy.

2. The writings referred to were the well-known New Testament writings as a whole. This, too, appears possible, for, in the days of Irenaeus, the New Testament had come to be referred to in that manner.¹ Such a reference, however, seems in no degree probable, for the New Testament as a whole does not describe the life and teachings of Jesus. If Irenaeus intended to refer to the New Testament at all, he could hardly have had in mind more of it than the gospels. We may pass, therefore, to consider the possibility of such a reference, namely,

3. Irenaeus referred to the well-known gospels of his own day. This may be resolved into three possibilities:

a. The four gospels existed in the time of Polycarp as they did in the time of Irenaeus. Irenaeus knew this and carelessly referred to them at the time of Polycarp by the title which they did not receive till a generation or two later. This theory has the serious difficulty that it must explain how the fourth gospel could have existed in the days of Polycarp and yet have no satisfactory attestation before about the year 170. Various explanations of this phenomenon have been attempted, but, up to the present time, no satisfactory solution of the difficulty seems to have been offered.

b) Irenaeus thought the four gospels existed in the time of Polycarp and carelessly described them by the title of his own time. He was right as to the existence of the synoptic gospels, but he was wrong concerning the fourth gospel, which, if it existed at all in Polycarp's day, did not exist in its present form. This theory differs from the preceding in that (1) it charges Irenaeus with a mistake concerning the date of the publication of the fourth gospel as well as concerning the title which he gave the gospels as they were known in Polycarp's day; (2) it assumes that the fourth gospel was not published till after the time of Polycarp, and so it does not need to explain the late attestation; (3) it has to explain how a "Johannine" gospel could have been published so late. Hitherto, attempts to explain how a "Johannine" gospel could have only such late attestation have either failed to give a satisfactory account of all the data involved, especially, per-

¹ Not so in the days of Polycarp. There is no instance in the works of the Apostolic Fathers which have come down to us where the gospels, or any part of the New Testament, or all of it together, is referred to as "the writings." The nearest approach to such an expression is in II *Clem.* 2.4, where, after passages from the Old Testament had been quoted, the writer continued: *ἑτέρα δὲ γραφή λέγει*, with a quotation of part of Matt. 9:13. Indeed, this is the only place in the Fathers where the gospel is referred to as *γραφή*.

haps, the practical absence of quotations by Justin from the fourth gospel,¹ or have largely discredited the idea that the fourth gospel was any very direct production of the son of Zebedee.

c) Irenaeus knew that the first three gospels were current in Polycarp's time as in his own; he knew also that the fourth gospel was a later work. In referring to the situation in the time of Polycarp, he merely employed the usage of his own time, not taking the trouble to state all the facts as he knew them. This theory relieves Irenaeus from responsibility for giving an early date to the publication of the fourth gospel, but it makes him responsible for error in carrying the title of the gospels in his own time back to the time of Polycarp. It, like the preceding, must give an explanation of the late appearance of a "Johannine" gospel.

Altogether, we cannot say certainly that the reference of Irenaeus was not to the well-known gospels of his own day. If the four gospels were in existence in the days of Polycarp, it would have been no very serious error, perhaps, for him to use the language which we are here considering. But, if we say that he merely employed the language of his own time, we become involved in one of two serious difficulties: either, (1) we must explain how the fourth gospel could have been current in the days of Polycarp, but failed to get any satisfactory attestation till considerably later, or, (2) we must show how a "Johannine" gospel could appear after Polycarp's time. In view of the recognized seriousness of these difficulties, especially the difficulty of securing any common ground between the two positions, it is worth while to consider a further possibility, namely,

4. Irenaeus referred to Johannine writings current and well-known in the days of Polycarp dealing with the work and teachings of Jesus, writings from which the fourth gospel was later compiled. There is no doubt that this is a real possibility. To be sure, we do not know that such Johannine writings existed; if we did, some of the most serious aspects of the Johannine problem would be removed. The expression which Irenaeus here used, however, may indicate that there were such writings. At any rate, the expression suggests a possibility; we may take it and see what it is worth. The following points are worthy of notice:

a) If there were such Johannine writings current and well known in the days of Polycarp, then the expression which Irenaeus used was a natural one with which to refer to them; his language is as natural for such writings in the time of Polycarp as the same language had come to be for a reference to the New Testament in his own day.

¹ Such references by Justin as that in *Apology* i. 61, for example, are sufficiently explained if Justin had Johannine material but not the fourth gospel.

b) This hypothesis relieves Irenæus of the charge of carelessness and inaccuracy in making reference to the writings which he here had in mind. This is a comparatively unimportant matter, to be sure, but still it is worth taking into account. We have no occasion to discredit the man more than is necessary. The presumption ought to be that he is correct, until he is shown to be wrong, and a theory which justifies him in his usage is preferable, if it meets other conditions equally well.

c) This hypothesis is in accord with what appears to be the more obvious meaning of Irenæus' language, for he seems to say that Polycarp used to speak in harmony with writings then in existence which were then known as "the" writings; if anyone reads the language without any prepossessions as to what writings are referred to, he will probably reach this conclusion.

d) If we look at the context, that appears to indicate that Irenæus had in mind Johannine writings, but not a single gospel nor a gospel together with our Johannine epistles. The preceding context tells of the oral accounts which Polycarp used to give concerning Jesus as Polycarp had received them from John. The contents of these oral accounts are indicated by only two specific terms. These are *αἱ δυνάμεις* and *ἡ διδασκαλία*. Perhaps no other two terms alone could have been employed which would so well describe the special characteristics of the contents of the fourth gospel as distinguished from the contents of the synoptic accounts. The point is not decisive, to be sure, but it offers an interesting suggestion. It suggests that John used to speak especially of Jesus' miracles and teaching, that Polycarp used to repeat those accounts, and that the terms which Irenæus selected to describe those accounts—because these terms best find their contents in our fourth gospel at the same time that Irenæus spoke of "the writings" instead of "the gospel"—are testimony from the time of Polycarp to the contents of the fourth gospel as material which came from the son of Zebedee at the same time that Irenæus' selection of "the writings," as a term to describe the written form of that material, is a testimony to Johannine writings as embodying that material. By supposing that there were Johannine accounts of Jesus' work and teaching—but not our fourth gospel—current in the time of Polycarp, we explain the language of Irenæus' letters, both as to his selection of the term "the writings" and the context which indicates the contents of that term.

e) If we suppose that, in the time of Polycarp, there were Johannine writings, rather than a Johannine gospel, we gain an effective key to the problem of the long-recognized "displacements" in our fourth gospel. This recognition of displacements implies that, at some time, and in one

form or another, our gospel existed in the shape of "booklets," as Professor Burton has happily named them. These booklets were produced, we may assume, no doubt, with no thought that they would ever form a single work; if the author, or authors, of them had intended a single work, he, or they, would not have made booklets. Such booklets very naturally included similar material, or even the same material, presented from different points of view, or even from apparently different situations. Their compilation into a whole—after the usual method of writing history of the time—would then result in just such apparent dislocations and inconsistencies as the critical reader may now find in the fourth gospel.¹ But if we suppose that the gospel was composed as a single work, even from sources, these apparent dislocations and inconsistencies can hardly be explained as anything less than carelessness or ignorance. The supposition, accordingly, that the Johannine story of the life and teachings of Jesus in the time of Polycarp, at least as far as it was written at that time, was in the form of separate booklets, enables us most easily and most satisfactorily to account for an important element of the internal evidence of the fourth gospel. The course of events leading up to its compilation, then, will have been somewhat as follows: John did not write a gospel as a single work. If he himself wrote of Jesus at all, his writings were only in the form of short disconnected accounts. Perhaps it is more probable that the writing was done by one of his disciples with his approval. Such accounts, short sermons as it were, dealing with different aspects of Jesus' life and teachings but incidentally overlapping one another, received recognition at once, but were not thought of as a gospel. They remained in use, in Asia Minor, at least, during the time of Polycarp, and were the Johannine writings in accord with which Polycarp used to speak of the miracles and teachings of Jesus. Polycarp recognized the writings, but he was not dependent upon them, for he had received the same accounts from John himself and could relate them independently. Some time after this, perhaps about the middle of the second century, such Johannine writings then current as would best serve the purpose were compiled into a gospel, and the compilation resulted in the internal characteristics which have led scholars to recognize either displacements or booklets in our fourth gospel.

f) If the Johannine writings in the time of Polycarp were merely booklets, we can readily understand Justin's failure to quote from the fourth gospel—there was no such gospel until about the time he wrote. If he knew of Johannine booklets, he did not honor them as he did the synoptic

¹ E. g., those found by Bacon as described in *The American Journal of Theology*, Vol. IV, under the title "Tatian's Rearrangement of the Fourth Gospel."

“memoirs.” The increase in his use of Johannine material in the *Dialogue* as compared with that in the *Apology* (or the *Apologies*, if we call them two) is doubtless due largely to the increase in value for him of the Johannine material during the several years between the composition of the two works.

g) This view is not necessarily out of harmony with what Irenaeus himself wrote of the authorship of the gospel. His definite statement is as follows (3.1.1): *Ἐπειτα Ἰωάννης ὁ μαθητὴς τοῦ Κυρίου, ὁ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ ἀναπεσών, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξέδωκε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τῆς Ἀσίας διατρίβων. The καὶ αὐτός, as an emphatic repetition of Ἰωάννης, κτλ., plus the article with εὐαγγέλιον show that Irenaeus understood the work of the evangelist to have been merely to give his individual form to the common gospel story. This is usually understood to mean that Irenaeus made John the immediate author of the fourth gospel in the form in which Irenaeus had it. But the statement itself may mean much less than that. If it is compared with the immediately preceding statements concerning the authorship of the other gospels, one will see that Irenaeus seems to have made each of the other evangelists a writer of a completed gospel (Matthew γραφὴν ἐξήνεγκεν εὐαγγελίου; Mark ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν παραδέδωκε; Luke τὸ . . . εὐαγγέλιον ἐν βιβλίῳ κατέκετο), while John simply ἐξέδωκε τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. Was this Irenaeus' way of saying that John did not prepare a complete gospel but merely left gospel material? That may hardly be asserted, but it is certainly a possibility, and it is truly suggestive. Irenaeus' language is capable of that meaning, and such a meaning put upon it allows a theory of the origin of the gospel which will explain its late attestation, its Johannine character, and Irenaeus' substantial accuracy—three data which the evidence as a whole has required us to reconcile, if such a reconciliation may be fairly secured.

Two objections will doubtless be offered against this interpretation of Irenaeus' language. It will be said that I have freely charged him (p. 24) with a mistake concerning the authorship of the third gospel, while I now attempt to explain away the ordinarily accepted meaning of his accompanying statement concerning the fourth gospel. But the two cases are not at all parallel. Irenaeus' mistake concerning the third gospel has been recognized on grounds independent of Irenaeus, who was much farther removed from the writing of the third gospel than from the writing of the fourth, and is much more likely not to have had accurate information concerning the third. Moreover, in the case of the fourth gospel, difficulties concerning it which are recognized by scholars on grounds independent of Irenaeus are best explained by accepting his statement concerning it as an

accurate one, the correct interpretation of which I have just indicated. It is entirely possible, therefore, that Irenaeus' concise statement concerning the fourth gospel is the outcome of direct knowledge of its origin. Considerations to be advanced later, as well as those already advanced, support this view of the questions at issue.

The other objection will be that Irenaeus often quoted the fourth gospel as the actual language of John, which he ought not to have done if he knew that John himself did not write the gospel or even booklets from which it was compiled. The natural reply is that, on the theory of the origin of the gospel which I have proposed, John was sufficiently responsible for the language of the gospel for Irenaeus to have felt entire freedom in quoting it as John's, at least for such purposes as he had in mind.

This discussion of *ταῖς γραφαῖς* may now be summed up as a whole. The term was recognized in the time of Irenaeus as a title for the gospels, and he may have applied it to the gospels in the time of Polycarp, assuming, correctly or incorrectly, that they did so exist. To say that he did this, however, involves us in serious difficulty concerning the fourth gospel, a difficulty which hitherto has not been satisfactorily met, namely, to explain either (1) how our fourth gospel could have existed in the days of Polycarp as it existed in the days of Irenaeus without getting any attestation till about the year 170, or (2) how a Johannine gospel could have appeared only after Polycarp's time, in which case its late attestation would be explained by its late appearance. In short, to interpret Irenaeus' reference to "the writings" as a reference to the gospels is linguistically possible, but such an interpretation leaves us in historical difficulties.

The expression is equally explicable linguistically, however, as a reference to Johannine writings current in Polycarp's day; if there were such writings, the expression is the natural one for Irenaeus to have used to describe them. By assuming that there were such writings, therefore, we are able to avoid the historical difficulties at the same time that we show due regard to linguistic usage. Especially, we find an explanation for the serious difficulty offered by the external evidence, namely, an explanation of a Johannine gospel with only late second-century attestation. At the same time, we find also a key to the problem of the internal evidence offered by the so-called displacements, a key which is at once simpler and far less arbitrary than any other, and one by means of which we avoid depreciating the work of either author or editor of the gospel. No single item of the evidence warrants the conclusion which has been reached, but the ready combination, on this theory, of all the elements of the evidence in such a

manner as to seem to solve the problem which has been before us offers a strong probability that the conclusion is correct.¹

This testimony from Polycarp warrants a still further statement concerning the Johannine writings as they were known in Asia in Polycarp's time. As the testimony led above (p. 30) to the conclusion that Polycarp and those who received their information from him knew of only one John of prominence in Asia at the close of the first century, so here it implies that Polycarp and the rest knew of only one author for the Johannine writings. The only Johannine writer of whom they knew was the son of Zebedee. The opinion that the Johannine writings came from him was a uniform one. The very absence of discussion of the question is doubtless one reason why we do not have any more data bearing on the question. If there had been a difference of view concerning the authorship of the Johannine writings, such, e. g., as there was concerning the observance of Easter, it is natural to suppose that we should have inherited some accounts of the differences, as we have in the case of the differences about Easter. The testimony of the second century knows no such difference of views, and the recognition of this fact is highly important.²

¹ It may seem that, in this interpretation of *ταῖς γραφαῖς*, Irenaeus has been credited with an accuracy in the use of language out of harmony with the looseness which has been attributed to him earlier in the discussion (pp. 13, 18, 20, 22). But such an objection probably misses the real significance of the expression. It is hardly one which would have been chosen with conscious carefulness. Rather, it is an ordinary Greek usage, under such conditions as this letter seems to involve. If Irenaeus had written with conscious effort to be accurate, he would probably have employed some fuller expression, which would have revealed his endeavor to avoid any uncertainty in his meaning. In his unconsciousness of such effort he embodied accuracy in simplicity—if the above interpretation is correct—because an ordinary phrase was the one to accomplish that.

² The statement of Epiphanius (51.3) that the Alogi attributed the fourth gospel to Cerinthus is not a serious matter. Irenaeus wrote two centuries earlier than Epiphanius and was one of Epiphanius' chief sources; but he did not know anything of this Alogi claim. Instead, he understood (3.11.1) that the fourth gospel was written against Cerinthus (which might be true of booklets as well as of a complete gospel, of course). Epiphanius did not find in Irenaeus anything concerning the Cerinthian authorship of the gospel, and his statement certainly cannot weigh against that of Irenaeus. In addition to the fact that Epiphanius was so much later than Irenaeus, one has only to read his language to recognize that he was an intemperate and prejudiced writer and to discount his statement for that reason as well as for its lateness. Still further, and perhaps even more important, Epiphanius lumped the Alogi—i. e., those to whom he gave the name Alogi, for he says he coined the name—all together without regard to the chronological development of the movement which he had in mind. As far as his statement is concerned, the attributing of the fourth gospel to Cerinthus might have occurred only after the time of Irenaeus. That is doubtless the fact. The

This evaluation of the Irenaeus testimony concerning Polycarp, from which we discover that when Irenaeus spoke of Polycarp and his relations to John he was speaking on the basis of trustworthy information, brings us to a position where we can see the significance of two interesting passages in the *Heresies* which have often been stumbling-blocks in the way of the student of the fourth gospel.

One of these is the well-known passage at the close of 3.1.1, which has already been quoted (p. 37). Taken by itself, this may appear to be a statement without any sufficient historical knowledge, and the context does not give it any more definite support. But if it is read in the light of the above discussion of the relation between Irenaeus and Polycarp, it, like the statements of the two letters, may be regarded as substantially the testimony of Polycarp. What Irenaeus said concerning John in this case he received through Polycarp, just as he had received through Polycarp what he put into the letters.

Putting together the results up to this point, we shall see them to mean that the fourth gospel, though it came into existence some decades later than the synoptic gospels, had a history in some respects similar to theirs, at any rate similar to the history of the first and third. It came into existence as a compilation and passed through an editorial stage.

The second passage in the *Heresies* on which the above discussion of Irenaeus' relation to Polycarp throws light, is the statement in 3.11.1a, already referred to in another connection (p. 39, footnote 2), according to which Irenaeus understood that John wrote the fourth gospel "*αυξερε cum qui Cerintho insemminatus erat hominibus errorem, et multo prius ab his qui dicuntur Nicolaitae.*" If Irenaeus had no trustworthy knowledge concerning the origin of the gospel, then such a statement from him could be no more than a conjecture, an after-thought, a theory to account for the fact that in the prologue of the gospel he found material which served as excellent apologetic against the Cerinthians.

If, on the contrary, as the above discussion has endeavored to show, Irenaeus was not theorizing but was writing on the basis of trustworthy

untrustworthiness of his statement as representing a fact of the second century is made more certain in that Epiphanius himself says the Alogi claim was a pretense (*προφασίζονται γὰρ οὗτοι αἰσχυρόμενοι ἀντιλέγειν τῷ ἀγίῳ Ἰωάννῃ*). This implies a discussion of the matter. If such a discussion occurred as early as the time of Irenaeus, his statement in 3.11.1, without any reference to such a discussion, is a psychological impossibility, for he would not have let pass any such occasion to oppose those who attacked the views which he held. We are quite safe in saying that the Alogi claim, whatever there was in it, was of later date than Irenaeus and is of no value in comparison with what he gives us.

information; if Polycarp had said within his hearing, had told Florinus, had related to the Roman Christians, that John had spoken and written against Cerinthus, then we can readily understand why Irenaeus merely made the statement without any attempt to prove it. If Polycarp had related the same facts to others as well as to Irenaeus, Florinus, and the Roman Christians—as would have been most natural, if he used to tell the story at all—some of these would be younger than himself but older than Florinus and would easily have met with Irenaeus and recounted the facts. Now none of these hypotheses is impossible, or even improbable, and when their probability is taken into account, we discover the reason for the simplicity of Irenaeus' narrative. He was writing for his own generation, and it did not occur to him that things which were generally recognized needed any lengthy proof. He chose to employ himself in the discussion of matters over which there was division of opinion.¹

Thus far this chapter has been an examination of the testimony from Irenaeus as contained in his statements concerning Polycarp. There remains an examination of what he wrote concerning the presbyters, for his relation to John and the fourth gospel hinges on what he knew through these as well as on what he knew through Polycarp. The relationship is not so apparent, perhaps, in the presbyter testimony as it is in that from

¹ This absence of statement on the part of Irenaeus concerning matters of which we should be glad to have his testimony at length is an aspect of his writings by means of which critics have often been led astray. They find Irenaeus arguing at length over the meaning of New Testament language (e. g., 2.22), and it is inferred that similar arguments ought to appear concerning the authorship of the New Testament writings. For example, it is urged that because Irenaeus did not say anything more about the authorship of the fourth gospel he did not know anything more about it. But to urge this is to overlook the fact that Irenaeus was writing an apology for his own times, not a New Testament introduction. It reveals a lack of appreciation of the conditions at the time when Irenaeus wrote. Because Irenaeus wrote without citing his authorities and proving that they were trustworthy, he appears often to have written without authority. But when his relation to Polycarp and those of Polycarp's time is taken into account, one discovers that he had such first-hand authority as not to be aware that he needed to present it, especially in a work which was written for another purpose.

Sometimes the critic not only fails to recognize that Irenaeus was not concerned to discuss questions of authorship, but makes him concerned primarily in authorship. The discussion of Bacon in the first volume of *The Hibbert Journal* is a conspicuous example of this error. "Irenaeus, passionate advocate of the Johannine authorship" of the fourth gospel, is Bacon's language (p. 515). When, a little later (pp. 516, 517), he offers an explanation for his conclusion, he writes: "Irenaeus literally 'compasses heaven and earth' to find an argument against those who denied the apostolic authorship. Because there are four winds, four elements, four zones of the earth, four pillars of heaven, four cherubim sustaining the throne of God, the folly is manifest of 'those

Polycarp, but it is hardly less worthy of consideration because not so apparent. Through it we are able to reconstruct the historical situation in which Irenaeus lived more generally and on a larger scale than we can through that from Polycarp. Accordingly, even though some of the discussion may appear to be remote from John and the fourth gospel, such is not really the case, and its apparent remoteness must not prejudice the examination.

This presbyter testimony is contained in twenty-three references which Irenaeus made to unnamed authorities, as follows (a more complete list of these references than has heretofore been given, I believe): 1. pref. 2a; 1.13.3c; 1.15.6; 2.22.5c; 3.17.4c; 3.23.3a; 4.p.2b; 4.4.2b; 4.27.1a; 4.27.1c; 4.27.2c; 4.28.1b; 4.30.1a; 4.31.1a; 4.32.1a; 4.41.2a; 5.5.1c; 5.17.4c; 5.30.1a; 5.33.3b; 5.36.1c; 5.36.2b; Eus. *H. E.* 5.20. A discussion of the meaning of each of these references would require a larger amount of space than may well be given to it in this essay. Indeed, such a discussion is unnecessary, for the studies of Lightfoot (*Biblical Essays*, pp. 45 ff.), Harnack (*Chron.* I, pp. 333 ff.), and Zahn (*Forschungen*, VI, pp. 53 ff.) have already covered much of the ground with thoroughness. I shall merely state their respective conclusions, therefore, that their positions may be understood, and shall then deal only with what appear to be

wretched men who wish to set aside that aspect presented by John's gospel." The reference is to *Heresies* 3.11.4-9. The reader will observe, even from the summary of Bacon—which is none too just toward Irenaeus' own language—that Irenaeus was insisting that the gospels were four in number, but was not discussing the question of gospel authorship. Even in the case of the fourth gospel, it was the things presented by the gospel which Irenaeus' opponents were setting aside, not its Johannine authorship. The question of authorship is not mentioned. If the reader will examine the extended discussion of Irenaeus itself he will probably conclude that the absence of a discussion of authorship is more marked than my brief statement has made it. He will observe that Bacon has mistaken general apologetic for a discussion of authorship.

The important work of Drummond (*An Inquiry into the Character and Authorship of the Fourth Gospel*, 1904) fails to do justice to Irenaeus, but in another way. In summing up the results of a study of the letter to Florinus, Drummond finds only that Irenaeus "professes to have the most distinct recollection" of the discourses of Polycarp (p. 208), and that "one thing appears to be quite certain, that there was some John in Asia Minor who was highly distinguished, and to whom Polycarp was in the habit of appealing as an authority of the first class, one who, if not an apostle, was to be ranked with apostles" (p. 209). In this conclusion, Principal Drummond has failed to do justice to Irenaeus by failing to bring out the worth of Irenaeus' testimony concerning the Asian John. The conclusion leaves us in uncertainty as to what Irenaeus meant and admits that the Asian John may have been some other than the son of Zebedee, when a more searching examination of the testimony gives us the son of Zebedee alone.

pivotal portions of the testimony, especially those portions which these scholars seem to have failed to do justice to.

Lightfoot did not discuss all the twenty-three references. Among those to which he gave attention he found five classes as follows: (1) A written source, represented by the references of 1.p.2a; 1.13.3c; 3.17.4c; and 1.15.6; (2) a probably unwritten source, represented by 4.27.1a ff.; (3) an apparently written source, represented by 3.23.3a; (4) a probably written source, represented by 4.41.2a; (5) a written source, represented by 5.5.1c, and 5.36.1c and 2b. Of these the second, fourth, and fifth "present more or less distinct coincidences with St. John's Gospel" (p. 61). The fifth class he regarded as a written source because "Irenaeus uses the present tense 'the elders say,' and yet the persons referred to belonged to a past generation and were no longer living when he wrote" (p. 62). Lightfoot thought it probable that the fourth and the fifth classes might be united into one, both being thus found to be references to the work of Papias. His conclusion is significant for the following discussion in three ways:

1. It recognizes that some of these references which Irenaeus made to his unnamed authorities have no bearing on the fourth gospel.
2. It finds that some of the references which have a bearing on the fourth gospel are to oral sources.
3. It accepts the remainder of the references as made to a written source.

The conclusion of Lightfoot is shared by Harnack to the extent that he recognizes the three points just made. He disagrees with Lightfoot in that he divides the references as a whole into three classes only and reaches a different conclusion as to those which have a bearing on the fourth gospel.

Zahn differs from both Lightfoot and Harnack by finding only two classes among the references as a whole—those which have no bearing on the fourth gospel, and those which do have a bearing, all these latter being references to oral tradition.

Of these three discussions and conclusions, those of Harnack and Zahn are certainly the more important. Lightfoot, if he were still living and studying the Irenaeus testimony, would undoubtedly revise his statements in view of the studies which have appeared since his time. I shall assume, therefore, that his discussion is superseded and shall confine myself to the points in which Harnack and Zahn agree, and those in which they differ, as a means of discovering where their investigations are to be supplemented.

Harnack and Zahn agree that the following references have no particular bearing on the questions raised by the fourth gospel: 1.p.2a; 1.13.3c; 1.15.6; 3.17.4c, 3.23.3a; 4.p.2b; 4.4.2b; 4.41.2a; 5.17.4c. These

references are so uncertain that we cannot be sure to what sources Irenaeus here referred. Perhaps he referred to several different persons. At any rate, none of the material which he attributed to the persons he so obscurely referred to appears to throw light on the fourth gospel.

Having thus eliminated nine of the twenty-three references first enumerated, the chief question in the study of the remaining fourteen is: Did Irenaeus here make use of oral sources, or of written ones? On this question Harnack and Zahn again agree in making the seven citations of 4.27.1a; 4.27.1c; 4.27.2c; 4.28.1b; 4.30.1a; 4.31.1a; and 4.32.1a refer to an oral source. Their agreement gives strong probability that the conclusion is correct. My own study of the passages leads to the same result.

The great gulf between the conclusion of Harnack and that of Zahn is the result of the different interpretations which they make of six out of the seven remaining passages, namely, 2.22.5c; 5.5.1c; 5.30.1a; 5.33.3b; 5.36.1c, and 5.36.2b. Zahn concludes that the reference in each of these six instances is to an oral source, and that all of them belong to the same class as the seven which have just been considered. Harnack concludes that these six references are to a written source, which he takes to be the work of Papias. These six references must be thoroughly examined, therefore, in order to discover, if possible, whether Harnack or Zahn is correct as to the form of the source which Irenaeus here used.

Before proceeding to that examination, however, it is desirable to notice that the remaining one of the twenty-three references (Eus. *H. E.* 5.20; the letter to Florinus) also properly belongs to the material to be examined, though both Harnack and Zahn have practically left it out of account in evaluating the presbyter testimony.¹ It must be considered in the evaluation because it not only contains a reference to the presbyters but also, at the same time, gives us testimony concerning Polycarp, thus furnishing a point of contact between the Irenaeus testimony which has already been examined and that which is now before us. Accordingly, we have

¹ Harnack considered the letter to some extent in his discussion of Polycarp, but only incidentally and meagerly in his discussion of the presbyters, not as having any important bearing on the question of the significance of the presbyter testimony.

Zahn enumerates (p. 60) "die wirklich hieher gehörigen Stellen, an welchen die citirten Gewährsmänner entweder geradezu oder vermöge des Zusammenhangs mit anderen Anführungen als Apostelschüler charakterisirt sind," but no part of the letter to Florinus appears in the list. He, like Harnack, appears to have regarded the letter as of prime significance only for the discussion of Polycarp.

My evaluation of the presbyter testimony, on the contrary, will be found to hinge largely on the element of it which is found in the letter to Florinus.

seven passages (2.22.5c; 5.5.1c; 5.30.1a; 5.33.3b; 5.36.1c; 5.36.2b, and Eus. *H. E.* 5.20) as those which are pivotal for the study to discover whether Irenaeus, in them, referred to a written source or to an oral one.

In 2.22.5 Irenaeus was discussing Jesus' age. With his method, the validity of his argument, or the results at which he arrived, we are not concerned. We desire merely to discover what there is in his reference to indicate the kind of source which he was employing. He wrote that "*a quadragesimo et quinquagesimo anno declinat [a man] iam in aetatem seniores, quam habens Dominus noster docebat, sicut evangelium καὶ πάντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι μαρτυροῦσιν, οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἰωάννη τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου μαθητῇ συμβεβληκότες, παραδεδωκέναι τὰτα τὸν Ἰωάννην. . . . Quidam autem eorum non solum Ioannem, sed et alios apostolos viderunt, et haec eadem ab ipsis audierunt et testantur de huiusmodi relatione.*" The question is: Did Irenaeus here make the presbyters a written source, or an oral one? The question must be answered from the material offered by the quotation, for there is nothing more in the context which gives evidence of coming from the source quoted.

In favor of the source being written, it will be noticed that Irenaeus appealed to the gospel in the same way in which he appealed to the presbyters. The gospel is the written gospel, for, in the context, quotation is made from both Luke and John. Beside the written gospel are juxtaposed the words, "the presbyters." At first thought such a juxtaposition appears to make the form of the source in the case of the presbyters the same as in the case of the gospel; as the gospel source was written, so also the presbyter source was written. Further consideration of the statement, however, shows that this conclusion does not take all the data into account and is not inevitable. A loose writer like Irenaeus might make such a juxtaposition incidentally rather than significantly. That the two substantives are thus united into a single general predicate—*μαρτυροῦσιν* can hardly be called more precise than that—indicates such looseness of expression as to weaken the argument from juxtaposition, unless juxtaposition is regarded in itself as decisive.

In favor of the source being oral is the fact that it is plural, "the presbyters." To be sure, even two or more presbyters might have united in the composition of a work in which they discussed Jesus' age as a teacher. But such a thing is not at all probable. If it had been done, some better indication of the fact than anything we have here would be likely to have shown itself. Harnack thinks their discussion had been embodied in written form by Papias but continued to be referred to as the work of the presbyters. This, too, is possible, but his conclusion is not convincing

on the basis of this passage alone. The verb used—*μαρτυροῦσιν* was evidently the verb in both sentences of the Greek which Irenaeus wrote—perhaps points toward the conclusion that the source was oral, but, in the usage of Irenaeus, it cannot be regarded as decisive.

Altogether, though the passage is an important one, it does not furnish sufficient evidence to determine whether its source was written or oral. Whether the source was written or oral must be left an open question until the evidence of the other similar passages is taken into account.

When we pass to 5.5.1c, we do not find anything more definite. The language is not sufficiently different to warrant the space of quotation. Still more unfortunately, neither one of the closely associated references of 5.30.1a; 5.33.3b; 5.36.1c, or 5.36.2b adds anything of significance to that which is given in 2.22.5c. Some of them give more of the contents of the source from which Irenaeus drew, but these contents are not material which can determine the form of the source which he used. The separate discussion of each reference would be largely repetition. There is the less occasion for such discussion because both Harnack and Zahn regard all of these five references as belonging to the same class as 2.22.5c, Harnack putting them all together as written, Zahn making them all oral. Undoubtedly they will continue to be classed together, but whether the class will be made written or oral will depend, I believe, on evidence yet to be considered.

The letter to Florinus offers that more significant language. It has already been quoted (p. 26), but the portions bearing especially on the source of the presbyter testimony may appropriately be repeated. They are as follows: Ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι, οἱ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις συμφοιτήσαντες, οὐ παρέδωκάν σοι. Εἶδον γάρ σε . . . ἐν τῇ κάτω Ἀσίᾳ παρὰ τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ . . . διαμνημονεύω . . . τὴν μετὰ Ἰωάννου συνναστροφὴν ὡς [Πολύκαπρος] ἀπήγγελλε. . . .

A comparison of this language with that of 2.22.5c (see p. 45) will show at once the similarities between the two narratives. Attention may be called to some of the more important of these similarities: The presbyters are mentioned in the letter just as they were in the other passage; here, as there, they are men who had seen the apostles and associated with them;¹ the teaching which these presbyters handed down was, in both cases, that which they had received from John; the common place of activity was Asia.

The obvious conclusion from the discovery of such close similarities

¹ For determining who the apostles here referred to were, the reader should recall here, as elsewhere, the discussion of Irenaeus' use of the word "apostle" early in this essay (pp. 20-23).

between the two passages is, that the presbyters in the one case are of the same class as the presbyters in the other, and that the teaching on the basis of which Irenæus made his appeal to Florinus is out of the same treasury as that on the basis of which he made appeal to those who should read the *Heresies*. If in the *Heresies* narrative Irenæus employed a written source, then quite certainly the source which he used in the letter to Florinus was written. But if the former was oral, the latter likewise was doubtless oral.¹ The similarities between the two passages appear all the more striking when it is noted that the letter to Florinus was probably written some years after the passage in the *Heresies* and, naturally, without any thought that the two would ever be compared.

The conclusion thus reached involves a similar conclusion for the references of 5.5.1c; 5.30.1a; 5.33.3b; 5.36.1c, and 5.36.2b, since these references have already (p. 46) been assigned to the same class as 2.22.5c. The seven references together will be found to be alike, either written or oral, as far as the evidence already considered can indicate.

But there is an interesting difference between the language of the letter to Florinus and the language of 2.22.5c. In 2.22.5c the verb which Irenæus used to describe the presbyter source is in the present tense (*μαρτυροῦσιν*), while in the letter to Florinus the verb is in the past tense (*παρέδωκαν*). This difference appears the more significant when one observes that the verbs of 5.5.1c; 5.30.1a; 5.33.3b; 5.36.1c, and 5.36.2b, are all presents. The difference is made more suggestive when we recognize that the verbs of 4.27.1a; 4.27.1c; 4.27.2c; 4.28.1b; 4.30.1a; 4.31.1a, and 4.32.1a are all in the past tense. The past tense appears natural for a reference to oral testimony of men who were no longer living, apparently, at the time when Irenæus wrote, but to use the present tense for such a reference seems to require explanation. The need of explanation appears to be increased when we take into account that the presbyter of 4.27.1a; 4.27.1c; 4.27.2c, and perhaps the presbyters of 4.28.1b to 4.32.1a, were one generation farther from the apostles than Polycarp;² for, though

¹ Harnack has led astray the readers of his interpretation of the letter to Florinus by making significant Irenæus' choice of *σοι* at the close of the first sentence quoted above. He thinks that the choice of *σοι* instead of *ἡμῖν* indicates that Irenæus himself could not look back to such a relationship with the presbyters as Florinus could. His inference certainly appears forced, for it is a strange conception of a letter according to which *σοι*, chosen evidently to emphasize the fact that the recipient of the letter knew certain things, excluded *μοι* on the part of the writer, especially when the writer proceeds directly to speak of these same things as those which he himself recalled.

² Irenæus' descriptive phrase in 4.27.1a is: "*Audivi a quodam presbytero, qui audierat ab his qui apostolos viderant.*"

these men seem to have been farther from the apostles, and therefore nearer to Irenaeus, the verbs which refer to their testimony are put in the past tense, while the verbs referring to the testimony of those who were nearer the apostles are put in the present tense. Is this an indication that Harnack—though he did not discuss this element of the testimony—was correct in concluding that 2.22.5c, etc., imply a written source?

Before an answer is given, two other data offered by the letter to Florinus must be considered. First, in this letter Polycarp is one of the presbyters, for the teachings to which Irenaeus was exhorting Florinus to return were teachings which Florinus had received from Polycarp as one of the presbyters. This is certainly the meaning of the later portion of the letter (see p. 26), where Irenaeus reminded Florinus specifically of the teaching of Polycarp and of the fact that this teaching had come from John and others who had seen the Lord. The connective *γάρ* after *εἶδον* also shows that the statement which it introduces relating to Polycarp is explanatory of the preceding statement concerning the presbyters, one of whom, therefore, Polycarp must have been considered. This conclusion is made certain a little later when Polycarp is expressly called a presbyter.

The second datum to be taken into account is, that the testimony from Polycarp in this letter to Florinus—and so the testimony of all of these presbyters, in view of the conclusion of the above paragraph—is plainly oral. We are sure of this because Irenaeus insisted that he was recalling from memory the teachings to which he urged Florinus' attention. His language implies clearly that Florinus, likewise, had received the instruction in question orally. The oral nature of this testimony from Polycarp and the other presbyters is further brought out by Irenaeus' language at the close of the letter. After he had spoken of Polycarp and his teaching as Florinus and himself had received information orally, he continued: *Καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ . . . δύναται φανερωθῆναι*. The oral testimony which Florinus had received might be corroborated by written statements to the same effect in the letters of Polycarp still current at the time when Irenaeus wrote.

The evidence seems, therefore, to point in two directions. The verbs in the present tense in the references to the presbyter testimony of 2.22.5, etc., favor the conclusion that this testimony was from a written source. On the other hand, the striking similarities between the contents of the testimony of the letter—which has been found to be certainly oral—and the contents of the other testimony favor the conclusion that all of the presbyter testimony was oral. Can this apparent discrepancy be explained?

There seems to be no way of minimizing the significance of the common

contents of the two statements of Irenæus except to say that the similarities are mere chance and to deny them any determining weight. This would not be an explanation and would still leave unaccounted for the fact that the letter to Florinus contains presbyter testimony which is certainly oral, while the same kind of testimony in the *Heresies* is regarded as written. It is worth while, therefore, to inquire whether Irenæus may have employed the verbs in the present tense to refer to an oral tradition handed down from an earlier time. Grammatical usage appears to warrant such an explanation in either of two ways. The verbs may be regarded as historical presents, in which case they are a vivid means of calling attention to the impressiveness of the testimony which the presbyters gave; or they may be regarded as progressive presents, in which case Irenæus conceived of the testimony from the presbyters as so vital and permanent, through its repetition by men of his own time, that the presbyters were still speaking. The thought of Irenæus is not essentially different by the adoption of one of these explanations from what it is by the adoption of the other. From which point of view he conceived them as he wrote, we can hardly conclude with certainty. I think it probable, however, that he regarded the presbyters as still speaking through the men of his own time, and that we should therefore describe the verbs as progressive presents.¹

The argument thus presented for the oral form of the presbyter testimony which Irenæus used is supplemented by a statement in the midst of the testimony which appears to exclude the conclusion that the testimony was written. This statement is a reference to the work of Papias at the beginning of 5.33.4, in which we read: Ταῦτα [referring back to testimony which had just been attributed to the presbyters] δὲ καὶ Παπίας Ἰωάννου μὲν ἀκουστής, Πολυκάρπου δὲ ἑταῖρος γεγονώς, ἀρχαῖος ἀνὴρ, ἐγγράφως ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ ἐν τῇ τετάτῃ τῶν αὐτοῦ βιβλίων. The καί, which is strengthened by

¹ It may still be asked why Irenæus used the past tense so regularly in some instances (4.27.1a, etc.) and the present with equal regularity in other cases (2.22.5c, etc.). I offer the following explanation: If these citations are considered from the point of view of the composition of his work, they occur at four points. The passage in 2.22.5c stands by itself, the only one of the references which occurs in the second book. The seven references of 4.27.1a, etc., are evidently from one, or practically one, sitting of the writer. That of 5.5.1c, like 2.22.5c, occurs apart by itself. The last four references of the fifth book have a contiguity similar to the contiguity of the seven in the fourth book. At the first, third, and fourth of these points Irenæus thought, and expressed himself, through historical, or progressive, presents. In the second, he thought, and expressed himself, through a past tense. Probably everyone who has observed himself or other writers has recognized these tense "moods." The phenomenon may be observed in printed books. It will doubtless be found in this essay, though I have consciously sought to avoid it.

the *ἐπί* in composition, shows that Irenaeus had material from Papias in addition to that which he derived from the presbyters. The *ἐγγράφως* shows that the material from Papias was written and implies that the material from the presbyters was oral. If Irenaeus had not desired to emphasize the written form of the material from Papias as over against the oral from the presbyters, his meaning was complete without the *ἐγγράφως*. The distance of *ἐγγράφως* from the *καί* likewise indicates that he was keeping such a distinction in mind.¹

I conclude with Zahn, therefore, that Irenaeus, when he referred to the presbyters, was employing an oral tradition. The basis of my conclusion, however, is markedly different from Zahn's. He noted that the citations of 5.5.10, etc., were referred by Irenaeus to "the presbyters," or to "the presbyters, disciples of the apostles," and, without more critical evaluation of the reference, concluded (p. 71): "Es ist also ohne Frage derselbe Kreis von Männern gemeint wie in den Citaten Nr. 1 und 2-8" (i. e., 2.22.5 and the seven in 4.27.1-4.32.1; for he had already concluded, p. 62, on the basis of a more extended discussion, but one no more convincing because largely irrelevant, that 2.22.5 belongs to the same class as the citations in book four). It is not surprising that Harnack has not been convinced by such treatment of important material. One wonders how Zahn

¹ The distinction between his sources which Irenaeus thus made is similar to the distinction which he made in the letter to Florinus (p. 48). In each case, the oral source was used first and then confirmed by a reference to a written source.

Harnack has strangely disregarded the *ἐγγράφως* in his discussion (p. 336), not even mentioning it; and this enabled him to use the *δὲ καί* not only to show that the Papias testimony was confirmatory, but also that it was of the same form as that of the presbyters. Harnack thinks it would be strange, if the testimony from the presbyters was oral, that Irenaeus should have found the same testimony in the written work of Papias. The objection appears convincing only if we assume a *verbatim* similarity between the two sources. But such an assumption is surely not necessary. If Irenaeus found in Papias' work a statement of substantially the same things as those which had come to him through the oral tradition of the presbyters, the requirements of his language are sufficiently met.

Bacon has obscured Irenaeus' distinction in a different way when he translates the phrase in question as follows (*The Hibbert Journal*, II, p. 330): "These things Papias, who was a hearer of John . . . witnesses in writing in the fourth of his books." This translation is clearly a disregard of the significant connectives which Irenaeus used.

In 4.41.2a Irenaeus made a distinction between authorities which further illustrates his usage in such matters. In this passage, for the support of his interpretation of the word "*filius*," he added: "*Quemadmodum et quidam ante nos dixit*." The "*et*" shows the additional source, but no further words were used to indicate that the second source was of a different kind.

himself, especially after the appearance of Harnack's *Chronologic*, could expect that such treatment would suffice.

On the other hand, I have rejected the conclusion of Harnack that the presbyter testimony of 2.22.5c, etc., was written only after taking into account important data which he did not use and after subjecting all the data involved to a more searching and exhaustive examination than he has offered.

In some ways, at least, as already mentioned (p. 42), this extended examination of the testimony which Irenaeus attributed to the presbyters appears to be remote from the fourth gospel, perhaps even remote from the question of the significance of the Irenaeus testimony to the fourth gospel. It is, however, of very great importance, next in importance, in fact, to the testimony from Polycarp. Indeed, in the letter to Florinus, as we have seen, it is the testimony of Polycarp and, by virtue of this, connects the two classes of testimony closely together.

But it has a further value, also, in view of which its examination is particularly in place in this essay. By means of it we are able to discover, as we otherwise should hardly be able to do, the general situation in which Irenaeus lived, and the historical and intellectual atmosphere about him. We see from it how close Irenaeus felt himself to be to the days of the apostles, and, as we do this, we are in a position to understand his language, which, for those who demand specific statements from him as to the source of his information, is by no means as convincing as it might be, but, when his position is taken into account, is such language as might be expected. He wrote for the people of his own time. Even the *Heresies* was only a tract for the times, extended and verbose, to be sure, but written to meet existing need. In a work thus produced, explanations about his authorities and his relation to Asia, the means of communication which were employed, and the transmission of news would have been highly gratuitous. He and all his readers knew who the presbyters were, and he took their knowledge for granted.

It is a serious mistake, therefore, to think that Irenaeus, born in Asia and living there till he was at least a youth, should have maintained the interest in Asia and Asian affairs so manifest in his writings, and yet have been practically cut off from his native land. Some writers proceed as though Polycarp and Irenaeus were the only men of the second century and Irenaeus could not have known anything of Asia except what he received directly from Polycarp. It is forgotten that the removal of Irenaeus from Asia to Gaul, the removal of Florinus from Asia to Rome (cf. Eus. *H. E.* 5.20 with 5.15), and the visit of Polycarp to Rome are evidently only inci-

dental examples of visits and changes which were occurring frequently, by means of which important information was the common property of Christians throughout the empire.

Indeed, for those who are ready to transport themselves back in thought into Irenaeus' time, to reconstruct the activities which were occurring about him, to think of his relation to Asia and of his natural communication with Asian friends, to recognize that there were men only a little younger than Polycarp who could scarcely have failed to be leavened with his thought or to transmit it to their younger companions, to think of how such men readily became the means for the distribution of the treasured apostolic information, to realize that the several letters of Polycarp still extant in Irenaeus' day (see p. 27) were only representative of the correspondence which carried information over the empire but retained it in the personal form rather than in one which would be called history, or narratives—for those who are willing to restore the life of the second century in such ways as these, only much more fully than this outline indicates, the testimony of the presbyters and its introduction without any explanation or naming of the individuals other than Polycarp, as well as the importance which it had for Irenaeus, are only the most natural phenomena. He who thus relives the times, who is not content simply to scrutinize the documents grudgingly and accept only what they rigidly require, is merely an instance of the historian who not only goes back *to* the documents but back *of* the documents, a process without which no history is ever truly written.¹

What has just been said should not be interpreted as a minimizing of documents. Too much has been made of them in this essay to warrant such an inference as that. It is intended only to insist that documents alone may be merely what the skeleton is to the body; we could not get along without the skeleton, but, if we decline to accept anything more than its various bones, we shall never know the body from which it came. Irenaeus' testimony is only a skeleton on which to restore a body. The presbyter portion shows where some of the outlines are to be filled in and indicates the form which the body will take when it is complete. We are poor historians if we cling to the bones only and refuse to make the restoration as the outlines are given to us.

¹ A modern instance of similar import is in point. Shall it be said that I do not know the substantial facts concerning Johann Oncken's baptism in the River Elbe in 1834, because I never knew him, nor Barnas Sears, nor heard the story of the baptism from anyone who heard it from either of them, nor, as far as I know, read of the baptism from the writings of anyone who knew Oncken or Sears, personally? Yet I am much more likely to be in error concerning that incident than Irenaeus was to be in error concerning the John of Asia.

The outcome of such a readiness to transfer oneself back into the second century and relive its conditions is a recognition that Irenæus was in a position to know well the important facts of the situation in Asia at the close of the first century. He could know, as thoroughly as current and widespread opinion could give it to him, the Asian thought about the Asian John and any writings which he left. Though he may never have seen Polycarp except when he listened to him in his youth—and probably he did not—he would still be able to know of him and his work with fulness and accuracy through the accounts of men who had associated with Polycarp in his later years and afterward had met Irenæus or had otherwise communicated with him. It is by no means improbable that Pothinus had occupied such a place. If he did not, others might easily and naturally have done so.

The failure of Irenæus to mention the names of any of the presbyters except Polycarp is not strange when Irenæus' custom in the use of names is taken into account. It seems to have been an idiosyncrasy of his not to make use of names. Perhaps few students have paused to consider that even Polycarp is mentioned in only one passage of the entire *Adversus Haereses* (3.3.4). Papias is named only once (5.33.4a). Ignatius is quoted once (5.28.4c), but his name is not mentioned. He was to Irenæus simply "a certain man of ours." Shall we say in view of this that Irenæus did not know his name? Probably we shall not. But, if he knew Ignatius and yet quoted him without naming him, is it strange that he did not name the presbyters, other than Polycarp, to whom he referred? He may have known the names of several of them and yet have chosen to omit their names, since, as he felt, at least, the addition of their names would not enhance the value of his work. Harnack's conclusion (p. 334) that because Irenæus did not mention any more of the names of the presbyters he did not know any more must regretfully be regarded as a lack of appreciation of Irenæus' personal bearing in the matter of names and of the usage which resulted from it.

The recognition that these presbyters were felt by Irenæus to be so near to him and that the testimony which he had from them was oral explains how that testimony could be at once most highly regarded and least trustworthy. It was most highly regarded because it had all the freshness of apparent personality. It was least trustworthy because it had suffered the transformation of all oral tradition.

The story of Jesus' age (2.22.5) is an interesting example of this combination of high regard and untrustworthiness. If Irenæus found that story in a written source which dated from the early part of the second century and had its origin in a sub-apostolic circle, no very creditable

explanation of its origin is available. But, if he got the idea of Jesus' age from oral tradition, it is a comparatively easy matter to understand how tradition, in the course of more than three-quarters of a century, should have developed into the story which Irenaeus related. Its oral transmission and development accounts for its lack of harmony with the early written records, but the personal element in its oral form made it appear more important to Irenaeus than the statements of the gospels themselves. Accordingly, he used the oral tradition first to prove that Jesus lived to be forty or fifty years old, and then, by a forced interpretation of John 8:56, 57, he attempted to bring this, his secondary authority, into harmony with the oral testimony, which to him was of first importance.¹

This use of the oral tradition side by side with the written gospels by Irenaeus presents what to us may be a strange fusion of authorities, but it was not such to him. He was absolutely sure there were only four gospels which were to be recognized (3.11.8), of which the gospel according to John was one; yet, by the side of this and of superior importance, if the

¹ There can be no doubt that Irenaeus did regard the oral authority of the presbyters as more direct and more important. This is shown by the form in which he introduced the gospel statement: "*Sed et ipsi . . . Iudaei . . . significaverunt*," in which the "*et*" shows that this statement is confirmatory of the preceding argument. Of course it is possible for a confirmatory statement to be regarded as equal in importance with the one which it confirms. The more important statement may even be reserved till the last as a climax. But I have no idea that anyone who reads this and other passages of Irenaeus will attribute such logical or rhetorical arrangement to him. He placed first that which was the important consideration. Afterward that which was less important was introduced to corroborate. The case here of the age of Jesus is similar to that in the argument to Florinus, where the oral tradition of the presbyters was placed first and then a reference made to the letters of Polycarp (p. 27), in which the same material could be found. A still further case is that of the presbyters and Papias already discussed (p. 51), where again the oral authority of the presbyters received the place of importance.

The recognition of the superiority of the oral presbyter testimony for Irenaeus is important because it enforces once more the certainty of Irenaeus' feeling of nearness to the apostles and their teaching and indicates again the way in which we are to understand Irenaeus when he wrote of apostolic tradition.

Through the medium of the presbyter tradition, we readily understand why John 14:2 was so loosely quoted in 5.36.2a. Irenaeus' own direct quotations were loose enough, as we have seen (p. 12); when he was only quoting from an oral transmission of Jesus' words, the freedom here is what we might expect. Whether the presbyters got this statement entirely from oral tradition or from one of the Johannine "booklets" is unimportant. The following sentence, "*Quemadmodum Verbum eius [God] ait: 'Omnibus divisum esse a Patre secundum quod quis est dignus, aut erit,'*" thus attributed to Jesus, not, however, found in our gospels, but doubtless, as Stieren thought, belonging "*ad dictum Christi, Irenaeo traditum a presbyteris veteribus, quos saepissime*

two did not agree, was the oral tradition from the presbyters, which came to him as personal testimony still fresh with its personal life and vividness. Such an insistence on four gospels as the only ones, at the same time that the oral tradition was valued even more highly, may appear to us to be an inconsistency, but it was not that to him. He did not even become aware that such a use of authorities required any explanation, and this probably means that such a view of gospel material was the common one in his day, at least one the appropriateness of which was not disputed. In fact, others were more liberal than he, for his insistence on only four gospels indicates that others would have accepted more than four. Gospel accounts, both written and oral, were evidently common possessions; the apostolic tradition, especially that from John of Asia, was familiar and fully recognized. When Irenæus spoke of the writer of the fourth gospel as "the disciple of the Lord who also leaned upon his breast" (3.1.1c), he at once recalled for his readers the rich oral tradition which was current among the Christians of his day, and they filled in the outline. For this

laudat," may indicate that the presbyter form of this John passage was entirely oral. We may be quite certain, at any rate, that Irenæus did not think of it, on the occasion of his writing this passage, as being a quotation from his Johannine gospel. Whether Irenæus was thinking directly of the gospel when he wrote 3.19.3c, where the Latin has the same words as in 5.36.2a, it is impossible to determine, for there is no reference given to any authority. In the tables at the beginning of this essay, I have called 3.19.3c a "reference" to the gospel but have made 5.36.2a a "quotation," because of the different ways in which Irenæus introduced the two allusions to the gospel. It is one of Irenæus' uses of the gospel which illustrate the difficulty of making rules to describe the different kinds of reference which he employed.

The recognition of the superiority of the oral testimony for Irenæus is highly important for the understanding of his statement in the recently discovered Armenian MS, according to which Irenæus wrote (translation of Fred C. Conybeare, *The Expositor*, July, 1907, p. 43): "Now faith assigns (*or* guarantees) us this [salvation] just as the elders, the disciples of the apostles, handed (it) down. In the first place it prescribes remembrance of the fact that we have received baptism for the remission of sin into name of God the Father and into name of Jesus Christ, the Son of God made flesh and dead and risen, and into Holy Spirit of God." As soon as one recognizes that the tradition of the elders was primary for Irenæus, he will not say, with Conybeare: "Why should Irenæus, if he had before him the direct precept of the Lord to baptize in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit (Matt. 28:19), thus invoke the tradition of the elders? . . . Moreover, the true formula as here given is quite unlike that of Matt. 28:19." He becomes aware that the formula which Irenæus used is unlike that of Matthew just because Irenæus was following the tradition of the presbyters, which, though degenerate, was the authority which he preferred. He had such a formula from tradition, naturally, because a formula for such a service as baptism would be one of those most likely to be transmitted orally, and to have developed in the Asian circle of Christians somewhat differently from that of the first gospel.

tradition Irenaeus himself was doubtless largely responsible, since he must often have told to the many Christians whom he had met in his varied ministries such details as those which are merely touched upon in the letter to Florinus, details for which he was under obligation to Polycarp and those who had associated with Polycarp, older than himself but younger than Polycarp. No doubt he had received much of this material from Florinus himself, who had been more closely associated with Polycarp and apparently had been Irenaeus' close friend for many years.

CONCLUSION

The Irenaeus testimony which has been examined is of two quite different kinds, but the examination has led to a single result. In the case of the testimony which Irenaeus derived from Polycarp, the study has been chiefly a critical investigation of the meaning of Irenaeus' language in the two important letters which have come down to us. That study has seemed to give good evidence for believing that the celebrated John of Asia was the son of Zebedee and that he was responsible for Johannine writings which were current during the first half of the second century. The study of the testimony which Irenaeus attributed to the presbyters has been equally critical, but it has given no direct information concerning John or the Johannine writings. It has shown, however, how near Irenaeus felt himself to be to the apostles of the first century. That feeling of nearness to the apostles was recognized, to be sure, in the letters to Victor and Florinus, but in the presbyter testimony it becomes much more prominent, though this greater prominence is seen not so much in express statement as in the unexpressed but conscious assurance of that nearness which his language implies. He felt himself so directly in contact with apostolic teaching, and so fully assumed the recognition of this on the part of his readers, that he did not think of explaining why he had this assurance. The conditions which justified him in this course of thought and method of writing must not be overlooked, if we are at all correctly to understand the conditions under which he wrote and the meaning of what he said, especially his meager statements concerning the authorship of New Testament writings.

If we thus put the testimony of the letters and the testimony from the presbyters together, reading both in view of the apologetic purpose with which Irenaeus wrote, recognizing that he was concerned with authorship only in a most incidental way, we come to see that the testimony which Irenaeus gives us is all the more important because it is incidental and that it is worth much more than its meager expression appears at first to indicate. We are able, in fact, partially to restore the conditions of Irenaeus' time and to understand why his language is what we find.

At the same time, however, although this partial restoration has given us the son of Zebedee as the John of Asia together with actual Johannine writings, our fourth gospel in its present form has removed from the close of the first century to the middle of the second. This conclusion, at once extremely conservative and highly radical, has been reached, however,

only by a most thorough and painstaking investigation of the data bearing on the problem.

As compared with the investigation of Lightfoot, the essay has frankly opened the question of the "authenticity" of the gospel without regard to results, and the outcome has been a truly Johannine foundation for the gospel which Lightfoot did not reach. In fact, he was hardly aware, perhaps, of the seriousness of the task of showing a closeness of relationship between the gospel and the son of Zebedee; his personal religious attitude and his ecclesiastical position made indubitable for him arguments which, to another cast of mind, possess little convincing power. The discussion of this essay, without religious or ecclesiastical concern as to who wrote the gospel, has made it easier to estimate both Lightfoot's discussion and the cogency of such replies as that of Harnack and, with the aid of both, to go deeper into the problem than either. ?

As over against Harnack's study and conclusion specifically, I have shown; (1) that Irenaeus was in a position to know the facts, substantially at least, concerning the Asian John; (2) that, therefore, Irenaeus' testimony concerning John and the Johannine writings cannot be lightly set aside, and (3) that, when all the testimony bearing on the form of the presbyter material is taken into account, Irenaeus' source for this testimony is all seen to be oral tradition, rather than partially the writings of Papias, and, thereby, to reveal the near relation in which Irenaeus stood to the conditions of the first century. Out of this more careful study of those relations emerges the son of Zebedee as the only probable author of Johannine writings from which the fourth gospel was later compiled.

In somewhat similar manner, the confident, but unconvincing, argument of Zahn has been supplemented and his finding for the oral character of the presbyter testimony has been put on a stable foundation. This has been done by recognizing that his treatment, like that of Lightfoot, is insufficient, and by taking into account the very important item of presbyter testimony in the letter to Florinus.

Incidentally, the sweeping conclusion of de Boor and particularly that of Bacon and those who agree with these writers, that the son of Zebedee was an early martyr, has been found to be unwarranted in view of the best evidence bearing on the question. The symbolic language of the New Testament and the "silence" of Ignatius and others of his time have been sufficiently, or even better, explained on the theory that John lived to old age in Asia Minor.

The conclusions which have been reached may be summarized for convenience and somewhat more in detail as follows:

1. Irenæus' quotations from the fourth gospel, or references to it, are sufficient to furnish a probability that he had the gospel in substantially the same form in which we have it (pp. 10-16).

2. His use of the language of the gospel, generally, was quite free, and his manner of attributing it to different persons or sources was interestingly diversified (pp. 11-13). These phenomena, together with the fact that he sometimes placed a higher estimate on oral gospel testimony than on the written gospel (pp. 54-56), and his sparing use of the gospel outside of the prologue (p. 12), indicate how highly he regarded the oral accounts of Jesus' life and teachings which had come down to him.

3. The testimony which Irenæus referred to the presbyters is oral throughout (p. 50) and corroborates the closeness of Irenæus' relation to the apostles, which he sometimes asserted but oftener assumed (p. 57). One of these presbyters was Polycarp (p. 48). One of the unnamed presbyters was of the second generation from the apostles (p. 47) and yet had evidently lived earlier than Irenæus. Other men, in similar ways, must have overlapped the period between the chief activities of Polycarp and the beginning of the manhood of Irenæus in such a way as to give body to the traditions which have come down to us chiefly in the name of Polycarp (pp. 51-53). Such men were in an excellent position to know the state of affairs and the opinions during the first half of the second century and to be the means of the transmission of these to the days of Irenæus.

4. The testimony of Irenæus, therefore, though not a critical estimate of the testimony of his predecessors, and though coming from the last quarter of the second century, is substantially the testimony of Polycarp and men associated with him, testimony which these men were accustomed to give during the first half of the second century, or even, in the case of Polycarp's younger contemporaries, over into the second half of the century (pp. 24 f.).

5. Polycarp was a man some thirty years of age at the close of the first century (p. 26). He had associated with other apostolic men as well as John (p. 28). Accordingly, he was in a position to know accurately of Christian affairs at the close of the first century, of the men who were then in Asia, of the accounts of their lives then current, and of their teachings. Out of such a situation developed the Polycarp-Irenæus testimony concerning John and the Johannine gospel. This testimony knows only one John of apostolic times other than John the Baptist and John Mark (pp. 17, 30). This one John, though he is not specifically called the son of Zebedee, was certainly the man whom we call the son of Zebedee.

6. Irenæus, Florinus, Polycarp, and those of their time, i. e., back to the beginning of the second century, appear to have been familiar with

written Johanno-Asian accounts of the life and teachings of Jesus, with which Polycarp's oral accounts used to be compared (pp. 31-38), and the people of those days knew no other author of these than the son of Zebedee (p. 39). This was the only view current until after Irenaeus' time, and this unanimity of opinion concerning the authorship of the Johannine gospel helps to explain why so little is extant in the literature of the second century concerning the authorship (p. 39).

7. While we are warranted, on the basis of the Irenaeus testimony, in saying that Irenaeus had the fourth gospel in substantially the same form in which it has come to us, we are not warranted by that testimony in saying that the gospel was in existence in its present form at the close of the first century. As far as Irenaeus' testimony can assure us, the Johanno-Asian accounts of the life and teachings of Jesus at the time of Polycarp were in the form of separate and brief narratives, or booklets (pp. 35-37).

APPENDIX

RESULTING HYPOTHESIS FOR THE JOHANNINE QUESTIONS

Lest this conclusion should leave indefinite the meaning which it gives for the Johannine questions as a whole, I venture to suggest the general Johannine hypothesis to which it leads. Its most important elements are the following:

1. John did not write a single and complete account of the life and teachings of Jesus. Perhaps he was never inclined to do so. He did, however, in connection with his ministry in Asia, either write short accounts, or, perhaps still more probably, allow some one of his disciples to write such accounts of what he used to say to the people. These accounts were frequently short sermons founded on the life and work of Jesus. As such, they were not intended to be mere history but rather interpretations of Jesus, sometimes in allegorical form, for the people to whom John spoke.

2. Those written sermons, or booklets, were treasured up even before the death of John, but, naturally, they came to be prized more highly after his death. The apparent references to the fourth gospel in the literature up to the time of Justin may reflect the existence of these booklets and indicate the place which they possessed for the Christians who knew them, who were probably a considerable portion of the Christians of Asia, at least. In this form they were not thought of as a gospel.

3. Somewhere about the middle of the second century, some one—Polycarp is perhaps as naturally thought of as anyone—conceived the idea of combining such of these sermons as were suitable to the purpose into a gospel which would present aspects of the life and teaching of Jesus supplementary to the aspects of his life and teaching portrayed in the gospels already in circulation. This editorial work was performed and the book duly published.

4. This gospel, thus produced out of material which was already recognized as John's and needing no explanation of its origin, was at once accepted and soon took its place with those which had received their current form much earlier. If we had all the correspondence of the time and notes of all the oral news which then passed among the Christians, we should probably find some reference to such a course of events for the Johannine writings. As conditions were, such material was too unimportant and too little thought of to warrant its preservation. This acceptance and use of

the Johannine gospel naturally occurred first in Asia. In view of Irenaeus' close relationship with Asia, a copy went to him promptly, and he accepted it without hesitation as the connected form of the gospel which he had heard from Polycarp and the collection of the Johannine writings which he had known in his youth. If the gospel was published about the time of the death of Polycarp, at his suggestion, and, on the part of those who carried out his wish, as a memorial treasury, perhaps, of the Johannine tradition which no one else so directly preserved, it would have reached Irenaeus while he was still a young man. In that case, he would have felt the least possible cause for giving any special attention to the detailed events through which the gospel arose or for hesitating to use it as John's gospel. Throughout the Christian world it was soon recognized as the written form of the story of Jesus which was already so well known through the oral tradition of the presbyters and, in Asia at least, through the booklets out of which it had been compiled.

5. Some of the Johannine sermons were on other subjects than the life of Jesus. The first Johannine letter is to be explained from such fragments. The second and third may have arisen in this way, but perhaps the probability is against this theory. They are more likely to be actual letters from John.

6. The Apocalypse, like all other apocalypses, is a pseudonymous work. Its author availed himself of the fame of John in Asia and perhaps made use of some of the Johannine material. He published his work in Rome, or at least in the West, about the middle of the second century, perhaps under cover of the appearance of the gospel. Under these conditions, together with the hospitable apocalyptic atmosphere of the time, its ready acceptance in the West but much slower acceptance in the East was a natural phenomenon. By the time Justin wrote his *Dialogue* it had gained sufficient recognition in the West to be referred to as corroborative testimony (chap. 81). Irenaeus, like others of his time in the West, accepted the book without hesitation.

INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

- Abbreviations, 9, 10
 Alogi, 39
 Anicetus, 25
 Apocalypse, the, 31, 62
 Apostle, Irenaeus' use, 20-22
 Apostolic times, extent, 17
 Asia, communication with the west, 25, 53
 Bacon, B. W., 30, 41, 50
 Cerinthus, 39, 40
 Clement of Alexandria, 13
 Conybeare, F. C., 55
 De Boor, 30
 "Disciple," the, 20
 Documents and tradition, 52
 Drummond, James, 42
 ἐγγράφως, 50
 Epiphanius, 39
 Eusebius, 24, 31
 Florinus, letter to, 26-29
 Fourth gospel—
 Work of John of Asia, 17
 In time of Polycarp, 33-38
 Origin for Irenaeus, 37
 Compared with presbyter testimony, 54
 Date of compilation, 36, 61
 γραφαῖς, ταῖς, 31-39
 Harnack, A., 27, 42, 43, 47, 50
Heresies, The, a tract for the times, 51
 Ignatius, 31, 53
 Irenaeus, use of gospel, 12
 —Looseness of style, 39
 —Theological development, 15
 —Terminology that of New Testament, 20
 —Relation to Polycarp's testimony, 26, 40
 —Communication with Asia, 25, 29, 51, 53
 —How to be understood, 52
 Jackson, H. L., 19
 Jameses, did Irenaeus confuse? 22
 Jesus' age, 45, 54
 John of Asia, apostle, 18, 23, 29, 30
 —And Johannine writings, 31, 39, 58
 John, gospel of. *See* Fourth gospel
 Johannine letters, 62
 John Mark, 17
 John the Baptist, 17, 20
 Justin Martyr, 34, 62
 Lightfoot, J. B., 42, 43
 Luke, gospel of, 24
 Monnier, 21
 Oncken, Johann, 52
 Papias, 31, 32, 49
 Polycarp, 25, 27, 28, 31, 34, 48
 Presbyter testimony, the, 41-51
 —Superior to gospels, 54
 —Compared with letters to Victor and Florinus, 55
 Presbyters' names, why not given, 53
 Prologue, use by Irenaeus, 12
 Scott, C. A., 19
 Scott, E. F., 5
 Swete, H. B., 19
 Trajan, 17, 18
 Victor, letter to, 24
 Zahn, T., 41 ff., 50

INDEX OF PASSAGES IN IRENAEUS

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
1. p. 2 <i>a</i>	42	3. 11. 8	54	4. 8. 3 <i>b</i>	22
1. 3. 5 <i>b</i>	17	3. 11. 9 <i>c</i>	21	4. 20. 11 <i>b</i>	13
1. 13. 3 <i>c</i>	42	3. 12. 3 <i>a</i>	21	4. 25. 3 <i>b</i>	9
1. 15. 6	42	3. 12. 5 <i>a</i>	19	4. 26. 2 <i>a</i>	21
1. 30. 12 <i>b</i>	17	3. 12. 8 <i>a</i>	21	4. 27-32	42, 44, 47, 50
2. 9. 1 <i>c</i>	21	3. 12. 10 <i>a</i>	21	4. 33. 8 <i>a</i>	21
2. 22	20	3. 12. 15 <i>c</i>	21, 22	4. 41. 2 <i>a</i>	42, 50
2. 22. 3	15	3. 14. 1 <i>a</i>	17	5. 5. 1 <i>c</i>	42, 44, 47
2. 22. 5 <i>c</i> 17, 42 ff., 53, 56		3. 16. 1	19	5. 17. 4 <i>b</i>	17
3. 1. 1 <i>c</i> 13, 21, 24, 37, 55		3. 17. 4 <i>c</i>	42	5. 17. 4 <i>c</i>	42
3. 3. 3 <i>c</i>	21	3. 19. 3 <i>c</i>	55	5. 20. 1	21
3. 3. 4 17, 18, 28, 53		3. 21. 3 <i>c</i>	19	5. 28. 4 <i>c</i>	53
3. 5. 1 <i>a</i> 18, 21		3. 21. 4 <i>a</i>	21	5. 30. 1 <i>a</i>	42, 44, 47
3. 10. 3 13, 17		3. 23. 3 <i>a</i>	42	5. 33. 3 <i>b</i>	42, 44, 46
3. 11. 1 39, 40		4. p. 2 <i>b</i>	42	5. 33. 4	49, 53
3. 11. 4 <i>c</i> 20		4. 4. 2 <i>b</i>	42	5. 36. 1	42, 44
3. 11. 4-9 42		4. 4. 3 <i>b</i>	17	5. 36. 2 <i>a</i>	54

INDEX OF NEW TESTAMENT TEXTS

Matt. 1:18	21	John 8:56, 57	54	John 19:26, 27	20
28:19	55	chap. 10	13	20:2, 3, 4, 8	20
Luke 1:35	21	13:25	13	chap. 21	13
John 1:18	13	14:2	54	21:7, 20, 23, 24	20
3:18-21	13	14:6	19		
8:44	13	18:15, 16	20		

THE IDEA OF THE RESURRECTION IN THE
ANTE-NICENE PERIOD

The Department of Biblical and Patristic Greek, of The University of Chicago, proposes to issue, from time to time, Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament. These Studies will be grouped in three series: I, Texts; II, Linguistic and Exegetical Studies; III, Historical Studies. The volumes in each series will be issued in parts from time to time.

17

THE IDEA OF THE RESURRECTION
IN THE ANTE-NICENE PERIOD

BY
CALVIN KLOPP STAUDT, PH.D.

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PREFACE

This treatise aims to trace historically the development of the idea of the resurrection from its origin in the Old Testament, through Jewish and Christian literature, to the end of the first quarter of the fourth century. The precise theme is the resurrection of Jesus and of men as held in the ante-Nicene period. To discover this, the extant literature of this period has been carefully studied and investigated. The volumes in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* have been read, and passages pertaining to the resurrection studied in critical editions of the Fathers. The material is so grouped and treated that the story of the resurrection may be readily followed through the various stages. The aim of the author has been not merely to set forth the different historical strata in the idea of the resurrection, but also to deal with influences and inferences, in the hope that through this extensive study in early Christian literature suggestions may have been given for a more intensive study of the question of the resurrection in the New Testament and of the facts pertaining to the resurrection of Jesus. The author wishes to acknowledge special obligation to Professor Ernest D. Burton, of the University of Chicago, for generous help and inspiration.

C. K. S.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
I. JEWISH AND GREEK LITERATURE	9
II. THE NEW TESTAMENT	17
III. THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS	26
IV. THE APOLOGISTS	34
V. THE Gnostics	47
VI. THE GREAT POLEMICISTS	54
VII. THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL	68
VIII. THE LATER WRITERS	73
IX. CONCLUSION	79

CHAPTER I

JEWISH AND GREEK LITERATURE

This essay aims to trace the idea of the resurrection, both of Jesus and of men, as held in the ante-Nicene period. The literature of the period has been carefully studied with a view of ascertaining what men thought about the resurrection and what doctrines they held concerning it. The problem is confined mainly to a discussion of the precise nature and character of the resurrection. The distinction between the resurrection and the larger subject of the future life—to which belongs the conception of Hades, judgment, second coming, millennium, future rewards and punishments, and redemption—is constantly kept in mind. However, all these elements of eschatology are often knit up with the resurrection; and so far as they present collateral testimony to the resurrection they are brought into the discussion. Moreover, in the history of the resurrection-idea, especially in the early strata, a constant distinction is made between the resurrection of the Jews and that of the Gentiles, and between the resurrection of the righteous and that of the wicked. But this again is not the main subject of our study, and is considered only when it throws light and shade upon a more vital and intricate problem. The essential purpose of the essay is to set forth the nature of that which was supposed to continue in the after-life.

A prerequisite to the study of the resurrection in early Christian literature is a knowledge of the New Testament conception. But even this does not comprise all the necessary antecedent conditions. The idea of the resurrection did not leap into life full-grown, having its first appearance in the New Testament; it passed through certain stages and a long period of development. There are presuppositions to the New Testament material which dare not be overlooked; for the earliest conceptions are genetically related to the New Testament teachings, and besides, the literature of pre-Christian times exerted a direct influence on post-apostolic times. Inquiry must, therefore, be made into the Old Testament and into later Jewish writings, whether Palestinian or Alexandrian. Another very important prerequisite is the Graeco-Roman idea of immortality, the influence of which was both positive and negative in early Christian literature. The Jewish and Greek literature is therefore examined with a view of determining the idea or ideas which were held concerning the after-life before, or

contemporaneous with, New Testament literature. The matter being introductory, the results are succinctly stated. In every document an effort is constantly made to discover whether the idea of the nature of that which is to rise, was uniformly held; or whether two, three, or even more conceptions were current.

The beginnings of a belief in individual resurrection are found in the Old Testament in at least two passages. That death is the end of life but not the end of existence was, however, the most common position among the Hebrews. At death, it was thought, the shades pass to Sheol where they continue in a semi-conscious state. Those who have gone thither return no more, and none escape it (Job 7:9,10; 10:21,22). In some psalms there is a trace of the thought of eternal life in God in the other world (49:15) but not of hope for a resurrection. In Psalm 17:15, the phrase, "when I awake," does not mean awake from death, but from sleep. There is in the Old Testament, for the most part, nothing to look for beyond the grave and no hope of a resurrection.

On the other hand, there arose, in connection with the messianic hopes, a belief in the restoration of the nation, in which the dead as well as the living Jews were to participate. With this hope the resurrection from the dead is logically connected. In its simplest form it was a revival of Israel. Many of the religious conceptions which were later appropriated to the individual were in the first place altogether national. The resurrection was no exception to this general tendency in which the larger unit of the nation was gradually displaced by the smaller unit of the individual. This appears in those words of Hosea (6:1, 2) in which, in a dramatic representation in the form of a soliloquy and of a dialogue between Jehovah and the people, the people acknowledge their chastisement to be from God, and express the conviction that in a short time he will deliver them and that they shall live again under his protection. The same is true of Ezekiel's vision of the Valley of Dry Bones (37:1-14). The passage is not a literal prophecy of the resurrection of the individual persons of the nation, dead or slain, but of a resurrection of the nation, whose condition is figuratively expressed and even so avowed when it is said that these bones are the whole house of Israel. The first mention of an unmistakable individual resurrection is in Isa. 26:19, in which a hope in a resurrection from Sheol is clearly expressed through a prayer for the resurrection of individuals.¹ The writer looks forward to the setting up of the kingdom in the city of strength, whose walls and bulwarks are salvation and whose gates will open that the righteous nation may enter (26:1, 2). And since the nation was

¹ Cf. 26:14, and see Dillmann-Kittel, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, *ad loc.*

but few in number the righteous dead shall rise and share the blessedness of the regenerate nation. Another definite prophecy of the resurrection of the dead is recorded in Dan. 12:2. These words refer to the faithful and the apostates of the Maccabean revolt (cf. 11:32 ff.). The resurrection is to be a resurrection of wicked as well as of righteous Israelites, who, in the body, are presented before God for judgment.

Turning to the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature, first to such as is of Palestinian origin, we discover that the idea of the resurrection formed a very vital part of the thought of later Judaism. The conception bulks larger and is more fully developed than in the Old Testament, being bound up with the entire system of eschatology. Statements concerning the character of the resurrection are often explicit and sometimes satisfactorily discussed. The most significant as well as the earliest of these writings was the Book of Enoch (Ethiopic). Through it the resurrection became commonplace in Jewish theology; and with the early Fathers it had all the weight of a canonical book, being sometimes cited as Scripture. There are at least two, if not four parts in the Ethiopic Enoch. The so-called "Similitudes" (chaps. 37-71), being entirely different from the rest of the book, are commonly assigned to a subsequent author. The resurrection is thus very variously conceived in consequence of these different historical layers; and the naïve as well as the symbolic way of presentation makes interpretation extremely difficult.

In the first part of Enoch the resurrection is conceived to be of all Israel save one class of sinners (chap. 22); while in a later section the resurrection of the righteous alone is attested (90:33). The well-known "Similitudes" give testimony to a resurrection, either of all mankind or of Israelites only.¹ As to the resurrection act itself and the nature of the resurrection body there, too, are naturally marked variations. In the oldest section of the book the righteous are raised from Sheol in the body, to enjoy a life of material prosperity. The messianic kingdom is to be established on a purified earth with Jerusalem as its center (25:5); where its members are to eat of the tree of life (25:46), and where nature is to be prolific (10:19). The resurrection body of the righteous is thought of as having the same organs and functions which a mundane body possesses (cf. 25:46; 10:17), being virtually a restoration of the former body. The resurrection of the wicked is, however, differently conceived. The one class remain in Sheol forever; while the members of the other class are simply transferred on the great day of judgment from Sheol to everlasting punishment in Gehenna

¹ See Schodde, *The Book of Enoch*, p. 139, for the one view; R. H. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 139, for the other view.

(27:2). Whether the writer thought of the resurrection of the wicked as that of disembodied spirits (22:10, 11), or spirits united with bodies so that they could be slain (22:13) and visible to the risen righteous (27:3), we are unable to surmise. Quite another conception of the resurrection is presented in the closing chapters of this Ethiopic Enoch. The center of interest is shifted from the material world to the spiritual, and the messianic kingdom being of short duration is no longer the goal of the hopes of the righteous. Heaven is the goal to which the spirits ascend after the final judgment (93:4). "The righteous dead will be raised (91:10; 92:3) as spirits only (103:3, 4) and the portals of the new heaven will be open to them (104:2) and they shall joy as the angels (94:4) and become companions of the heavenly hosts (94:6) and shine as the stars (94:2)."¹ The idea of the resurrection in this section does not involve the body, but only the spirit. In the "Similitudes," however, the resurrection assumes a firmer form and acquires more universal value. "In those days the earth also gives back those who are treasured up within it and Sheol will give back that which it owes" (51:1-3). The nature of this resurrection body is such that the risen one can eat and sleep (62:14) in the messianic kingdom in which the righteous will live forever. The mention of "garments of glory and light" spoken of in connection with the resurrection body (even if this is the correct rendering of a variant text) does not revoke, as some are apt to think, the fleshly and materialistic conception of the body. There are thus in the Ethiopic Enoch two ideas concerning the character of the resurrection: (1) the resurrection of a material fleshly body; (2) the resurrection of the spirit only.

There is a very gross description of a bodily resurrection in Second Maccabees. This book surpasses all the earlier writings, not only in the prominence which it gives to the belief in a resurrection, but also in the enlarged form in which this belief is presented. The resurrection is set forth, not as a mere opinion, but as a motive and a support for martyrdom. The resurrection of the Israelites is to everlasting life (7:9), and their bodies are raised in exactly the same form in which they were committed to the earth. The writer holds the plainest and most literal conception of the resurrection of the body. God will restore the mutilated bodies (7:11; 14:46); and even blood relationships will continue (7:29). There is no belief in the doctrine of a natural resurrection. Resurrection comes through the miraculous exertion of divine power (7:14). The formation of a human being in the womb is paralleled by its re-formation after death and

¹ Quoted from R. H. Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

dissolution (7:22, 23). God's will and ability to do the former gives courage to believe that he will and can do the latter.¹

Turning to the Book of Jubilees we meet again the doctrine of the resurrection of the spirit and the idea of simple immortality, already discerned in the Ethiopic Enoch. There is no mention of an intermediate abode, and surely it cannot be Sheol since that is conceived of as hell (24:3). The only statement with reference to the resurrection is in 23:31, in which it is asserted that the souls of the righteous enjoy a blessed immortality after death. Presumably the soul must enter at death into its final destiny. A resurrection of the spirit only, and not of the body, is also asserted in the Assumption of Moses (10:3-10). A most striking view of the resurrection is recorded in the Apocalypse of Baruch. This book is a composite work, contemporaneous with New Testament writers. Baruch is represented as asking God what the nature of the resurrection body will be (chap. 49); to which answer is made that the body will be restored in exactly the same form in which it was buried, with all the defects and deformities, so that there may be a common recognition after death (chap. 50). After such recognition the body of the righteous will be transformed and will assume a more spiritual nature. There will be a series of successive changes until the body is adjusted to the new environment (51:3). The body, however, will not be so attenuated as to become a nonentity; it will remain a body, even though it is spiritually apprehended. Thus in almost the same breath the Apocalypse of Baruch presents a material as well as a spiritual conception of the risen body.²

The nature of the resurrection is, therefore, variously conceived of in Palestinian-Jewish literature. Three conceptions were current: (1) a bodily resurrection in the material sense, clearly indicated (Eth. En.) and taught in the most literal terms (II Macc.; Apoc. Bar.); (2) a resurrection of the spirit only, or an incorporeal immortality after judgment (Eth. En.; Jub.; Ass. Mos.); (3) a resurrection of a transformed body, different from the mundane body (Apoc. Bar.).

A preliminary résumé of the Greek doctrine of the future life is a very important prerequisite to the interpretation and presentation of the idea of the resurrection in the ante-Nicene period. Early Christianity, as is

¹ In II Macc. *ἀνάστασις* occurs for the first time in the Greek Bible in the sense of resurrection.

² Though this book runs somewhat parallel to Paul (I Cor. 15:35-50), it cannot be declared that Paul was influenced by it, since the main part of the book and the section referred to were written after A. D. 70. Withal the position of Baruch is fundamentally different from that of Paul.

well known, was developed in the environment of Greek life and thought. There is thus an a-priori probability that in the formation of the doctrine of the resurrection Greek influences were operative. This influence must have been both conscious and unconscious, direct and indirect, positive and negative. At the time of the Christian era there were still current among the Greeks and the Romans the popular beliefs in the Homeric conceptions and the ancient mythologies. The sepulchral inscriptions give conclusive evidence of this fact. And since Homer was the bible of the Greeks, and since the philosophies were beyond the grasp of the people as a whole, it is evident that this must have been the case. Now the Homeric doctrine of the after-life is inharmonious and irreconcilable at many places. In the main, however, it presents us with a doctrine which seems similar to the ancient beliefs of the Hebrews. The Homeric poems teach that death is not the end of man, but that something survives. This something is not a full, real man, but a kind of "an attenuated edition of man." The part which survives death is called the soul (*ψυχή*), but it is entirely different from what we understand as soul. It has no psychological relation with the rest of man, even while it is in the body. At death it departs to Hades, where it continues without consciousness (*Il.* xxiii. 103, 104), and without a possibility of return (*Il.* xxiii. 75, 76). Immortality was vouchsafed only to a few favorites of the gods, who were bodily translated to the Elysian fields.

The philosophic view of the future life is, on the other hand, of greater moment and more pertinent than the popular thought. There are constant allusions in Christian writings to the philosophical views and besides, many of the early Christian writers were at one time philosophers and were trained in the philosophic systems. The moral philosophies were the religion of most of the cultivated people. The foremost of philosophers was Plato—decidedly so on the subject of the after-life. He established the doctrine of a future life on grounds of reason, independent of tradition. Still he had his predecessors who were controlled by a higher idea of the after-life than the Homeric conception. The Eleusinian and Orphic mysteries, Pythagoras, and Pindar contributed the idea that the soul which survives in the other world is soul itself, and no attenuated dead image; that the transmigration of souls is necessary; and that the body is a hindrance to the soul.¹

Plato teaches very distinctly the idea of the immortality of the soul, to which is attached the doctrine of pre-existence and the dogma of metempsychosis. The soul is incarnated, and after the death of the body a judgment

¹ τὸ σῶμα σῆμα in the Orphic mysteries; see Plato, *Cratylus* 400.

awaits it in an intermediate state where penance and discipline and purification are possible. There it remains for a thousand years, after which it is again reincarnated; and so continuing to persist in successive bodies it is finally delivered from the body and departs into the realm of pure being. This goal is, however, reached only by those who have purified themselves by philosophy and have freed themselves from every taint of the body. The idea of a resurrection of the body is contrary to Platonic principles. The entire scheme is to get rid of the body and all of its functions, not to save it. "The soul is divine, immortal, intelligible, uniform, indissoluble, unchangeable," but "the body is mortal" (*Phaedo* 80); the body is the source of endless trouble, and it hinders the soul from the acquisition of knowledge (66); purity is attained only by the separation of the soul from the body (67); the body is an impediment, a hindrance, and the prison of the soul; heaven is reached only in a bodiless condition, in which the soul is free from every taint of the body. The doctrine of immortality had reached its highest point in Plato, and all subsequent writers who dealt with the future life followed in his footsteps. There is one variation, however, and it is utilized by the Fathers, viz., the conception of the Stoics, who taught that the soul is corporeal and that it survives until the world's periodic conflagration. They taught that the entire universe is in a continuous flux, that periodically everything is reabsorbed into Deity, and that the soul subsists until the next reabsorption and conflagration.

Turning to the Romans we find that there is very little that is Roman which is not also Greek. There are only two writers who seriously deal with the after-life—Cicero and Virgil. Both of these are used in a few of the Latin Fathers. Cicero restates the Platonic doctrine, concluding that a soul will either have a happy future or will perish with the body (*Tusc. Disp.* i. 38). Virgil gives both the popular view and also his own view, the latter being a reflection of the Platonic ideas of an antagonism between body and soul (*Aeneid* vi. 725 ff.). Thus Graeco-Roman thought was confined to the immortality of the soul, and consistently so; and the resurrection of the body was logically excluded, inasmuch as flesh and matter were conceived of as morally weak.

In the Alexandrian Jewish literature, there is a repetition of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. In Alexandria, where the Jewish and Greek ideas were welded together, the conception of the after-life fell on the Greek rather than on the Jewish side. Nowhere is there an attestation of the resurrection of the body. In the Wisdom of Solomon the doctrine of an individual immortality beyond the grave is set forth

(2:23; 8:17; 15:3). The psychology of the author is dualistic. The soul of man is pre-existent, and the body is treated as a mere receptacle (8:20); the body is only an "earthly tabernacle" for the soul (9:15); the body falls to the dust and never rises. This idea is brought out still more clearly in Philo, the classic example of Jewish Alexandrian theology. A personal immortality is clearly recognized; while a resurrection of the body and a judgment and an intermediate abode find no place. At death the soul enters into its final state, which at once sets aside the idea of a resurrection. His conception of matter, likewise, repudiates any conception of a bodily resurrection. Thus it is stated that the body is made out of matter and matter is incurably evil; that life in the body is death and death real life; that the body is the "utterly polluted prison" of the soul (*De Migr. Abr.* II); that it is the corpse which the soul drags with it, the clog which hinders the spirit. The writer of Fourth Maccabees, "a dilettante in philosophies," believing only in a blessed immortality of the soul, thrusts aside any intimation of a resurrection of the body (13:16; 15:2; 18:23). This is the more remarkable since the discourse is founded on II Macc., which takes a very literal view of the resurrection. The Slavonic Enoch, or the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, standing in a class by itself, uses a collocation of words which do not lend themselves to definite interpretation (22:8-10).

Thus Hellenistic Judaism consistently held to a conception of mere personal immortality, and is a good illustration of the positive effect of Greek thought on the Jewish idea of the resurrection. This conception was confined almost exclusively to Alexandria, while the conception of the rehabilitation of the body was indigenous to Palestinian soil. This latter—the restoration of the former body—had gained wide currency and was a common property of the Pharisees and the common people, as is evident from Josephus, the New Testament, and the Talmud. Indeed, it was the atmosphere in which the Christian idea of the resurrection was born.

CHAPTER II

THE NEW TESTAMENT

In entering upon a study of the New Testament we are mainly interested to know whether there is a single view of the nature of the resurrection or whether testimony is given to two or even three conceptions. Inasmuch as we found through a genetic study of the literature of Judaism that there were current, at least, three possible conceptions of the nature of the resurrection, it is meet to inquire whether there is variation of idea in the New Testament books also, or uniformity. A careful study of Jesus, of Paul, and of the writers of the four gospels furnishes us with the desired information. In general, Jesus says very little—less perhaps than we should have expected—on the nature of the resurrection. However, the resurrection is affirmed in his reply to the cavil of the Sadducees, and the account is given by the three Synoptists (Mark 12:18-27 and parallels). That Mark contains the earlier tradition is evident, not merely from the general conclusion to which scholarship has come on the Synoptic problem as a whole, but also from the abrupt and uncouth form in which this Markan narrative is cast. The Sadducees present what was seemingly an imaginary case, and no doubt one of their standing questions—of the effect of levirate marriage on the after-life. To this question Jesus makes answer; and in his answer there are three aspects which bear, either directly or indirectly, on the subject.

The purport of the question of the Sadducees and the import of Jesus' answer give an implicit testimony. Jesus does not answer the question put to him, but deals with the presumption out of which the question sprang. Was that presumption the denial of the resurrection of the body, or rather the denial of the persistence of life after death? If only the former, then the purpose of the argument of Jesus was simply to indicate to the Sadducees that there is a resurrection of the body in the material sense. If, however, the presumption of the question was a denial of a spiritual personality after death, rather than of a resurrection of the body, then the answer of Jesus has pertinency only if directed to this denial. Now a knowledge of the tenets of the Sadducees, apart from our immediate passage, reveals the fact that they denied not merely the resurrection of the body, but more fundamentally the soul's immortality. Josephus' representation is undoubtedly correct when he says that they maintain that the soul perishes with the body

(*Ant.* xviii. 1; *War* ii. 8:14). This is also in harmony with Acts 23:8, in which it is asserted that they deny a world of supermundane spirits. And from the very history of the Sadducees one infers that they were wholly concerned with materialistic interests, so that spiritual realities had little meaning for them. From this standpoint it is therefore evident that Jesus must have set himself to the task primarily of showing the continuity of life, rather than of arguing the resurrection of a material body.

After all, Jesus seems to give some hint as to the nature of the resurrection in this passage when he says that in the resurrection "they neither marry, nor are given in marriage; but are as the angels in heaven." It is evident from this that the future life is not to be one of sense-life, in which men exist with the same forms of intercourse occasioned by man's sensuous nature. Jesus repudiates very strongly the idea of the earthly sensuous character of the future life. However, the exact nature of the future existence of men is not, by this expression, definitely indicated. In the analogy of the heavenly state of angels (*εἶσιν ὡς ἄγγελοι ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς*) there is something a little more tangible, but still nothing absolutely definite. Angels, like demons and spirits, are usually conceived of as immaterial beings, having a self-conscious, self-directing individuality. Jesus probably intended the simile to be taken at its full value. If so, he intended to give a distinctly spiritual meaning to the resurrection. Furthermore, it is worth noticing that this reply of Jesus tallies with the description in the latter part of Ethiopic Enoch, where there is to be a resurrection, but a resurrection of the spirit alone; in which the risen righteous are to rejoice "as the angels of heaven" (104:4), being companions of the "heavenly hosts" (104:6). Hence it is most probable that Jesus intended to deny the physical and affirm only the spiritual nature of the after-life.

The argument which Jesus draws from Scripture, in his answer, has reference only to a spiritual resumption of the activities of life after death (Mark 12:26, 27). Jesus shows conclusively that the view of the Sadducees is inconsistent with the very Scripture to which they hold. If God, he argues, is really the God of the patriarchs, then they are in fellowship with him, and that fellowship cannot be broken by death; it is continuous, and consequently life must be continuous. Commentators often have made the argument to hinge on the use of the present instead of the past tense in the words, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," thereby showing that the patriarchs who were buried centuries before Moses must still have been living when God spoke these words to him. But the argument for the survival of human personality strikes deeper, for it is inferred from the nature of God himself. Those who are morally

and religiously bound up with him *now* are in a life-giving and eternal fellowship with him; he who lives for God and with God lives forever. In this aspect of Jesus' answer to the Sadducees there is no support of the idea of a restitution of the body; but only of a survival of the spirit after death and of a blessed fellowship with God. The term "resurrection" has acquired, in the thought of Jesus, the content of immortality. No room is even left for an awakening of the soul from an intermediate abode and its transference therefrom to another place, where some kind of a body will be given to it. Jesus tacitly assumed that the resurrection begins with death and that the patriarchs were living the resurrection life fully and completely. There is no room for a point of time in the history of the after-life when a soul will be united with its former body and live a completer life.

The other teachings of Jesus are in perfect harmony with his answer to the Sadducees. In the Fourth Gospel, in a stratum coming probably from the hand of John himself,¹ is an expression which is in absolute harmony with the Synoptists. Jesus says to Mary who had the current conception of the resurrection, "I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believeth on me, though he die, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die" (John 11:25, 26): meaning thereby that he is the source and embodiment of the resurrection, and that he who gives himself up to him will survive after death. The argument is parallel to that of the Synoptics—the only change being a substitution of Jesus for God. In the Synoptics, Jesus says in substance, He who lives in God and for God lives forever; in the Gospel of John, he says, He who lives in me and for me lives forever. On the other hand, there are a few references, not directly to the resurrection, but to some phase of the after-life which seem to imply a bodily resurrection; but a critical study of each passage invariably leads to the foregone conclusion. Jesus spoke of eating and drinking in the future kingdom of God (Luke 13:29); but the terms are used figuratively "to express a blissful enjoyment in fellowship with others." Our Lord's words about Lazarus in Abraham's bosom and the rich man in Hades occur in a parable, and, being incidental rather than vital to the central purpose of the parable, cannot be charged with doctrinal meaning (Luke 16:19-31). The apocalyptic passages attributed to Jesus are colored by ideas which were current and operative during the period of gospel-making. The "Great Apocalypse" (Mark, chap. 13 and parallels) is of a composite character and presents conflicting views. It may safely be assumed that this apocalypse was not spoken by Christ in the form in which it appears in our present gospels; but that it is a Christian adaptation of an original

¹ See Wendt, *The Gospel according to St. John*, 153-58.

Jewish work written during the trouble preceding the fall of Jerusalem, or a report of Jesus' words colored by Jewish ideas.¹ Furthermore, what Jesus taught concerning the future state of men, he also predicted concerning himself. To rise again after three days was a Hebraistic way of saying in a short time (cf. Hos. 6:2); and by this expression Jesus simply conveyed the idea that immediately after his death he would continue to live as a self-directing personality. In short, Jesus read into the Jewish resurrection—a term which was forced upon his lips—nothing more than the survival and continuance of human personality on its spiritual side.

In turning from the teachings of Jesus to the writings of Paul, we are confronted with another conception of the resurrection, which is seemingly different—though not vitally so—from that of Jesus. Few conceptions received such elaborate treatment at the hands of Paul as that of the resurrection. His whole interest in eschatology is centered in the resurrection. Yet in spite of all this elaboration and emphasis, there is perhaps no province in which more room is left for the raising of perplexing questions. The two classic passages on the subject of the resurrection are I Cor., chap. 15 and II Cor., chap. 5; in the former of these the subject is systematically discussed. In Corinth the resurrection was questioned and denied by some Christians. The opposition to the idea was undoubtedly due to a Hellenistic dualism indigenous to Corinth itself. The portrayal in Acts of the opposition to the resurrection encountered at Athens is also in a measure applicable to Corinth. The Corinthians must have misconceived the nature of the resurrection body, and presumably overemphasized the materialistic conception, which caused certain ones to deny it altogether.

The resurrection of Jesus, in the thought of Paul, was significant in its relation both to justification and to the resurrection of believers. For him the resurrection of Jesus was the miracle *par excellence*, and the proof of his divine mission. If Christ, he says, is not raised then all faith is in vain and we are still in our sins; Christ was raised for our justification (I Cor. 15:16-18). The resurrection of Jesus is also a sure pledge of our own resurrection; and the hope of our resurrection rests on the assured fact of Christ's resurrection. The apostle draws a close analogy between the resurrection of Jesus and that of men. The resurrection of both is either affirmed or denied, so that what is true of the one must also be true of the other. If men do not rise then Christ did not rise, and vice versa. There is also no difference between the resurrection bodies of either, save that Jesus is the first-fruit. Inasmuch as the first-fruit is like the harvest, it

¹ This view has the support of such authorities as Weizsäcker, Wendt, H. J. Holtzmann, Baldensperger, Bousset, Charles, and others.

thus follows that whatever Paul conceived to be the nature of the resurrection of the one, he must also have held with reference to the other.

The nature of the resurrection body of Jesus is not explicitly described, nevertheless its nature can easily be inferred. The empty tomb was to Paul a secondary matter and of second-hand information, if, indeed, he knew of it at all. Christ had appeared to him in his risen form and that appearance gave him the conception which he expressed in the phrase a "spiritual body." In the catalogue of appearances (I Cor. 15:1-15) there is nothing to give one the impression that the resurrection of Jesus was a revivification of his former body; but an opposite impression is rather formed. Paul says nothing of a body which could be touched and handled, and which bore the marks of a crucifixion. He is silent with reference to all this, not because he does not like to think about it, but because he never saw anything of the kind. The risen Jesus which he saw was not clothed in his former earthly body. And, in addition, Paul's language describing the resurrection of Jesus does not contain the phrase "resurrection of the body," but the expression "resurrection of the dead," meaning thereby a resurrection from the under-world.

Paul's conception of the resurrection body is brought out more comprehensively, however, in his general treatment of the future resurrection of men. We are interested to know what he thought was both the nature and the origin of this resurrection body. The two ideas are inseparable and not systematically stated, and accordingly there has been room for various and conflicting opinions. In the first place, it is obvious that he teaches that the resurrection body is to be different from this present earthly body. The material substance of the mundane life can have no place in the life beyond the grave. It is distinctly stated that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" (I Cor. 15:50). The word "flesh" is not used in an ethical sense; but, in connection with the word "blood," refers to an animal body (cf. also I Cor. 15:39). As we are we cannot inherit eternal life; since it is not the material properties of our body which endure forever; for they are subject to corruption and dissolution. In contrast with the present body the resurrection body is "spiritual," "heavenly," "eternal," and "not made with hands." The apostle recognizes variations and different forms of bodily life. "All flesh is not the same flesh; but there is one flesh of men, and another flesh of beasts, and another of birds, and another of fishes" (I Cor. 15:39). Then he continues by asserting that similar variations run through the heavenly bodies. In addition those living at the Parousia will meet the Lord, not with their earthly bodies, but with bodies that have been changed (I Thess. 4:17; I Cor. 15:51-54; II Cor. 5:4).

Paul's characteristic way of defining the future state is by the term "spiritual body" (σῶμα πνευματικόν); and this is original with him. Consequently in finding the meaning of the expression, no appeal can be made to classical or pre-Pauline literature, but reliance must be placed solely on Paul himself. On the surface, the expression seems self-contradictory; which may be due to the fact that in the term are crystallized two distinct ideas. It seems evident that the expression "spiritual body" has reference to an organism controlled by the Spirit or spirit—the two ideas being interchangeable—and also that the organism thus controlled is other than pure spirit. In contrast with the psychical body which is animated by the sensuous and perishable life as its determining element, the spiritual body will be animated by the supersensuous and imperishable life which the Spirit imparts and sustains.

This spiritual or resurrection body, he asserts, does not develop out of the former mundane body, save perhaps in the case of those still living at the Parousia (cf. I Cor. 15:51-54; II Cor. 5:4). The analogy of the seed and the plant is purely analogical, and must not be unduly pressed. As a scientific fact seed and plant stand in a genetic relationship. The seed—for in it is the germ of life—when placed in its proper environment produces the plant. But Paul did not use this illustration to set forth a principle of spiritual biology. He simply reflects the Hebrew idea respecting the sovereign power of God. "God giveth it a body according as he willeth" (καθὼς ἠθέλησεν). "The aorist tense denotes the final act of God's will determining the constitution of nature." All changes in history and life, according to the Hebrews, were the direct work of God, apart from secondary causes. No theory as to the origin of the new body can be found in this analogy. Paul did not teach that there is a seed in the old body, or the old body is itself the seed, out of which the new body genetically grows and develops; neither did he teach the metamorphosis of an earthly body into a heavenly.

The real origin of the resurrection body is attributed to the direct act of God, who "willeth" to give each soul a body at the time of the Parousia. In II Cor. 5:1-11 it is clearly indicated that when death ensues the souls will be left "naked," that is, bodiless; but that proleptically they already possess a body in heaven—"a house not made with hands"—with which they will be "clothed upon" on the resurrection day.¹ While the origin

¹ There are some scholars (e. g., Reuss, Holtzmann, Pfeiderer, Cone, Clemen, Schmiedel, etc.) who interpret this passage quite differently, asserting that, in the interval between I and II Cor., Paul changed his view on the resurrection.

of the resurrection body is usually referred to the fiat of God, it is also sometimes spoken of as the work of the Spirit which dwells in the believer which Spirit gathers to itself such elements that it will finally form a new organism. In other words, the new life in the believer will have the power to create and assimilate an organism conforming to the new conditions. It seems that when Paul is controlled by the ethical, rather than the eschatological, side he prefers to speak of the genesis of the spiritual body in this way (cf. also Rom. 8:11).¹

Since this spiritual body, as we have seen, is neither this present mundane form, nor a metamorphosis or volatilization of it, but a new organism imparted either indirectly by the new life working in the believer, or directly by God, it yet remains to ask what exactly is the nature of this organism. It is, after all, a body, an organism, and not equivalent merely to a spirit. It is perfectly adapted to the spirit's activity under the new conditions. It is ethereal, subtle, sublimated, having, probably, some of the properties of what we call matter. We may not have a term in our scientific nomenclature of things material and things spiritual whereby we can designate in exact terms the nature of this resurrection body which Paul chooses to call a "spiritual body."

Does Paul's conception differ from that of Jesus? It does, no doubt, in appearance and at first sight, but not in reality. There is really no vital difference between the two conceptions. Jesus said nothing of a spiritual body which is to be given at some time to the soul, or which the new life creates for itself; although this may not be altogether excluded from his thought. Both, however, agree in this, that they put the emphasis on the continuity of life on its spiritual side. Resurrection to both meant, not the rehabilitation of the flesh, but the permanent release from it.

In turning to the Gospel writers we meet another idea of the resurrection. In general, they portray a resurrection of the body in which the former substance is reanimated and the former life lived. This seems to be the prevailing conception of the risen body of Jesus as they describe it, although it is by no means consistently held. In fact, some resurrection narratives, particularly those imbedded in the earliest strata, imply a spiritual body such as Paul has described; while others, especially those appearing in the later gospels, set forth in bold relief a material conception of the risen body; and, indeed, in some of the accounts the material and the spiritual conceptions overlap.

¹ Kennedy, Charles, and others interpret also I Cor. 15:42-49 in accordance with this view.

Thus in the lost conclusion of Mark¹—preserved in Matt. 28:8-10, 16-19—there is described a resurrection appearance of a body which is purely spiritual. The disciples, it is narrated, were gathered together on a mount, and all at once Jesus appeared and spoke to them. Like Paul's, this description of the risen Christ is characterized by an absence of the grotesque and the materialistic conceptions of eating and handling. On the other hand, an unmistakable bodily presence of Jesus is manifested in the later traditions, especially that which has been preserved in Luke and John. Here the risen Jesus is represented as sitting down to meat, taking bread and blessing it, and giving it to his disciples. It is even stated that he took a piece of broiled fish and ate it in their presence (Luke 24:42, 43). The material and fleshly conception of the risen Lord comes out still more strikingly in the fact that he showed the prints in his hands and feet, and that he bade his disciples handle and touch him (Luke 24:39, 40; John 20:27). The risen Jesus, to indicate that his appearance was in his former body, is represented as saying: "Handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye behold me having" (Luke 24:39). In some of the narratives even a third phenomenon presents itself. Here Jesus instantaneously transports himself from place to place, passes through closed doors, is impalpable, and yet, withal, displays his wounds and challenges those present to touch him (John 20:19-23, 26-29). Two ill-according elements are manifestly present—the one predicating a material organism, the other a spiritual. Such incongruity is undoubtedly the result of two traditions, or two conceptions of the risen body, which were not, and, in fact, could not be, reconciled. Hence the overlapping of the two ideas—the one represented in its purity by Paul, and the other seen in its final development in the extra-canonical gospels. The appendix to the Gospel of John portrays with a great deal more consistency a material body than the rest of the gospel. Jesus is described as building a fire, preparing a meal, and sitting down to eat with his disciples (John 21:1-14).

In the narrative of the empty sepulcher the conception of a reinstatement, if not a resuscitation, of the former body is obvious. The tomb is found empty on the morning of the third day, the stone is rolled away, and an angel or angels announce that Christ is no longer in the grave but risen. Inharmonious as it is, even Mark and Matthew, who suggest only a spiritual body in the appearances, record the tradition of the open grave. There is a consistency between an empty tomb and a realistic corporeal risen body, but an inconsistency between an empty tomb and a spiritual body.

¹ For a discussion of this, see E. J. Goodspeed, "The Lost Conclusion of Mark," *American Journal of Theology*, Vol. IX, pp. 484-90 (1905).

In Luke and John the realism is brought out still more vividly, in the fact that the tomb is entered and that the linen clothes in which Jesus was wrapped are seen. Therefore, even though the gospels give traces of the two ideas, of a spiritual and a material resurrection of Jesus, nevertheless the latter remains the predominant and prevailing type, especially so in John and Luke.

The remaining New Testament books make no contribution to the nature of the resurrection thus far discussed. With the exception of the Johannine writings and the Epistle to the Hebrews, a resurrection of the body is explicitly avowed or tacitly assumed. In the Johannine writings there seems to be an attestation of a spiritual as well as a mechanical and bodily conception; while in Hebrews it is uncertain whether the resurrection is a resurrection of the spirit or a resurrection of the body.

The extra-canonical gospels, which exerted a direct and indirect influence upon the Fathers, adhere consistently to a resuscitation of a mundane body. In the Gospel according to the Hebrews the account of the empty tomb and the post-resurrection life of Jesus is set forth more vividly and realistically than it was in any of the canonical gospels. The same holds true of the Gospel of Peter; only here the body of Jesus assumes some kind of a transcendental form, reaching from earth to heaven, and even beyond heaven.

There is thus in the New Testament literature a confirmation of two sharply defined conceptions of the nature of the resurrection body: (1) the one is a bodily resurrection in the material sense, most clearly attested in the resurrection narratives of Luke and John; (2) the other is a purely spiritual resurrection, and a permanent release from the flesh, clearly attested by Jesus and Paul. In a further analysis of the latter conception of a purely spiritual resurrection two ideas are also distinguishable: (a) the one is a resurrection of the "naked" soul, which will be clothed upon with a heavenly body, taught by Paul; (b) the other is the continued life of the soul beyond the grave without the addition of a heavenly body at some period in the after-life, taught by Jesus.

CHAPTER III

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS

Having described the various Jewish and New Testament ideas of the resurrection, let us now turn to trace the development of thought in the ante-Nicene Christian literature. Here we are interested to know how the resurrection was approached; how Scripture was interpreted and used; and what arguments were employed in substantiation of the ideas that were held. Then we also wish to know what place the resurrection held in each particular writer and what purpose it served—whether it was a fundamental or a secondary consideration, and whether it was purely theological and apologetic. But especially do we desire to know what the precise character of the resurrection in each case was—whether the term “resurrection” was equivalent to personal immortality; whether there was a risen body, and if so, whether it was the former body, or a different body; and again, whether a writer held to one idea consistently, or whether two or even more ideas were sometimes overlaid or welded together.

Clement¹ of Rome stands out as the first among the apostolic Fathers. His epistle to the Corinthians is the only Christian monument of the first century not included in the New Testament canon. His discussion of the resurrection is very singular, and yet also very simple (chaps. 24–27). He affirms that God will effect a resurrection in the case of man as he has done in the case of Jesus. God has given an assurance of the resurrection from the very works of nature. Day comes forth from the grave of the night, and out of the decayed seed comes forth the plant and the fruit. But the unique analogy is that of the phoenix. This bird is the only one of its kind and lives for five hundred years, after which it enters into a coffin, which it has built, and dies; and “as the flesh rotteth, a certain worm is engendered which is nurtured from the moisture of the dead creature, and putteth forth wings;” and so the new creature completes a cycle of another five hundred years. But in addition to this marvelous sign of a resurrection, there is also the testimony from Scripture, in which God has given us the promise of a resurrection (Ps. 3:6; 23:4; Job 19:26).

It is evident that the characteristic argument of Clement for the resurrection is the argument from analogy. For this he is undoubtedly indebted in part to Paul; for he uses both the illustration of the seed (24:4, 5), and the

¹ No effort is made to be *strictly* chronological; similar ideas and influences have been often grouped together.

expression the "first-fruit." To this he adds two original analogies: one in reference to day and night, the other in reference to the phoenix. This bird had been mentioned in literature before, but Clement is the first Christian who both uses the story and applies it to the resurrection. The second argument is the argument from the Old Testament. He finds the promise of the resurrection in two passages in the Old Testament, which, as a matter of fact—correctly interpreted—do not, in the least, refer to a resurrection. It is also important to observe the constant stress which the writer lays on divine providence and power through which alone the resurrection can be accomplished (cf. 24:1, 5; 26:1; 27:1-3). At the same time he teaches that there is a resurrection of those only "who have served him with holiness in the assurance of a good faith."

What now is the precise nature of the resurrection body as conceived by Clement? Since he makes use of the fifteenth chapter of Paul's first letter to the Corinthians, it might naturally be inferred that he conceived the risen body to be a spiritual one; but in spite of Pauline allusions and expressions, he seems to have misunderstood Paul entirely. A resurrection of the material body is consistently maintained throughout Clement's epistle. The analogy of the seed may not be conclusive evidence, but it is interesting to note that the purpose of the analogy is different from Paul's. In Paul's epistle the illustration of the seed is primarily used to show the sovereign power of God; and it is distinctly said that the body that is raised is not that which is buried, nor of the same kind; while in Clement's the main purpose of the illustration is to show that out of the decay of the seed comes forth the plant and the fruit. This is also more evident in the representation of the symbol of the phoenix, wherein the new creature arises out of the decaying and dissolving body of the old creature; and singularly enough, the new body is exactly like the old—with flesh and blood. In a passage from Job, he states more clearly still his position with reference to the character of the resurrection. As quoted by Clement it reads, "And thou shalt raise this my flesh which hath endured all these things."¹ Here he seems to imply an actual restoration of the flesh in the after-life. It is not simply "the flesh" of which he speaks but "this my flesh." More significant still, the word "flesh" does not, in this passage, occur in the Septuagint;² and it is probable that the change is due to Clement himself. The resurrection is thus a resurrection of the flesh—a material organism—and not a resurrection in the Pauline sense.

¹ Clemens Romanus 26:3, quoted, in the main, from Job 19:26: *καὶ ἀναστήσεις τὴν σάρκα μου ταύτην τὴν ἀναντλήσασαν ταῦτα πάντα.*

² A reads *σῶμα*, but S and B read *δέρμα*.

Similarly the resurrection of Jesus is suggested as having also been in the physical form. Clement refers to the fact that the apostles became fully assured of the resurrection of Jesus (42:3), but says nothing, in this connection, of the nature of that resurrection. However, when Christ is called the "first-fruit" of the resurrection the implication demands that his must have been like that of the harvest; that is, like the resurrection of men, whose resurrection is described.

Ignatius¹ constantly refers to the resurrection without exhaustively treating the subject in any particular passage. His epistle to the Smyrneans, however, presents the most material and the most interesting matter. But the idea of the resurrection bulks larger in his thought than the space which he gives to it would indicate. It was with him as with Paul the all-important fact in the life of Jesus. Ignatius, as distinguished from Clement who dealt only with the resurrection of men, deals with the resurrection of Jesus almost exclusively. The importance attached to the resurrection is indicated in Smyr. 1:2, where he asserts that the purpose of the crucifixion was to bring about the resurrection, so that God might raise up an ensign to gather in all the nations.²

The appeal of Ignatius, in the setting forth of the resurrection, is to a historical fact, and to the consequences and inconsistencies which follow if that fact is denied. The fact, of course, which he has in mind is the resurrection of the actual flesh of Jesus. It must be borne in mind also that his whole purpose in dealing with the resurrection is to repudiate Docetism, which denied the reality of the flesh. The Docetists did not deny a spiritual resurrection, but a corporeal resurrection. The watchword against Docetism was "truly" (*ἀληθῶς*), which is used with reference to the resurrection in Tral. 9:2, Magn. chap. 11, Smyr. chap. 2. To the same category belong those stereotyped phrases describing Christ's career—the birth, the passion, the resurrection—which later found their way into the Apostles' Creed. He who denies the reality and resurrection of the flesh of Christ forfeits his own immortality (Smyr. 5:2), is unreal and visionary (Smyr. 2), and makes the Eucharist ineffective (Smyr. 6:2). Indeed, Ignatius is the first writer indicating a relation between the resurrection of Christ's flesh and the Eucharist.

¹ Interpreted from the shorter Greek form. The longer Greek form is a later expansion. For a characteristic treatment of the resurrection in this later form. see Tral. 9.

² *ἀρετὴν σύνσσημον*. Cf. Isa. 49:22; 62:10, where LXX reads *ἀρετὴν σύνσσημον* to describe the raising of Jehovah's standard in Jerusalem, about which men should rally from all parts of the earth.

The precise character of this risen body and the source which influenced Ignatius is set forth in Smyr., chap. 3; "For I know and believe that he was [is] in the flesh even after the resurrection. And when he came to Peter and his company, he said to them, Lay hold and handle me, and see that I am not a demon without body [incorporeal spirit]. And straightway they touched him and they believed, being joined unto his flesh and his blood. . . . And after his resurrection he ate with them and drank with them as one in the flesh, though spiritually he was united with the Father."¹ Ignatius teaches, through the use of the present participle (*ὄντα*), that Jesus while in heaven is in the flesh, even at the time of his writing; he knows and believes this. Incarnation he held continued to persist, not merely after the resurrection, but also after the ascension. This implies that the pre-ascension and the post-ascension body of the risen Christ were the same. The evangelists give the reader the general impression that the risen body of Christ assumed a spiritual form at the ascension. This, as we have seen in the former chapter, is undoubtedly due to incongruous elements in the narrative: the one a tradition which predicates a spiritual body, the other a belief in a material body. But in Ignatius only one idea is held, and that consistently. The account of the post-resurrection experience in Smyr., 3 plainly conveys a reference to the incident in Luke 24:36 ff. The words, however, by which it is described are so decidedly different that another source is suggested which doubtless is the Gospel according to the Hebrews.² The emphasis is vigorously laid on a fleshly resurrection. Incorporeal spirit (*διαμόνιον ἀσώματον*), in spite of Origen's interpretation as referring to some subtle substance, is taken by Ignatius to refer to a gross material organism. In Luke 36:40 the wounds are not touched, but in Smyr., chap. 3, they are touched, and the strongest possible expression is chosen to express the closeness of contact (*κραθέντες*). That which is touched is flesh and blood, i. e., the corporeal part of man. Jesus is also represented as eating and drinking with his disciples as one in the flesh (*ὡς σαρκικός*). The drinking is a new feature, and may have been inserted to give added force to what might be characterized as a resuscitated body.

ἰ 'Εγὼ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα. καὶ ὅτε πρὸς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· λάβετε, ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε, ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ διαμόνιον ἀσώματον. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἤψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, κραθέντες τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι. . . . μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάστασιν συνέφαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνέπιεν ὡς σαρκικός, καίπερ πνευματικῶς ἡνυμένος τῷ πατρὶ.

² Eusebius (*H. E.* III. 36:11) confesses that he does not know from what source this incident was taken; Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 16), states that it was taken from the Gospel according to the Hebrews; Origen (*De Prin.*, Preface 8) quotes it as taken from the Πέτρον κήρυγμα.

Ignatius also uses the expression "he raised himself" (Smyr., chap. 2), which is a decided advance upon New Testament doctrine. In the New Testament, Christ is always said to be raised by the Father, but in this epistle he is conceived of as rising by his self-power and will. However, this idea is not consistently held;¹ for in the same epistle the doctrine is stated in the scriptural way (Smyr. 7:1; cf. Tral. 9:2). Again, as is the resurrection of Jesus so is also the resurrection of men (Tral. 9:2). It is an honorable thing to keep the flesh holy, since it belongs to the Lord (Poly. 5:2); and if it is the Lord's, then it will not be destroyed but will rise again.

The characteristic features of Ignatius' thought about the resurrection are: (1) the constant insistence on a resurrection of the flesh in a gross material form, even to the extent of asserting that Jesus is still in the flesh after the ascension, and that he had been actually touched; (2) the validity of the Eucharist if the resurrection of the flesh is true, but its invalidity if the resurrection is merely spiritual; (3) the doctrine that Jesus raised himself; (4) a strenuous opposition to Docetism with reference to the idea of the flesh and the resurrection; (5) the dependence on the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

Polycarp, in his epistle to the Philippians, makes not a few allusions to New Testament passages bearing on the subject of the resurrection. Scripture is used and quoted in a formal way, and those familiar passages on the resurrection, in Acts and the epistles, are not woven into the texture of his thought; nevertheless, the New Testament and its truth are referred to as "the oracles of the Lord" (*τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου*, 7:1), in the words: "And whosoever shall pervert the oracles of the Lord to his own lust and say there is neither resurrection nor judgment, that man is the first-born of Satan." The same Docetic teachers—who believe in the resurrection of the spirit, but not in that of the body—whom Ignatius attacked are here referred to. Hence the expressions in which Polycarp conveys his strong protest must have reference to the resurrection of some kind of a body, presumably a material organism.

In the document known as the Martyrdom of Polycarp the resurrection of the material body is maintained for martyrs, which is described as a "resurrection unto eternal life both of soul and body."

Barnabas furnishes us only with fragmentary references on the resurrection. In regard to Jesus he says that he rose, manifested himself, and ascended on the same day (15:9):² "Wherefore also we keep the eighth

¹ The change was felt by later readers and transcribers, so that an interpolator substituted *ἀνέστη* for *ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτόν*.

² The punctuation of Dressel puts the ascension on another day.

day for rejoicing in the which also Jesus arose from the dead, and having been manifested ascended into heaven." The order of events and the ascension on the same day as the resurrection is in harmony with the Gospel of Peter, but there is no hint that this gospel was used or exerted any influence. Nothing is said bearing on the nature of the risen body. In 5:6 it is stated that "he himself endured that he might destroy death and show forth the resurrection of the dead, for that he must needs be manifested in the flesh." The manifestation of Jesus in the flesh has reference to his incarnation, and does not give us any clue to his conception of the nature of the resurrection body.

The Didache, Papias, and the Elders approach the resurrection more or less from the standpoint of messianism and the apocalyptic ideas. In all of them there is a very realistic and gross conception of the risen body, both of Jesus and of men, during a millennium reign. In the Didache resurrection, judgment, and the second coming are bound together in one act. The Lord will come in the clouds, the heavens will be rent, the trumpets will blow, and the dead saints will arise (16:6-8). The writings of Papias are no longer extant, and we must rely on fragments of his writings and scanty notices of his theological opinions in other writers. It is said by Jerome that he promulgated the Jewish tradition of a millennium, and by others that he thought that after the resurrection the Lord would reign in the flesh with the saints (*Vir. Ill.* 18). "Viands are among the sources of delight in the resurrection," and "the kingdom of heaven consists in the enjoyment of certain material foods." The righteous who are to share in this millennium enjoy a wealth of food of all kinds, which is described fully by Irenaeus in the famous passage that speaks of the prolific fruitfulness of the vine and the wheat (*Iren. V.* 33, 34). Whether Papias also held another idea of the resurrection—a resurrection of the spirit or a spiritual body—which would come at the end of this millennium, we have no data to know. In the *Testimony of the Elders*, preserved by Irenaeus, there is a gradation of rewards for the righteous, and, at least, two if not all three classes enjoy material rewards in the after-life (*Iren. V.* 36). Those who inhabit the city, the New Jerusalem on earth, will of course live an earthly life; those who enjoy the delights of Paradise will be bodily translated there; those who go to heaven might be supposed to assume another form, but this again is not the final goal and final resurrection; for it is asserted that those who are translated to Paradise merely remain there until the end of all things. As to the nature of the final resurrection which must logically conclude the millennium era we can give no definite answer.

In the so-called Second Epistle of Clement, or the earliest homily, the

resurrection is approached from a consideration of the nature and importance of the flesh. Although there is only one passage which directly deals with the resurrection, nevertheless the idea of the fleshly resurrection of men is set forth in more realistic terms than in any of the writers thus far examined. In 9:1-5 we read: "And let not any one of you say that this flesh is not judged neither riseth again. Understand ye. In what were ye saved? In what did ye recover your sight? if ye were not in this flesh. We ought therefore to guard the flesh as a temple of God: for in like manner as ye were called in the flesh, ye shall come also in the flesh. If Christ the Lord who saved us, being first spirit, then became flesh, and so called us, in like manner also shall we in this flesh receive our reward." This is an unmistakably clear statement, the argument of which was directed against those who denied a bodily resurrection, presumably an incipient Gnosticism (cf. 8, 14, 16). The body which rises has not merely the same kind of substance which the earthly body possesses, but it is the very identical substance (αὐτὴ ἡ σὰρξ). There are two arguments set forth for this kind of a resurrection. A person shall be judged in the flesh and will receive recompense in the flesh in the same manner in which he was called. This idea of the resurrection of the flesh—for the purpose of judgment and rewards—is set forth in this ancient homily for the first time. The flesh is also a temple of God, and therefore must be guarded and kept pure. He calls it the holy flesh (ἡ σὰρξ ἁγνή) (8:4). Here may be an allusion to Paul (I Cor. 6:14, 19); but in the case of Paul the attention is directed to the fact that we carry in our bodies the Spirit of God, which, becoming a temple of God, should be kept pure and undefiled. In this homily, however, the reason for keeping the body pure is because it will rise again. Christ had put the emphasis on the inner life, stating that the life which is in God and for God is eternal. Clement II lays stress on the flesh and states that the flesh will have an eternal life provided it is kept pure. We shall rise in the flesh because of the singular fact that Christ was first spirit, and that when he came to save us he assumed flesh. These arguments became dominant later on; and in the passage quoted is expressed the underlying thought which was taken up by later writers and developed with great completeness.

The Shepherd of Hermas approaches the resurrection from the same standpoint, and it is not surprising that this should have been the case, since it came "*ex eadem communione ac societate.*" In Sim. V. 7, 1 f., we read as follows: "Keep thy flesh pure and undefiled, that the spirit which dwelleth in it may bear witness to it and thy flesh may be justified. See that it never enter into thy heart that this flesh of thine is perishable

and so thou abuse it in some defilement. [For] if thou defile thy flesh, thou shalt defile the Holy Spirit also, but if thou defile the spirit, thou shalt not live."¹ Flesh is not perishable, and its survival after death is a basis for morality. Hermas also teaches that the flesh which survives the spirit unblamably shall have a place of sojourn, in order that it may not lose the reward of its service (Sim. V. 6, 7).

In the apostolic Fathers the idea of the resurrection, though meagerly treated, is nevertheless of great significance. With the exception of Barnabas and those treatises which deal with the millennium, there is a decided uniformity as to what the nature of the resurrection body shall be. The Pauline conception, in spite of Pauline allusions and references, falls into disfavor; and a bodily resurrection in the material sense, with reference both to Jesus and to men, is either tacitly assumed or avowedly expressed. In the effort to oppose Docetism the reality of the flesh of Christ—both of his earthly career and, significantly, also of his heavenly state—is asserted. Dependence is shown, in at least one instance, upon an extra-canonical gospel; and some of the theological and apologetic arguments, so pronounced in subsequent writers, are set forth in an incipient form.

¹ This is according to the Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn text, which reads: *ἐὰν δὲ μάνης τὸ πνεῦμα, οὐ ζήσῃ*. Lightfoot's text is still more suggestive for our purpose, reading *τὰ σάρκα*, instead of *τὸ πνεῦμα*.

CHAPTER IV

THE APOLOGISTS

In the early apologists the doctrine of the resurrection is more fully developed, and the ideas concerning it are more comprehensively stated, than they were in the apostolic Fathers. A few single treatises were written on the subject, and many original arguments were used. Justin Martyr being the foremost, if not the first, among the apologists, largely leads and pioneers the way. He deals with the resurrection both of Jesus and of men, both in the *Apologies* and in the *Dialogue with Trypho*. Speaking first of the resurrection of Jesus, it does not, in his thought, hold the same place as the second coming, the virgin birth, and the crucifixion; even though the significance attributed to it lies in the fact that it sets forth his glory and makes certain his second coming. Nevertheless, Justin makes reference to the story imbedded in Matt. 28:11-15; viz., that the disciples stole the body of Jesus and then declared his resurrection, and adds that the Jews proclaimed this "godless doctrine" throughout the world (*Dia.* 108). He also repeats the tradition of the evangelists in regard to the post-resurrection life of Jesus, and understands it in the same way in which it was portrayed by John and Luke. Jesus was buried at eventide and rose again on the third day (*Dia.* 97, 100)—"the third day" being here mentioned for the first time outside the gospels.¹ After the resurrection he lived with his disciples, assured them that his passion and death were foretold, and sang hymns with them (*Dia.* 106); in variation from the gospels, he asserts that when the disciples were convinced, by Jesus, of his resurrection, "they went into all the world, and taught these truths" (*Dia.* 53).

His idea of the resurrection of men can be approached best by presenting his whole conception of the after-life, since in his thinking the resurrection is knit up with his entire eschatology. There are two marked features in his eschatology: the one is the millennium, the other the resurrection; and the two are indissolubly bound together. Death he defines as the separation of the soul from the body. "Man does not live always, and the soul is not forever conjoined with the body, since, whenever this harmony must be broken up, the soul leaves the body, and man exists no longer" (*Dia.* 6). The soul neither perishes with the body nor suffers dissolution

¹ Cf. also Aristides, *Apol.* II, where the description runs thus: "He died, was buried, and *they say* that after three days he arose and ascended to heaven."

and yet, souls are not *naturally* immortal (*Dia.* 5). The soul, he states, is not life, but has life, which life may be extinguished; nevertheless it is God's will that souls should not die, but be kept intact. If death would be the end then it would be "a piece of unlooked-for luck" (*ἐρμαιον*) to all the wicked (*Apol.* I. 18). The soul at death does not directly go to heaven or hell, as the heretics teach (*Dia.* 80); but it enters an intermediate place, where all common mortals remain until the resurrection (*Dia.* 5). He repeatedly and emphatically states that these souls in Hades are still endowed with sensation (*Apol.* I. 20; *Dia.* 57). Greek life, literature, and mythology point to this fact (*Apol.* I. 18). However, this state of sensation in which the righteous experience joy and the unrighteous pain is not the end and goal of the future life.

Justin accepted the idea of the millennium, and inserted it bodily into his system of thought. This millennium kingdom is established at Christ's second coming, and is preceded by the resurrection of dead Christians, prophets, and pious Jews. It is known as the first or "holy resurrection" (*ἅγια ἀνάστασις*, *Dia.* 113), differentiated from the general or "eternal resurrection" (*αἰώνια ἀνάστασις*, *Dia.* 81). During this time the New Jerusalem will be built; and there will be physical enjoyments, in which Christ will eat and drink with the members of his kingdom. At the close of the thousand years of Christ's reign upon the earth the second act of the great drama of the resurrection is expected. This resurrection is intended for all men, without exception (*Dia.* 81), and is designed primarily for judgment; through which such recompense is made that the just ascend into heaven and the wicked descend into a hell of fire (*Apol.* II. 1, 2; *Dia.* 130). In form and nature the two acts of the resurrection do not differ from each other. The life after the second resurrection is simply a continuance of the life of the millennium. There is no indication that the resurrection of the one is that of the body, and the other that of the spirit; nor that the second resurrection is of a spiritual body, while the former was a material body. In fact, Justin nowhere desires his readers to form the impression that the resurrection body in the millennium state is different from that of the post-millennium state.

What then is the precise nature of this resurrection body? It is to be noted that the term "resurrection of the flesh" (*σαρκὸς ἀνάστασις*) comes to light here for the first time. The term "rising of the flesh" had been used before, but not "resurrection of the flesh." However, the expression occurs only once in Justin (*Dia.* 80). As a rule he prefers the biblical expression, "resurrection from the dead." But at no point is one left in doubt as to what kind of a resurrection is meant. The body rises with the

same form and substance, with the same component parts and members from the grave, as it possessed while alive. "We expect to receive again our own bodies, though they be dead and cast into the earth, for we maintain that with God nothing is impossible."¹ It is asserted, with reference to the wicked, that their bodies will unite again with their spirits, and undergo everlasting punishment (*Apol.* I. 8); and with reference to the righteous, that there will be a perfect identity between the deceased and risen body—the only difference being that mutilated bodies will rise with their limbs restored (*Apol.* I. 8). There will also be in the resurrection body a discontinuance of the sexual functions (based on Luke 20:29-34), and an exemption from pain (*Dia.* 69, 121). In *Apol.* I. 19, Justin tries to meet an objection which has been made, or which, at least, he feels might be made, viz., that it is impossible that the bodies of men which have been dissolved should rise again with the same form and substance. This he answers by referring to the miraculous power of life and growth issuing from a human seed. The analogy, however, of the human seed is not an analogy of the process of the resurrection, but is used only to indicate the power of God, and the credibility of a bodily resurrection. The resurrection seems incredible to one merely because he has never seen it, just as the growth of a man out of a human germ would seem incredible were it not a commonplace.

Justin bodily repeats and formally adheres to Christian tradition in his treatment of the resurrection, which he indissolubly binds up with the millennium. He himself states that the resurrection of the flesh and the thousand years' reign belong only to a certain class—those who are thoroughly orthodox (*ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανοί*, *Dia.* 80). He makes no attempt to interpret either Jesus or Paul on the resurrection, but simply falls back on Jewish and Christian apocalypses and on Christian tradition for his ideas of the resurrection. Neither is he carried away by the Platonic conceptions of immortality. He thoroughly knows the position of Plato and states it (*Dia.* 1), but only to refute it. His theology is very much colored with the philosophic conceptions, especially with reference to God and the Logos; and yet, notwithstanding, he sets over against it the grossest and most materialistic conception of the after-life and the resurrection body, which, in fact, is in direct opposition to Hellenistic ideas, and which ill accords with his otherwise Platonic conceptions.

The treatise entitled "*On the Resurrection*,"² attributed to Justin, but

¹ *Apol.* I. 18: οἱ καὶ τὰ νεκρούμενα καὶ εἰς γῆν βαλλόμενα πάλιν ἀπολήψεσθαι ἑαυτῶν σώματα προσδοκῶμεν, ἀδύνατον μηδὲν εἶναι θεῷ λέγοντες.

² *Περὶ ἀναστάσεως.*

wrongly so, may be treated in this connection. At least, it belongs not far after Justin.¹ This pseudonymous writing is more Platonic and more ascetic than the authentic works of Justin. The entire treatise is devoted to an exposition of the resurrection, and is of the highest value for our purpose. It is the first attempt to set forth the resurrection of the flesh in an orderly manner. It is an apologetic against the heathen denial of the resurrection, and indirectly a polemic against Gnostic tenets. The arguments of the opponents are stated and then refuted one by one. In one passage attention is drawn to the fact that the argument is "secular and physical," not scriptural (5),² while the reason assigned for adopting this line of argument is to meet the opponents of the resurrection on their own ground; and, in fact, this is what the treatise mostly undertakes to do. The purpose as stated is twofold: first, to solve the things which seem insoluble to those who deny the resurrection of the flesh; and secondly, to demonstrate, in an orderly manner, that the flesh will partake of salvation (2).

The writer shows, in the first place, that the body will rise entire—with all its former members and organs, which, however, will not all perform the same functions as they performed in the earthly body. There are even cases in this life in which that is true; for he writes, "Let not, then, those that are unbelieving marvel, if in the world to come he do away with those acts of our fleshly members which even sometimes in this present life are abolished" (3). The resurrection body, however, will be perfect and entire without any bodily defects. One of the purposes for which Jesus performed miracles of healing was to induce the belief that in the resurrection the flesh shall rise entire. "For if on earth he healed the sicknesses of the flesh, and made the body whole, much more will he do this in the resurrection, so that the flesh shall rise perfect and entire" (4).

Furthermore, God is competent to raise this earthly body. The heathen believe that all things are possible to their gods, and if they believe so, Christians have much more reason to believe this with reference to their God. Besides, that the first man was created, that men are generated from a human seed, that cases of resurrection have actually happened—all these are proofs that God has the power to bring about a universal resurrection (5). The resurrection is also consistent with the opinion of the philosophers: with Plato, who says that all things are made from matter by God; with Epicurus, who asserts that all things are made from the atom and the void; and with the Stoics, who declare that all things are made out

¹ "Darf somit für sehr wahrscheinlich resp. für fast gewiss gelten, dass unsere Schrift bereits vor 180 existierte."—Harnack, *Gesch. altchrist. Litt.*, II, 1, p. 509.

² These references are to chaps. in pseudo-Justin, *De Resurrectione*.

of the four elements. "There are some doctrines acknowledged by them all in common, one of which is that neither can anything be produced from what is not in being, nor anything be destroyed or dissolved into what has not any being, and that the elements exist indestructible out of which all things are generated. And this being so, the regeneration of the flesh will, according to all these philosophies, appear to be possible" (6). The flesh in God's sight is also a precious possession, as is evident from its creation (7). It is not the flesh alone that sins, as is asserted by the opponents of the resurrection; but both body and soul sin together. And if it should really be true that flesh is sinful, then there is this undeniable fact that the Savior came to save flesh; so that in either case flesh must be valuable in God's sight, and being valuable, he must raise it (8).

In the concluding chapters, preserved only in fragments, the resurrection of the flesh is set forth in its clearest light. This resurrection is proved both from Christ's miracles of raising and his own resurrection. The former is manifested in the following passage:

If he had no need of the flesh, why did he heal it? And what is most forcible of all, he raised the dead. Why? Was it not to show what the resurrection should be? How then did he raise the dead? Their souls or their bodies? Manifestly both. If the resurrection were only spiritual, it was requisite that he, in raising the dead, should show that body lying apart by itself, and the soul lying apart by itself. But now he did not do so, but raised the body, confirming in it the promise of life (9).

The latter, that is, the proof from Christ's own resurrection is described in the following words:

Why did he rise in the flesh in which he suffered, unless to show the resurrection of the flesh? And wishing to confirm this, when his disciples did not know whether to believe he had truly risen in the body, and were looking upon him and doubting, he said to them, "Ye have not yet faith; see that it is I;" and he let them handle him, and showed them the prints of the nails in his hands. And when they were by every kind of proof persuaded that it was himself and in the body, they asked him to eat with them, that they might thus still more accurately ascertain that he had in verity risen bodily; and he did eat honey-comb and fish. And when he had thus shown them that there is truly a resurrection of the flesh, wishing to show them this also, that it is not impossible for flesh to ascend into heaven (as he had said that our dwelling-place is in heaven), "he was taken up into heaven while they beheld," as he was in the flesh (9).

In this quotation the bodily resurrection of Jesus is portrayed with greater reality than in our canonical gospels. The description seems to accord in some respects with the Gospel according to the Hebrews; for

in that gospel, as in this treatise, it is stated that the disciples actually touched the risen Lord. The ascension in the flesh reminds us of Ignatius, on whom there may have been a tacit dependence. The concluding fragment states the resurrection of the flesh also very realistically.

The resurrection is a resurrection of the flesh which died. For the spirit dies not; the soul is in the body, and without a soul it cannot live. The body, when the soul forsakes it, is not. For the body is the house of the soul; and the soul the house of the spirit. These three, in all those who cherish a sincere hope and unquestioning faith in God, will be saved.¹

Herein it is explicitly stated that the resurrection is a resurrection, not merely of the flesh, but of the very "flesh which died."

In summing up the views set forth by pseudo-Justin, it may be noted: (1) that there is to be a real resurrection of the flesh, and accordingly various terms—the resurrection of the flesh, salvation of the flesh, regeneration of the flesh, promise of the flesh—are used to express this idea; (2) that the resurrection of Jesus was of a material body—a person capable of being touched, who ate and in the flesh ascended into heaven; (3) that the arguments, because they are determined, in method and content, by the opponents of the resurrection, are apologetic and theological rather than scriptural; (4) that in the use of the post-resurrection narratives of Jesus there is apparently felt the influence of an extra-canonical gospel—the Gospel according to the Hebrews; (5) that no use is made of the Pauline teaching on the resurrection, or of the teachings of Jesus, save to the effect that in the resurrection body certain functions are annulled.

Athenagoras wrote a treatise *On the Resurrection of the Dead*,² in which he sets forth the doctrine of the resurrection of the body in a still more logical scheme than pseudo-Justin. The opponents against which the treatise was directed are the heathen. Like pseudo-Justin, Athenagoras also divides his work into two parts: in the first, or negative part, he answers certain objections offered by those who oppose the doctrine of the resurrection; and in the second, or positive part, he instructs and confirms Christians in their belief in the doctrine. In the first part, he shows that the objectors have no reason to doubt that the bodies of men will be restored. He refutes both underlying objections, viz., that God is neither able nor willing to call the dead back to life. And if God, he continues, is unable to accom-

¹ *De Resurrectione* (10): 'Ἀνάστασις ἐστὶ τοῦ πεπτωκότος σαρκίου· πνεῦμα γὰρ οὐ πίπτει. ψυχὴ ἐν σώματι ἐστίν, οὐ ζῆν δὲ ἄψυχον· σῶμα, ψυχῆς ἀπολειπούσης, οὐκ ἔστιν. οἶκος γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ψυχῆς, πνεύματος δὲ ψυχῆ οἶκος. τὰ τρία δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς ἐλπίδα εὐλι- κρινῇ καὶ πίστιν ἀδιάκριτον ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἔχουσιν σωθήσεται.

² *Περὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν.*

plish the resurrection, then he must be deficient either in knowledge or in power. But either position is absurd; for God knows, yea, he must know, "both the members entire and the particles of which they consist, and whither each of the dissolved particles passes, and what part of the elements has received that which is dissolved." Neither can he be ignorant of the method by which bodies may be recalled to life (2).¹ Moreover, God's power is also sufficient for the raising of dead bodies. The God who created them must also be able to restore them; a fact which he maintains to hold true, whether we think of the first formation of bodies and their elements, or the formation through pro-generation. Even the parts of human bodies which are taken into animals can be separated and restored by God (3). Disbelievers object, saying that human elements, eaten and absorbed by animals or human beings, cannot be separated (4). To this he answers by saying that for each living thing God has provided suitable food, and that only what is suitable becomes a part of the body through the process of digestion, while whatever is unsuitable is rejected (5, 6). In chap. 7, a new line of argument is introduced, and the objections are met on a higher plane. The resurrection body will be somewhat different from the present, throwing aside its corruptibility, its needs, and its material functions and conditions (cf. *Apol.* 31). Hence no foreign element can become a necessary part of that true body which shall rise. The objectors to the resurrection draw a conclusion from potters and artificers, who are unable to renew their work when once destroyed; but Athenagoras points out that there is no basis for an objection in this analogy, since "what is impossible with man is possible with God" (9). That God does not wish to raise the dead—the second underlying objection—is likewise untenable. The resurrection of men is not an injustice to angels (*νοητὰ φύσεις*); nor do inanimate or irrational beings, who do not share in the same resurrection, sustain any wrong; nor is injustice done to the man who is raised, "for he consists of soul and body and he suffers no wrong as to either soul or body;" "nor can one say that it is a work unworthy of God to raise up and bring together again a body which has been dissolved" (10).

In the second part of the discussion four arguments are adduced in support of the resurrection of men: (1) The final cause of man's creation. Man was not created for the sake of another being, but that he might be a perpetual beholder of divine wisdom. The creature who has in himself the image of his Creator partakes of an intelligent life, and, having become a spectator of God's grandeur and wisdom manifested in all things, con-

¹ All references, unless otherwise indicated, are to the above-mentioned work, *On the Resurrection of the Dead*.

tinues always in the contemplation of these; and for this purpose the resurrection of the body and the soul is established (12, 13). (2) Consideration of man's nature, who is the end of rational life, and who consequently must have a perpetual existence. Man is composed of an immortal soul, and a body fitted to it in creation. Both are active in life and there is one harmony and community of experience in this world. Hence the end of these two must be the same, and since there is one common end of the being thus compounded the resurrection is a necessary inference. If the entire nature of man does not continue, then everything is in vain—body and soul, understanding and insight, righteousness and virtue, everything joyous and beautiful (14-17). (3) The necessity of divine judgment, in body and soul, from the providence and justice of God. Deeds are wrought in union of body and soul, and it would be unjust to reward or punish only one. If there is no resurrection then there is no providence, and no reward of good or evil. It would be unjust to reward or punish the soul alone when the body was a partaker of good and bad deeds. Again, the virtues and vices of man cannot be thought of as existing in an unembodied soul. Even the ten commandments (especially four, six, and seven) are designed both for body and soul, and the soul alone is not to be held responsible (18-23). (4) The ultimate end of man's being, not to be attained on earth. Everything has its particular end and, in accordance with this principle, man also has his particular end. Freedom from pain cannot be the final goal for man, nor can it consist in the enjoyment of things which nourish or delight the body, nor in the abundance of pleasure, nor in the happiness of soul separated from body. Since then man's end cannot be attained on earth, it must be attained hereafter in a state where body and soul are again united (24, 25).

As to the nature of the resurrection body, Athenagoras bears testimony to a few distinguishable, if not distinct conceptions. There is, in the first place, the reiterating conception that, in the resurrection, the same souls are given to the same bodies, and that the bodies which have moulded away and have been dissolved and reduced to nothing will be reconstructed. "The resurrection of dissolved bodies"¹ is a very common expression. The resurrection body is to be exactly like the mundane body, absolutely identical with it in the material parts and particles which compose it. What has reverted to nature through the natural processes of dissolution will again be reinstated. No matter where the elements have gone, and into what they have been converted, they will, at the appointed time, be brought back by the power and will of God to their former place in the body (2-6).

¹ ἡ τῶν διαλυθέντων σωμάτων ἀνάστασις.

And it is frankly admitted that the elements which constitute the body can be assimilated into animals, but not into the tissues of human bodies; so that there can be no serious objection to the view that our present bodies can be restored in substance and form (6). On the other hand, the idea of a body, in the resurrection, different from the present one is repeatedly emphasized in clear and unmistakable terms. The resurrection body will throw aside its corruptibility and also bring about other changes; so that identity of material between the two bodies is unthinkable. It is stated that neither the blood contributes anything to life, i.e., the resurrection life; nor does the phlegm, nor the bile, nor the breath (7); that the constant change of the body proves, first, that it cannot be determined what the real body is, and, secondly, that the resurrection is simply one more link—the last—in a “hierarchy” of changes. There is a constant change in the flesh and the fat as well as the humors, in time of health and more often in time of sickness, a gradual change from a human seed to a living being, a continual change in age, appearance, and size, and finally, another change at the time of the resurrection process (7, 12, 17). “For the resurrection is a species of change and the last of all, and a change for the better of what still remains in existence at that time” (12). This change is so radically conceived that in one place the author even compares the risen body to a heavenly spirit (*Apol.* 31). That which rises, however, is not mere spirit, but body or flesh, so changed that the term “heavenly spirit” is used to describe it. It is flesh, not pure spirit; and yet it is not flesh, that is, it is changed and transformed flesh. Such must be the meaning of the following passage:

We are persuaded that when we are removed from the present life we shall live another life, better than the present one, a heavenly, not earthly (since we shall abide near God, and with God, free from all changes and suffering in the soul, not as flesh, even though we shall have flesh, but as heavenly spirit), or falling with the rest, a worse one and in fire.¹

Athenagoras presents a very interesting phenomenon. He sets forth, on the one hand, a resurrection of the body in the material sense—setting it forth so literally as to explain how the very dissolved particles will all be reinstated in the risen body; and, on the other hand, he depicts the nature of the resurrection body, in language and description which well-nigh

¹ *Apol.* 31: πεπεσμεθα τοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἀπαλλαγέντες βίον βίον ἕτερον βιώσεσθαι, ἀμείνονα ἢ κατὰ τὸν ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐπουράνιον, οὐκ ἐπίγειον (ὥς ἂν μετὰ θεοῦ καὶ σὺν θεῷ ἀκλινεῖς καὶ ἀπαθείς τὴν ψυχὴν, οὐχ ὡς σάρκες, κὰν ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐράνιον πνεῦμα, μενούμεν), ἢ συγκαταπίπτοντες τοῖς λοιποῖς χείρονα καὶ διὰ πυρός.

approach the Pauline conception. We labor in vain to find a synthesis between these two conceptions. The only solution for this incongruity lies in his eclecticism. It has been said that he was the first of eclectics. In his theology there is an unmistakable trace of the Platonic and the Peripatetic combined with Christian elements; so that, with reference to the resurrection, we naturally expect to find divergent views. In fact, he holds to the idea of recollections, one of the Platonic arguments used in substantiation of the soul's immortality. His eclectic spirit caused him also to employ Pauline conceptions and ideas, which ill accord with the current and traditional conceptions of the resurrection. He knew Paul and alludes to the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians in several instances. Fundamentally, however, Athenagoras held to the resurrection of the flesh, which, because of his eclecticism, is often overlaid by other ideas of a resurrection.

Theophilus of Antioch makes a few references to the resurrection. He believes in the resurrection of the body, evidently in the material sense. He says nothing of the relation of the resurrection body to the mundane body. His interest is in the fact of the resurrection rather than in a discussion of its nature. The resurrection, he argues, is in no wise unreasonable, and those who do not believe in it now will nevertheless believe when the resurrection shall have taken place. Again, God is able to bring about a resurrection, evinced by the fact that if he first brought man into being out of nothing and since then every human being out of a small seed into life, he is also able to remake him in the resurrection (*Autol.* I. 8, 13). "And can you not believe that the God who made you is also able to make you afterwards." The real ground, however, for the resurrection is in two considerations: first, the testimony from analogy, and, secondly, the testimony from the Sacred Scripture (Old Testament). The unbelieving say, Show me one who has been raised from the dead, that seeing I may believe. To this Theophilus replies that the heathen believe in the continued life of Hercules and Aesculapius, but if we should tell of such a case they would be incredulous. Then he continues to present his arguments from analogy in proof of the resurrection. He points to the different seasons, day and night, seeds and fruits: a seed of wheat, for example, or of the other grains, when it is cast into the earth first dies and rots away, then is raised and becomes a stalk of corn. The heavenly bodies, likewise, show forth a resurrection: there is the "resurrection of the moon," which "wanes and dies and rises again." Then there is a resurrection going on in man himself: it often happens that through sickness one loses his flesh and his strength, but through God's power he is again restored to his former state (I. 14). Finally, he lays still more stress upon prophetic

Scripture, in which all things were foretold and among them the resurrection of the body.

The resurrection of which Theophilus speaks is a general resurrection of all men. The nature and form of the resurrection body is not described, but it is tacitly assumed that it is a bodily resurrection in the material sense. At least, that is what the unbelievers to whom he wrote understood by it, since they asked for the restoration of a man that they might believe. The analogies seem to point in the same direction; so also the expression "raise thy flesh immortal with thy soul" (I. 7). The idea of the nature of the resurrection is taken from Christian tradition, with little reference to the New Testament. There are no traces of the Pauline doctrine—although the analogies may have been suggested by his analogy of the seed—and no references to the resurrection of Jesus.

The extant fragments of Melito, bishop of Sardis, furnish us with a few rhetorical phrases on the resurrection of Jesus expressing the current conception. The expression, "he rose from the dead," or, "the place of the dead," is very common. Thus it is said, "he arose from the dead and ascended to the heights of the heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father" (*On Passion*). References are also made to his resurrection, descent into Hades, his ascension, and session at the right hand, and to the relief of prisoners in Hades. "He arose from the place of the dead and raised up men from the earth—from the grave below—to the heights of heaven" (*On Faith*). Jesus rose in a bodily form; and his body did not even suffer dissolution (*On Passion*). Again, the collocation of words in regard to the post-resurrection life of Jesus are such as have always been associated with a fleshly resurrection. Melito does not draw his conception from any particular portion of Scripture, but adheres rather to Christian tradition. He also tries to show that the coming of Christ was necessary for our resurrection.

Tatian in his *Oration to the Greeks* imparts, more or less indirectly, a unique conception of the resurrection. He approaches it altogether from a philosophical, or rather a psychological point of view; and indeed his doctrine of the soul is anomalous. The resurrection doctrine is worked out from the existing relation of body, soul, and spirit, and the relation sustained by these three to God. Man, he says, consists of three parts flesh, soul, and spirit. The flesh is that which incloses the soul, is equivalent to body, and is the property of men, but not of God and demons (15). Spirit is of three grades; first, there is the spirit pervading matter, secondly, the spirit assimilated to the soul, and thirdly, the divine spirit apart from its works (4). There are in man thus two kinds of spirits, the

one which is common to all matter, and the divine spirit or the Holy Spirit. Another name for the natural spirit in man is soul, and soul is material, so that in the trichotomy of man soul is equivalent to natural spirit (*πνεύματα ὑλικά*). Natural spirits are material though not fleshly. Soul is nothing else but a label given to the material spirit in man. Demons are spoken of as material creatures (12). Their structure may be designated as spiritual, but, in reality, they are like fire and air, which are the reflections of matter (15). Hence the soul or material spirit is an ethereal substance like air or fire. But not all spirits are material, or rather not everything spiritual is material. God is a spirit, and he is immaterial; the soul is a spirit but material, since it is created. There is also a spirit superior to matter, greater than the soul (7), the representative of God, his image, his spirit (13, 15), which dwells or, at least, can dwell in man, which might be termed the Holy Spirit.

Out of this psychology of Tatian arose his conception of the resurrection. The argument in one place runs as follows: God is incorruptible, man partakes of God, therefore man is incorruptible (7). But, on the other hand, Tatian teaches more than simple personal immortality; and his argument is exceedingly complex at those points in which he suggests a resurrection of the body as well as the soul. Soul, or material spirit, is the bond connecting God's spirit, pure and undefiled, with the flesh. Now unless the soul or material spirit is in relationship with the immaterial spirit or Holy Spirit, the soul will pass into eternal dissolution, and the body or the flesh as well; since the soul is the bond between them. If, on the other hand, the soul or material spirit acquires the knowledge of God it dies not, although for a time it be dissolved (13). Again, he teaches that the soul, or material spirit is interwoven with the body or flesh and manifests itself through the body. "Neither could it [the soul] appear by itself without the body, nor does the flesh rise again without the soul" (15).

Tatian has no room for an intermediate place, and yet souls at death do not immediately pass to their final abode. Souls—remembering that they are material—as well as bodies are dissolved, but both will rise again. He speaks of a double death for the soul in the case of those who know not God. There is a resurrection of bodies after the consummation of all things, not a return of certain cycles as the Stoics teach, but a "resurrection once for all;" and the purpose of this resurrection is to pass judgment upon men (6). The resurrection of the former physical bodies is also vividly stated in the following passage:

Even though fire destroy all traces of my flesh, the world receives the vaporized matter; and though dispersed through rivers and seas, or torn in pieces by wild

beasts, I am laid up in the storehouses of a wealthy Lord. And, although the poor and the godless know not what is stored up, yet God the sovereign, when he pleases, will restore the substance that is visible to him alone to its pristine condition (6).

Tatian does not undertake to prove anything from prophecy, neither does he fall back on the teachings of either Jesus or Paul or any of the New Testament books to substantiate the resurrection. He devotes a relatively large part to a consideration of it, but it is mostly indirectly, and approached through his peculiar psychology. He does not mention the resurrection of Jesus, neither his second coming, nor a millennium; and has no place for Hades.

The apologists took great pains in setting forth the Christian article of the resurrection of the flesh, which was so offensive to Graeco-Roman culture. Only in a few cases did they compromise with their opponents; as a rule, they were driven to the opposite extreme, and the influence of Hellenism was purely negative. With the exception of Tatian, they all prove the resurrection of the flesh in about the same manner. The value of their labors is twofold: (1) they set forth the resurrection in clear and unmistakable terms; (2) they brought into existence an array of argumentative material.

CHAPTER V

THE Gnostics

Gnosticism deserves an important place in a discussion of the resurrection in the ante-Nicene period. In the first place, a knowledge of Gnostic tenets concerning the resurrection is a necessary introduction to Irenaeus and Tertullian; and in the second place, Gnosticism itself is a phase of Christian history, and as such it deserves attention, too. Gnosticism is simply an acute Hellenization of Christianity. With reference to the resurrection Gnostic tenets are most significant. It was the idea of the resurrection, as much as anything else, which divided the early church into two hostile camps. The belief in the resurrection of the flesh was a characteristic mark of the orthodox church; while the denial of it was a characteristic mark of every Gnostic sect. The former advocated a resurrection of body and soul; the latter "disallowed the resurrection affecting the whole man."¹

In an effort to restate Gnosticism, we are at once confronted with a serious difficulty. The writings of the Gnostics have perished, and we know their tenets only through their opponents, who may often have misunderstood them and given undue emphasis to certain minor statements. *Pistis Sophia* is practically the only monument left coming from the hand of a Gnostic himself. In it are contained a few valuable hints on the resurrection of Jesus.

References to an incipient Gnosticism denying the resurrection appear even in the New Testament. Paul found such a tendency in the midst of the Christian community in Corinth. "How say some among you [Christians] that there is no resurrection of the dead?" (I Cor. 15:12). In II Tim. 2:17, 18, Hymenaeus and Philetus are named as persons who say that "the resurrection is past already."² The resurrection is understood by them not in an eschatological, but in a spiritual, or moral, sense. Similar traces of a denial of a resurrection among Christians were found in Ignatius, in Clement II (9:1), Polycarp (7:1), and in Hermas (*Sim.* V. 7). These early documents give the impression that the denial of a fleshly resurrection played into the hands of the libertines, and that as a result many abuses of the flesh ensued. If there is to be no resurrection of the body then

¹ Iren. *Contra Haereses* V. 31: "Universam reprobant resurrectionem."

² τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἤδη γεγονέναι; some MSS omit τὴν.

the flesh, in accordance with their logic, can have free rein. This is brought out still more strikingly in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*. This book was written to show that the resurrection of the flesh is a reward for self-control and virginity. Demas and Hermogenes, who are represented as being hostile to this principle and to Paul, reflect the libertine Gnosticism in these words: "We shall teach thee that the resurrection of which this man speaks has taken place, because it has already taken place in the children which we have." Herein is a denial of the resurrection of the flesh in the eschatological sense and an affirmation of it in a moral sense. What is meant, however, by the resurrection continuing in our children cannot be definitely determined, since this is the only instance in early literature of such a doctrine.

On the other hand, there is also a denial of the resurrection on the part of those who were not primarily drawn to an indulgence of the flesh, but whose way of thinking and conception of things in general caused them to look upon the resurrection as a vulgar and inconceivable doctrine. They were serious in their denial of a fleshly resurrection, and it was a matter of life and death for them. This classic Gnosticism was a potent force in the second century; and it is thus important to consider these various Gnostic writers and sects for the purpose of ascertaining what each one held respecting the after-life.

Menander, a disciple of Simon Magus, strenuously opposed a bodily resurrection in the material sense. The body, he taught, was the work of an angel, and was not created by the supreme God. Hence it is to be considered evil and is unworthy of a resurrection (Tert., *Resur. of Flesh* 5). His disciples, he declares, obtain the resurrection by being baptized into him; whereupon they die no more but remain in the possession of immortal youth (Iren. I. 23:5). Saturnius also taught that angels formed all things, and among them man. These angels tried to form him after the similitude of a certain light which flashed over the world; but man wriggled on the ground like a worm, until a spark of life was sent forth which gave him an erect posture and made him live. This spark of life, after man's death, returns to those things which are of the same nature with itself; while the rest of the body is decomposed into its original elements. A resurrection of the flesh, in accordance with this method of creation and death, is utterly impossible (Iren. I. 24:1).

Basilides alleged that the flesh of Christ possessed no reality and that consequently it can have no resurrection. Jesus, he asserts, was an incorporeal power, and transfigured himself as he pleased, and then ascended into heaven without even being crucified. Salvation belongs to the soul

alone, for the body is by nature subject to corruption (Iren. I. 24:4, 5; Tert., *Resur. of Flesh* 2). Valentinus, another prominent Gnostic, taught with reference to Christ that his flesh had qualities peculiar to itself; and that he conversed with his disciples for eighteen months after his resurrection (Tert., *Against Valentinus* 26; Iren. I. 3:2). This fact was undoubtedly taken from a spurious writing, known as the Gospel of Truth (Iren. III. 11:9). The Valentinian account of the last things is decidedly original. On the last day Acamoth enters Pleroma and the Demiurge moves from the celestial Hebdomad into the chamber vacated by his mother. Human beings will have to pass through the same stages, until they reach their final goal, except the wicked, who are annihilated. Though the flesh of the righteous is not saved, yet their souls are saved and are conveyed to the middle regions, where the Demiurge now dwells. Into the Pleroma nothing of the animal nature is admitted. There the souls put off everything except the intellectual, and the intellectual spirits alone enter the Pleroma (Tert., *Against Valentinus* 31; Iren. II. 29:3). The Ophites, another sect, taught that at the crucifixion a spirit from above was sent into Jesus, "who raised up his body again, but only the physical and spiritual since the mundane parts lie in the earth." That which rose was not the former body, and the disciples were mistaken in imagining that it was (Iren. I. 30:13).

Marcion's attitude on the resurrection is shown by Tertullian in the following words: "Marcion does not in any wise admit the resurrection of the flesh, and it is only the salvation of the soul which he promises; consequently the question which he raises is not concerning the *sort* of body, but the very *substance* thereof" (*Against Marcion* V. 10). There are two reasons why Marcion figures as such a strong opponent of the resurrection of the flesh. In the first place, he was diametrically opposed to everything Jewish and to Jewish influences. He believed the God of the Jews to be the Demiurge, and denied the whole Jewish eschatology and the reality of the messianic kingdom. In the second place, his opposition grew out of his dualism. Flesh and spirit, he held, were antagonistic forces, created by two different gods: flesh was created by the evil god, spirit by the good god. Lucan, a disciple of Marcion, sets forth again a different view. He asserted that neither the body nor the soul rises, but a third substance precipitated from these—thus reducing nature in accordance with the principle of Aristotle, and substituting something else in lieu of it (Tert., *Resur. of Flesh* 2; pseudo-Tert.). Apelles, likewise a pupil of Marcion, also denied the resurrection of the flesh; and with reference to Christ, he said that his body was of sidereal substance, which he assumed

in his descent, and which was deposited again among the stars in the resurrection (pseudo-Tert.). The Carpocratians, Sethians, Cainites, and other Gnostics need not be discussed, since they made no further contribution to the subject, holding merely to the general contention that the soul will rise, but that the body will pass to eternal dissolution. The author of *Pistis Sophia* maintains that Jesus, after rising from the dead, had spent eleven years with his disciples instructing them, during which time he had only the appearance of a body. In the twelfth year he ascended, and the ascension, which is that of the spirit, is set forth very elaborately. Jesus withdraws to certain realms, and then reappears, and withdraws again, until finally the last heaven is reached.

Thus all the Gnostics, although they blankly deny the resurrection of the flesh, predicate in some way or other the soul's immortality. Now this persistence of man's spiritual nature in the after-life was variously conceived. In general, they denied an intermediate place from which the soul had to be transferred, at some future day, to another realm; but taught that immediately after death the soul enters into its final abode (cf. Justin, *Dia.* 80; Tert., *Resur. of Flesh* 22). In a résumé of Gnostic doctrines, Irenaeus presents us with a helpful summary. He writes (V. 19: 2):

And still further, some affirm that neither their soul nor their body can receive eternal life, but merely the inner man. Moreover, they will have it that this [inner man] is that which is the understanding (*sensum*) in them, and which they decree as being the only thing to ascend to "the perfect." Others [maintain] . . . that while the soul is saved, their body does not participate in the salvation which comes from God.

Through an inductive study of the Gnostic tenets as imbedded in the writings of Irenaeus, Tertullian, and the apologists, it may safely be asserted that they maintained a spiritual survival after death in about four ways: (1) the soul *in toto* survives, and at death immediately passes into its final place (Basilides and others); (2) only the inner sense or understanding (*sensus*) survives (Valentinus); (3) a third substance passes into the other world, which is neither body nor soul (Lucan); (4) a body survives, but not the former mundane body (Ophites).

The Gnostics did not drop the word "resurrection" out of their vocabulary. It would have been an unwise policy for them to disregard altogether the Jewish and Christian expression "resurrection of the dead." They used it in three different senses. In the first place, they employed it eschatologically, declaring, in accordance with their tenets, that the resurrection of the dead simply means that the *soul* is immortal, and being immortal,

it can be thought of as having a resurrection (Tert., *Resur. of Flesh* 18). In the second place, they used it in a moral or ethical sense, asserting that the resurrection takes place now—that is, as soon as men come to a knowledge of the truth (Tert., *Resur. of Flesh* 19, 22)—hence the expression “the resurrection is past already.” Then, in the third place, “resurrection of the dead” was used allegorically. Some maintained that it meant an escape out of the world, “since, in their view, the world is the habitation of the dead—that is, of those who know not God;” others maintained that it actually meant an escape out of the body itself, “since they imagine that the body detains the soul when it is shut up in the death of a worldly life, as in a grave” (Tert., *Resur. of Flesh* 19).

While, on the one hand, the Gnostics strenuously held to the survival of spiritual personality after death; on the other hand, they emphatically and repeatedly denied the resurrection of the flesh. This was the starting-point of their whole system of theology, according to Tertullian, who states that they start from this point, and from it “sketch the first draft of their dogmas and afterward add the details” (*Resur. of Flesh* 4, 11). Their denial of the resurrection of the flesh grew out of presuppositions fundamental to their entire system. A very close analogy between Gnostic and heathen opposition is noticeable. In fact, it is an impossibility to separate sharply between specific Gnostic and specific heathen arguments. The Fathers recognized this, and declared that there is no difference between Gnostic teachings on the resurrection and those of the heathen. A comparison of the arguments of the heathen opponents, as reflected in pseudo-Justin and Athenagoras, with the Gnostic opponents, as reflected in Irenaeus and Tertullian, confirms this observation. The Gnostics denied the resurrection of the flesh on the ground that the flesh is an ignoble and unclean substance—ignoble as to its origin and casualities, “unclean from its first formation of the dregs of the ground, unclean afterwards from the mire of its own seminal transmission, worthless, weak, covered with guilt, laden with misery, full of trouble.” They held to a dualism between body and soul, matter and spirit. The former was created either by an angel or angels, or the Demiurge; the latter by the good God. Redemption was the process of freeing the soul forever from its material bondage. Christ’s resurrection could therefore be only a resurrection of his spirit. The material character of his resurrection was denied from two standpoints. In the first place, there were those who denied the reality of his flesh, saying that it was impossible for Jesus to assume flesh, since flesh was evil. In this case the resurrection of the flesh is at once excluded. This position was prominent in the systems of Marcion and Basilides.

In the second place, it was asserted by some, especially by Valentinus and Apelles, that this body was of an entirely different creation from that of man: it was sidereal and was again deposited among the stars after the resurrection.

With reference to the interpretation of Scripture bearing on the resurrection, the Gnostics have been charged with an allegorical interpretation. As a matter of fact, some of their interpretations are allegorical; but the bulk of those referring to the resurrection, at least, as far as they are collected in the secondary sources, is truer to a historico-grammatical exegesis than the orthodox interpretation of that day. They are charged with allegorical interpretations sometimes where there is no allegorical interpretation. Thus, for instance, Tertullian charges them with torturing Ezekiel's vision of the Valley of Dry Bones into a proof of an allegorical sense. The Gnostics interpreted correctly that this vision was simply an image and not a true prediction of the resurrection, and that it taught the political restoration of the nation (Tert., *Resur. of Flesh* 30); while the same incident was used incorrectly by the orthodox Christians to defend a resurrection of the flesh. Jesus was interpreted by the Gnostics as having taught, merely and consistently, a resurrection of the soul. His answer to the Sadducees was for them an exclusive proof of a spiritual resurrection. Aside from Marcion, who somewhat changed Luke's text to suit his purpose, the Gnostics held that the "likeness to angels" (ἰσάγγελοί εἶναι) debarred altogether a bodily resurrection. They also made use of other sayings of Jesus, which they interpreted in conformity with their tenets. However, the clearest and the strongest witness they found in Paul. They used the same passages to substantiate their position that the Fathers used. They evidently laid great emphasis on the phrase, "Therefore we are always confident and fully aware, that while we are at home in the body we are absent from the Lord" (Tert., *Resur. of Flesh* 43). The Pauline term "spiritual body" was for them another proof of the survival of the soul without the body. And the term "natural body" (σῶμα ψυχικόν) they held to be merely a paraphrase of soul (ψυχή), in the expression "it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body." Their greatest proof-text was I Cor. 15:50: "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." Flesh and blood were interpreted, not in a spiritual, but in a literal sense, and correctly so. That this was a great proof-text of the Gnostics is evident from the fact that Tertullian devotes four chapters (*Resur. of Flesh* 48-51) and Irenaeus three (V. 9-11) to the refutation of their interpretation of it. The Gnostics were charged with first formulating their doctrines and then going to Scripture and interpreting it in accord

with them. Yet in spite of this criticism we cannot but feel that they must have been greatly influenced by Jesus and Paul. Their method of interpretation was not simply an attempt to conform Scripture to their tenets, but, on the other hand, Scripture rather contributed to the formulation of their system. Whether, therefore, accidentally or otherwise, they nevertheless came very close to the results of modern historical interpretation of Scripture bearing on the resurrection; even though with reference to other subjects this statement in no wise holds good.

CHAPTER VI

THE GREAT POLEMICISTS

In opposition to the spiritualistic and metaphysical beliefs about the soul is the elaborate treatment of the resurrection of the flesh by Irenaeus and Tertullian, dating from the latter part of the second and the beginning of the third century. They revived, on the resurrection, the ideas and arguments of the apologists, and, in addition, sought elaborate scriptural proofs for their position. The importance attached to the resurrection of the flesh, at this time, is evident also from the Old Roman Symbol¹ out of which arose our Apostles' Creed. The resurrection, ascension, and session of Jesus are mentioned in it; but its greatest significance lies in the article referring to the resurrection of the flesh. The article, "the resurrection of the flesh,"² phrased as it was with the emphasis upon flesh, is a clear protest against the denial of the salvability of the flesh. In the Old Roman Symbol this article stood by itself at the close of the creed. It was evidently appended to this three-membered creed based upon the threefold baptismal formula. It is an article entirely unrelated to what precedes. All this simply shows the tremendous importance of the article in the eyes of the author or authors. Scarcely another article in the creed was considered of such importance as the one which originally read: "I believe in the resurrection of the flesh." The import of this article of faith comes to view more fully in our study of Irenaeus and Tertullian.

Irenaeus undertook a systematic exposition and overthrow of all heresies. In this polemic the resurrection holds an important place. In his last book of *Against Heresies*, he deals almost exclusively with the last things. The denial of the reality of the flesh of Christ, involving a denial of his fleshly resurrection, and the denial of the salvation of the flesh, making the fleshly resurrection of men impossible—all this is part of the thesis against which his argument on the resurrection is directed (V. 1:2; 31:1). He also reflects Christian tradition in the form of a primitive creed in at least three instances. He observes that in the Catholic church itself divergent views exist on the nature of the resurrection, especially in its

¹ Originated between 150-175 A. D. See McGiffert, *The Apostles' Creed*. Variant forms of this Symbol are found in Iren. I. 10:1; IV. 33:7; V. 20:1.

² *σάρκος ἀνάστασιν*. Our English translation of it, "resurrection of the body," somewhat obscures the original signification of this article.

relation to the millennium (V. 31:1). There can be no question but that he appreciates and defines accurately the generally accepted orthodox position. A noteworthy passage on the nature of the resurrection of Jesus and of men, and the relation which the two sustain, is recorded in V. 31:1, 2.

But the case was, that for three days he dwelt in the place where the dead were, as the prophet says concerning him. . . . And the Lord himself says, "As Jonas remained three days and three nights in the whale's belly, so shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth." . . . And on his rising again, the third day, he said to Mary, who was the first to see and to worship him, "touch me not, for I have not yet ascended to the Father; but go to the disciples, and say unto them, I ascend unto my Father, and unto your Father." If, then, the Lord observed the law of the dead, that he might become the first-begotten from the dead, and tarried until the third day "in the lower parts of the earth;" then afterward rising in the flesh, so that he even showed the print of the nails to his disciples, he thus ascended to the Father. . . . For as the Lord went away in the midst of the shadow of death, where the souls of the dead were, yet afterward arose in the body, and after the resurrection was taken up [into heaven], it is manifest that the souls of his disciples also, upon whose account the Lord underwent these things, shall go away into the invisible place allotted to them by God and there remain until the resurrection, awaiting that event; then receiving their bodies, and rising in their entirety, that is bodily, just as the Lord arose, they shall come thus into the presence of God. "For no disciple is above the Master, but every one that is perfect shall be as his Master." As our Master, therefore, did not at once depart, taking flight [to heaven], but awaited the time of his resurrection prescribed by the Father, which had been also shown forth through Jonas, and rising again after three days was taken up [to heaven]; so ought we also to await the time of our resurrection prescribed by God and foretold by the prophets, and so, rising, be taken up, as many as the Lord shall account worthy of this [privilege].

The contention of the entire passage is to establish the resurrection of the flesh. (1) The resurrection of a material organism is deduced from the gospel narrative, and dependence is shown on one of those gospels—the Gospel of John¹—in which the appearances of a material body are very prominent. (2) The characteristic repetitions—"Jesus tarrying in Hades for three days" or "until the third day"—are deliberately used as an indirect argument for a fleshly resurrection. The Gnostics (Valentinians) taught that the soul of man passes upon his death immediately into heaven. Irenaeus, however, insists that this was not the case with Jesus; for he remained in Hades until the appointed time, after which

¹ John 20:17, 20, 27. Cf. Iren. V. 7:1 for a similar argument based on this gospel, in which reference is made to the prints in his risen body.

he arose in the flesh, manifested himself to his disciples in the flesh, and then ascended into heaven in the flesh. (3) The stages through which Christ passed are the stages through which men—believers—must pass. Jesus was an example of what the resurrection of men shall be. The disciples will not fare better than their Master. They will also at death go to Hades and there remain until the time of the resurrection, when they shall arise in their entirety, that is, with their bodies, even as Christ who did not leave his body upon the earth. (4) The ascension as well as the resurrection is one in the flesh and in the former body. The language of the passage conveys no other idea than that the ascension body is similar to the resurrection body; which will be true of men, even as it was of Jesus.

The ideas of the resurrection as set forth in the above passage are in perfect accord with the rest of the teachings of Irenaeus. The resurrection is discussed in other connections, and is approached from other points of view, and arrived at through other arguments. At this point reference may also be made to another event in the post-resurrection life of Jesus—his second coming. This is to be in the same flesh in which he tabernacled among men (III. 16:8). Jesus came in the flesh, the heavens were opened and he was received in the flesh, and he “shall also come in the same flesh in which he suffered.”

Irenaeus insists more strenuously and consistently than any writer thus far examined that the risen body is the exact reproduction of the former body, both as to form and as to substance. God, he declares, confers a proper soul on each individual body and in the resurrection the same body shall unite again with its own soul and spirit. The doctrine of metempsychosis has no place (II. 33:1-5), for the very reason that punishment must be inflicted and judgment pronounced on the soul with its own and only body. But it is not merely the same bodies that will be restored, but also the same substances in the bodies. “The same substance of flesh which has become breathless and dead shall also be quickened” (V. 12:2). And in one of the fragments,¹ it is specifically stated that the bodies after death decompose, but without perishing; that the remains, which are mixed with the earth, are, in the resurrection, recast and restored to their original form; and that between the mundane and the risen body there is only one difference, and that is in reference to corruption, the former being subject to decay, because of primeval disobedience, which is not true of the risen body. Deformities also will not continue as is evident from Christ’s healings, the object of which was to restore

¹ Frag. xii; this seems to be a quotation from the lost treatise of Irenaeus, *On the Resurrection*.

infirm parts to their original condition, so that they would be in a position to obtain salvation (V. 12:6; 13:1). The wicked, on the other hand, will rise with their deformities and diseases and sufferings, with bodies always corruptible.

Irenaeus also proves the resurrection of the flesh from the Eucharist (IV. 18:5; V. 2:2, 3). This is an original argument in proof of the resurrection of the flesh, though it was slightly alluded to heretofore by Ignatius (*Eph.* 20). Bread and wine, which are both earthly and heavenly, are the material through which a seed of immortality enters into man. The bread and wine through the word of God become the body and blood of Christ. And as such the Eucharist so nourishes the flesh that total dissolution becomes impossible. "When, therefore, the mingled cup and the manufactured bread receive the word of God, and the Eucharist of the blood and body of Christ is made, from which things the substance of our flesh is increased and supported, how can they affirm that the flesh is incapable of receiving the gift of God."¹ A true redemption of "the body of flesh" is thus inferred from its sacramental union with the body and blood of Christ. Our bodies, like Christ's, shall be raised incorruptible; "for we are members of his body, of his flesh, of his bones." Believers are made one with him by sacramentally receiving him, which accordingly makes the dissolution of the body impossible. Nothing, he concludes is more natural than the resurrection of the flesh when one has partaken of Christ's flesh.

The resurrection of the flesh is attributed also to the power of God. There is nothing inherent in the substance of the body which will cause it to rise; but it rises through the power of God (V. 6:2), spoken of sometimes as a gift from God (IV. 9:2). Then there is ample proof that God has this power to raise the dead. The fact of creation assures re-creation; for it is easier to reinstate the body than to have created it originally out of the dust (V. 3:2). If God quickens and sustains the flesh in this present, temporal life he will certainly do the same in the eternal life (V. 3:3). Another proof is the lengthened period of life granted to the patriarchs; the translation of Enoch and Elijah; the preservation of Jonah in the whale, and of Ananias, Azarias, and Misaël in the furnace of fire (V. 5). Again, if God were not to raise dead bodies then he would be either weak or powerless, or else envious or malignant; but none of these attributes belongs to him (V. 4).

¹ Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses* V. 2:3: 'Ὅποτε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον, καὶ ὁ γεγωνὼς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ (*et fit Eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi*) ἐκ τούτων δὲ αὖξει καὶ συνίσταται ἡ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν ὑπόστασις· πῶς δεκτικὴν μὴ εἶναι λέγουσι τὴν σάρκα τῆς δωρεᾶς τοῦ θεοῦ.

The most significant and original approach to the resurrection is from the standpoint of psychology and the interpretation of Paul. In the sixth chapter of the fifth book, Irenaeus begins to set forth a trichotomy. Before this he had presented a dichotomy. "Man is a mixed organization of soul and flesh" is his usual designation of the make-up of man (cf. IV. Pref.; III. 22:1). This division of body, soul, and spirit to which he now adheres, he undoubtedly derived from Paul; inasmuch as he makes a deliberate reference to I Thess. 5:23 at the beginning of this section. He contends that salvation, that is, the resurrection, is bestowed on the whole nature of man, who is a "commingling and union of all these." Hence it follows that the flesh, as well as the soul and the spirit, will persist in a life beyond the grave. He calls it blasphemy to assert that "the temple of God," "the members of Christ" (I Cor. 3:16, 17), which are the flesh, should not partake of salvation, but that they should be reduced to perdition. Again, he takes up Paul's phrase, "quicken your mortal bodies," and shows that "mortal bodies" has reference neither to souls, since souls, which are equivalent to the breath of life, are incorporeal; nor to spirits, since spirit is simple and non-composite, subject to no decomposition and, in fact, the quickening life itself; but to the flesh, for it alone can be decomposed and quickened. He comments on I Cor., chap. 15, but reads into the Pauline conception a resurrection of the body in the material sense. He uses the term "spiritual body," and defines it as the body in which the Spirit dwells. The change from the psychical body to the spiritual is through the Spirit's instrumentality, whereby the body undergoes no particle of change, save that the source from which it receives its life is changed. At great length (V. 9-11) does he expound the words in I Cor. 15:50, "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God." This phrase was, as we have already seen, the slogan of the Gnostics who used it to disprove the resurrection of the body. Irenaeus, on the other hand, insists that "flesh and blood" is not to be taken in the literal meaning of the terms; but that the words apply to the carnal deeds which pervert man to sin and deprive him of life (V. 14:4). The expression, he maintains, simply means that "*mere* flesh and blood devoid of the Spirit of God" and good works cannot inherit the kingdom of God. It refers to fleshly works rather than flesh strictly so called. "Unless the word of God dwell with, and the Spirit of the Father be in you, and if ye shall live frivolously and carelessly as if ye were this only, viz., mere flesh and blood, ye cannot enter the kingdom of God." (V. 9).

This same truth is also enforced by his trichotomous psychology. Spirit is that which preserves and fashions the man; flesh is that which

is united and formed; while between these two stands the soul, which sometimes follows the spirit and is raised up by it, and sometimes sympathizes with the flesh and falls into carnal lusts (V. 9:1). Hence, "mere flesh and blood" exist when the soul has become a sharer of the flesh and a neglecter of the spirit. The comparison drawn from the wild olive tree, the quality of which though not the nature, is changed by grafting, also indicates that the Spirit of God enforcing the human spirit will not transform the substance of flesh.

The millennium receives some treatment in the last five chapters of the last book. Just as it is an appendix to this book, so is it also an appendix to his thought; and it does not in the least alter the position which he has thus far assumed on the resurrection. The millennium is not an integral part of the resurrection idea as it was with Justin. The resurrection of the just, or the first resurrection, in this millennium appendix, involves a resuscitation of dead bodies.

To summarize the teachings of Irenaeus very briefly, we would say: (1) his discussion on the resurrection is largely polemic, directed against those who denied a bodily resurrection in the material sense; (2) he sets forth with stern consistency what he terms "the resurrection of the flesh;" which, in his mind, is a resuscitation of the former body, being identical with it as to both form and substance; (3) there is no difference between the resurrection body of Jesus and of believing men; (4) literary dependence is shown on the resurrection narratives of the Gospels of John and Luke and the present conclusion of Mark; and out of these gospels the crass materialism alone is selected. He also makes the first real attempt to interpret Paul on the resurrection; and yet, at every turn, he interprets him as teaching a fleshly resurrection of the body. The term "spiritual body" is a material body in which the Spirit dwells, and the phrase "flesh and blood" is devitalized into ethical terms; (5) the arguments in substantiation of a resurrection of the flesh are many and various: they are scriptural, psychological, and theological. Messianism is no longer a controlling thought, and chiliasm is a mere appendix. Apart from scriptural proofs, the competency of God, salvation belonging to the whole man, the nourishment in the Eucharist, and the possession of God's spirit are the most significant arguments.

We now come to Tertullian, whose treatment of the resurrection is the fullest of any of the ante-Nicene Christian Fathers. Like pseudo-Justin and Athenagoras, he devoted a treatise exclusively to the resurrection entitled, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*,¹ in which the resurrection received,

¹ *De Resurrectione Carnis*.

in an orderly manner, a more comprehensive discussion than it had in any of the preceding monographs. The resurrection is also discussed in many of his other writings. The resurrection to which he holds is the resurrection of the flesh, and in the gamut of his thinking it is an important doctrine. He calls it the Christian trust (*fiducia*), "a truth which God reveals, but the crowd derides." He also asserts that the very oneness of the Godhead is closely related to this doctrine; "for if the resurrection of the flesh be denied, [that prime article of the faith] is shaken; if it be asserted, it is established."¹ He explicitly states that he who denies this doctrine which is professed by Christians, is not a Christian, but a heretic.

Now the specific ideas which Tertullian held on the resurrection can best be presented in following his line of argument as recorded in his work *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, to which additional material, when in order, will be inserted from his other works, either to confirm, or to elaborate, or to check. This book is a polemic from beginning to end. It is directed against those who maintain that the world was created by the Demiurge, who was opposed to the supreme God; that the flesh or body of man is inherently corrupt and worthless; and that, therefore, the body cannot rise again, while the soul alone is capable of immortality. In the first place, it is asserted that the world, with all its errors, does not ignore the resurrection of the dead. While a few wise men have denied immortality, yet most of them predicate a future state for the soul. And they even unconsciously give testimony to the resurrection of the body. The common people, in their banquets and sacrifices for the dead, and the philosophers, through the doctrine of metempsychosis, bear indirect testimony to the truth of revelation. "They knocked at the door of truth, although they entered not." (1-3;² *Against Marcion* V. 9; *On Nations* I. 19).

The first real proof of the resurrection of the flesh is the dignity of the body (4-10). Tertullian lays hold of almost every argument possible to set forth this truth. Former writers had made reference to this fact, but in none was it completely developed. It has a great apologetic value, and Tertullian was conscious of this, knowing that the disparagement of the flesh was the first "battering-ram of the heretics." If it can be shown, he argued, that the flesh is worthful instead of loathsome, and if it can be pointed out that Hellenic dualism is fictitious, then the first great premise of a belief in the resurrection of the flesh is established.

That the flesh is dignified and worthful, and not evil, is shown in various

¹ *Op. cit.* 2: "Sicut enim negata carnis resurrectione concutitur, ita vindicata constabitur."

² Unless otherwise stated, all references are to *De Resur. Carnis*.

ways. It is worthful because it was created by God, and, in fact, it received a special creation at his hand. We should not think of the lowliness of the material out of which the flesh was made, but of the dignity and skill of the maker; just as the Olympian Jupiter of ivory is the world's supreme deity—not because of the bulk of the elephant from which the material was taken, but on account of the renown of Phidias. Moreover, the flesh is not merely a minister and servant of the soul, but it turns out to be also its associate and coheir. "And if all this in temporal things, why not also in things eternal?" In one's relation to Christianity the flesh holds an important position. "Flesh is the very condition on which salvation hinges." Thus baptism, the sign of the cross, the imposition of hands, partaking of the Eucharist, as well as virginity, widowhood, and restraint are all done through the flesh. Scripture magnifies the flesh under the terms "templè of God" and "members of Christ." Attached to the dignity of the flesh lies the competency of God as a proof of the resurrection of the flesh. And this is evident from the fact that if God was competent to create, he is also competent to recreate, which is the easier matter. It is much easier to maintain a continuance than to have imparted a beginning.

Similarly, the argument from analogy—the change of day and night, the changes in the moon, the changes in the seasons, the transformation in the plants, and the symbol of the phoenix—is a proof of the resurrection of the flesh (11, 12; cf. *Against Marcion* V. 10; *Apol.* 48). Through nature God proclaimed the resurrection before he wrote it in Scripture. There is also a sufficient cause for the resurrection of the flesh in the future judgment of man (14). This judgment involves the entire human being: "Now, since the entire man consists of the union of two natures, he must therefore appear in both, as it is right that he should be judged in his entirety." The flesh participates with the soul in all human conduct, and it will receive punishment or reward in accordance with its deeds (15). Should this not be so, then God would have to be either idle or unjust; but this cannot be attributed to God. Tertullian does not hold that the flesh will have to be present at the final judgment, because otherwise the soul would be incapable of suffering pain or pleasure being incorporeal. He asserts that the soul *per se* is capable of joy and sorrow in Hades, even without a body (17); although there is considerable variation in his language upon this subject. In his *Apology* (48) and *Testimony of the Soul* (4), he speaks as if the soul could not suffer when separated from the body; but in the *Resurrection of the Flesh* and in his *Treatise on the Soul* he maintains that the soul is corporeal and capable of sensation. This is inferred from the parable of Dives and Lazarus, in which he supposes that souls

are corporeal, since they could be imprisoned and seen and touched (cf. *Soul* 7). In Hades souls either undergo punishment for the evil deeds that were executed without the flesh, or refreshment for the pious acts so executed (cf. *Soul* 58). Granting, then, that a soul is corporeal and susceptible to torments and blessings, nevertheless, in spite of this provision, he insists most strenuously that this is not sufficient, but that there must be somehow and at some time a union of soul with its former body in order that full compensation may be made for the deeds done through and by the flesh.

Even though Tertullian finds a great presumption in favor of the resurrection of the flesh from a general consideration apart from Scripture, nevertheless, he considers all this merely prefatory, and falls back on an exposition of Scripture as the strongest proof of his position. He denounces the Gnostics for an allegorical interpretation in matters pertaining to the resurrection; and yet himself uses and justifies an allegorical interpretation sometimes when it suits his purpose. He also insists that figurative senses have their foundation in literal facts; that "vacuity is not a consistent basis for a similitude, nor does nonentity form a suitable foundation for a parable." In his work, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*, a systematic attempt is made to interpret the Old as well as the New Testament on the subject of the resurrection. Though most of his interpretations are crude and incorrect they are nevertheless significant for this historical study. He takes up the scriptural expression, "the resurrection of the dead" (*resurrectio mortuorum*), and explains to what substance these terms apply (18-22). He refers them to the rising of that which has fallen, and that which has fallen is not the soul, but the flesh. "It is the flesh which falls by death; and accordingly it derives its name, *cadaver*, 'corpse' from *cadendo*, 'falling.'" In *Against Marcion*, the same idea is brought forth with still greater completeness.

"To rise," indeed, can be predicated of that which has never fallen down, but had already been always lying down. But "to rise *again*" is predicable only of that which has fallen down; because it is by rising *again*, in consequence of its having fallen down, that it is said to have *re*-risen. For the syllable *re*- always implies iteration (or happening *again*).¹

Tertullian finds an unquestionable proof of the resurrection of the flesh in the Christian apocalypses (24-27). In his description of the last

¹ *Adv. Marcionem* (V. 9): "Surgere enim potest dici et quod omnino non cecidit, quod semper retro iacuit. Resurgere autem non est nisi eius quod cecidit; iterum enim surgendo, quia cecidit, resurgere dicitur. RE enim syllaba iterationi semper adhibetur."

days and the Lord's coming, a fleshly resurrection is always assumed. Such language, he maintains, could not have been used of the soul, inasmuch as these apocalypses project the resurrection into some future time, and imply that the soul does not attain unto its destiny immediately at death. In his use of Old Testament material he makes many allegorical interpretations. The terms "Kingdom of God" and "Millennium" were spiritualized. This is very significant since we should have expected the same crass materialism here that is adhered to in other instances; but he explicitly states that those terms which are associated with a millennium must not be taken literally (26). He finds a doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh in the restoration of the hand of Moses (38), in Ezekiel's vision of the Valley of Dry Bones, and in the preservation of Jonah in the whale (32).

In commenting upon the teachings of Jesus, Tertullian declares that the bodily character of the resurrection is avowedly assumed wherever the word resurrection occurs. The words, "The Son of Man came to seek and to save that which was lost" (Luke 19:10), are referred to the whole man—soul and flesh (33, 34). The destruction of the body and soul in hell (Matt. 10:28) also presupposes a resurrection, for, unless the body were raised again, "it would be impossible for the flesh to be killed in hell" (35). Christ's refutation of the Sadducees is, however, of more vital interest for our purpose (36). He states that the Sadducees denied a resurrection both of the soul and of the flesh, and that Jesus affirmed this verity in the precise sense in which they were denying it; that is, he affirmed the resurrection of the two natures of man. "Equal unto the angels" means a transference into an angelic state by the putting on of the raiment of incorruption (cf. also 62). Christ's acts were no ostentatious exhibition of power for a temporary kindness, but in order to put in safe keeping (*sequestrare*) the belief in a future resurrection, and to prove that that resurrection would be a resurrection of both natures (*substantia*) (38).

He refers to the Acts of the Apostles, in which he finds the resurrection of the flesh amply attested. In his preaching before the Sadducees, before Agrippa, and before the Athenians, Paul, it is alleged, could not have taught anything else but a bodily resurrection in a material sense; which, being an absolutely new doctrine, was thereupon opposed (39). The largest space, however, in his interpretation of Scripture with reference to the resurrection is devoted to Paul's epistles (40-63). The inner and the outer man, the old man and the new man, the figure of baptism, and various other teachings are marshaled together in support of the resurrection of the flesh. The passages most potent for his purpose are II Cor., chap. 5, and I Cor., chap. 15; and in the interpretation of these the real nature and

character of the resurrection body are set forth. In II Cor., chap. 5, he finds a distinct reference to a resurrection of a corporeal body. The expression, "clothed upon," presupposes a resurrection of the flesh which can be clothed, since clothing can only be put over a material body. However, this act of being clothed upon, with a kind of heavenly supervesture, makes the bodies incorruptible and fit for their heavenly habitation (41). In *Against Marcion* (V. 12) this passage in conjunction with I Cor. 15:53 receives its fullest exposition as follows:

In this tabernacle of our earthly body we do groan, earnestly desiring to be clothed upon with the vesture which is from heaven, if so be that, having been unclothed, we shall not be found naked;" in other words, shall regain that of which we have been divested, even our body. And again he says: "We that are in this tabernacle do groan, not as if we were oppressed with an unwillingness to be unclothed, but (we wish) to be clothed upon." He here says expressly, what he touched but lightly in his first epistle (where he wrote): "The dead shall be raised incorruptible" (meaning those who had undergone mortality), "and we shall be changed" (whom God shall find to be yet in the flesh). But those shall be raised incorruptible, because they shall regain their body—and that a renewed one, from which shall come their incorruptibility; and these also shall in the crisis of the last moment, and from their instantaneous death, whilst encountering the oppressions of anti-Christ, undergo a change, obtaining therein not so much a divestiture of the body as a "clothing upon" with the vesture which is from heaven. So that whilst these shall put on over their (changed) body this heavenly raiment, the dead also shall for their part recover their body, over which they too have a supervesture to put on, even the incorruption of heaven; because of these it was that he said: "this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality." The one put on this (heavenly) apparel, when they recover their bodies; the others put it on as a supervesture, when they indeed hardly lose them (in the suddenness of their change).

Like Irenaeus, he interprets "flesh and blood" in an ethical sense, asserting over and over that it has reference not to the substance of the flesh but to the works thereof (48-51; *Against Marcion* V. 10-15). Paul's analogy of the seed is to teach, not that, in the resurrection, a different body is to arise from that which is sown in death, but that "the very same flesh which was once sown in death will bear fruit in resurrection-life—the same in essence, only more full and perfect; not another, although re-appearing in another form" (52). Paul does "not deny a community of substance, but a parity of prerogative" in his illustration of certain examples of animals and heavenly bodies (52). Likewise, the term "spiritual body" denotes a body fully possessed of the spirit, and has no reference to a change in substance (53; *Against Marcion* V. 10).

Thus far we have observed Tertullian's arguments for the resurrection of the flesh as derived from a consideration of the nature of the flesh, the nature of God, and the teachings of Scripture. When we turn to his treatment of the soul, and attempt to approach the resurrection from the standpoint of his psychology, we come to an anticlimax and an inconsistency. In his treatise, *On the Soul*, he sets forth the Stoic conception of the soul's corporeality. He asserts that the view of the Stoics with reference to the soul is correct; viz., that the soul is corporeal and even material (8); that it has a body of a quality and kind peculiar to itself, such as form, limitation, and "the triad of dimensions—length, breadth, and height;" that the shape is that of the body, the color, transparent light (9); that it can think and feel and exist apart from the body (9; 58); that it is invisible to the flesh, but visible to the spirit (8). Evidently Tertullian is Stoic as well as Christian; and certainly he does not correlate nor synthesize his idea of a corporeal, and even material, soul with his fundamental doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh.

What now is the precise nature of this resurrection body which he terms the resurrection of the flesh? There is, in the first place, a stern insistence upon the restoration of the former body. "Souls are to receive back at the resurrection the self-same bodies in which they died." They are also to resume the same conditions and the same ages (*Soul* 56). He concludes his special work on the resurrection by stating the belief which to him is the only true and well-founded belief—"and so thy flesh shall rise again, wholly in every man, in its own identity, and in its absolute integrity."¹ On the other hand, he speaks of certain changes which will come about in the resurrection body. It is significant to notice that whenever language is used giving the impression of a change in the risen body, it is while he is either making use of Jesus' answer to the Sadducees, or of Paul's two classic passages on the subject. It is very evident therefore that what sometimes seems to be an inconsistency in his presentation is simply an attempt to conform to some of the expressions of Jesus and Paul. After all, the change of which he speaks is merely a change in the unaltered substance of the flesh. Change he insists does not destroy. Incidentally he mentions (42) a discovery in Carthage which furnishes him with a proof that death changes but does not destroy our mortal bodies. When the men were laying the foundation of the Odeum, they disturbed some ancient graves, and the horror-stricken people looked upon bones which after some five hundred years were still sound, and hair which still retained

¹ *De Resur. Carnis* 63: "Resurget igitur caro, et quidem omnis, et quidem ipsa, et quidem integra."

its perfume. "Changes, conversions, and reformations will necessarily take place to bring about the resurrection, but the substance of the flesh will still be preserved safe" (55). There will be no change in form and appearance of the risen body, from the mundane body, save that mutilated bodies will be restored whole (56), and that some organs will lose their functions. In short, the only change, it seems, which the resurrection body will assume is summed up in the word "incorruptibility;" and, in reality, this is not at all different from the conception of Irenaeus. The deflection from this position is seeming, not real. Fundamentally he held that bodies will rise exactly as they were put in the grave, with the same form and with the same component parts and particles; and that at a certain stage in the resurrection the righteous will be clothed upon by a super-vesture from heaven, which will in no wise change the flesh, but only make it perfect, incorruptible, whole, and fit for heaven.

There is also in his thought a relation between the resurrection of Jesus and the resurrection of men. The flesh of Christ which came through the virgin birth rose again in absolute identity. And as is this resurrection so is also our resurrection. Tertullian shows at the conclusion of his treatise, *On the Flesh of Christ*, that there is a close connection between Christ's flesh and the resurrection of the flesh, and also states therein that this treatise was introductory to his greater work, *On the Resurrection of the Flesh*. The resurrection narratives as set forth in the gospels are referred to and interpreted in harmony with his conception of a bodily resurrection in the material sense. Thus Jesus rose from the dead on the third day, and was received back into heaven (*Answer to the Jews* 13). He comments especially on Luke's narrative, and interprets it in none other than in a material sense, enlarging now and then with additional proofs to show that that which appeared to the disciples was not a phantom, but a real body. He says that Jesus offered his hands and his feet for examination, and asked his disciples for some meat, for the express purpose of showing them that he had teeth (*Against Marcion* IV. 43). The Gospel of John does not state that Thomas touched Jesus when he presented himself to him in the upper room; but Tertullian, who is so convinced of a material risen body, asserts that Thomas touched him and that "the touch was true and real" (*Soul* 17). It is also very interesting to notice that there are imbedded in these writings two traditions concerning the resurrection of Jesus which are unique. The one states that Jesus spent forty days with his disciples down in Galilee, a region of Judea (*Apol.* 21); the other, which he distinctly calls a tradition, reads that the gardener removed the body in order that his lettuce might not be spoiled by sight-seers (*The Shows* 30).

The voluminous material into which Tertullian has drawn us through his voluminous treatment may be thus summarized: (1) the resurrection held the foremost place in his writings, and his treatment of it was largely apologetic, being directed against Gnostic teachings; (2) the resurrection is a resurrection of the flesh, which rises again "wholly in every man, in its own identity, in its absolute integrity," the only change being in a perfection of the flesh, and in an incorruption on the part of those who will be clothed upon when they enter the kingdom; (3) the resurrection narratives of Luke and John are adhered to in the references to the resurrection of Jesus; and there is not merely a reproduction of the crass materialism of these narratives, but the body is either consciously or unconsciously given a still more realistic form; (4) the teachings of Jesus and Paul on the resurrection are comprehensively treated, but misinterpreted; (5) the approach to the resurrection is from almost every standpoint, and the arguments of the apologists and Irenaeus are recast and restated in the brightest light, together with additional material.

In the two great polemicists—Irenaeus and Tertullian—the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh became crystallized and reached its fullest treatment. The doctrine is established; it has currency in the creed, and the arguments in substantiation of it are most carefully and comprehensively wrought out by Tertullian. The battle against the Gnostics is won, and from henceforth the subject receives less attention and very little increment.

CHAPTER VII

THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL

Turning to the Alexandrian school we are confronted with a different situation and another presentation of the resurrection. Alexandria was the fountainhead of Hellenistic speculations, and there is an a-priori presumption that the idea of the resurrection was influenced by this atmosphere. An inductive study at once reveals the fact that the resurrection is conceived of in a sense other than it was by Irenaeus and Tertullian. Clement of Alexandria has hardly anything to say on the resurrection. It has for him little interest, and is not a fundamental doctrine in his conception of Christianity. He promised, however, a treatise on the resurrection, but evidently he never composed it, or if so, all traces of it are lost. In his extant writings the references to the resurrection are not merely brief but also fanciful, so that one can scarcely be confident in the interpretation of certain passages. Clement repeatedly speaks of the after-life in the sense of immortality; and whenever he refers to the future life in a general way, one receives the impression that in the hereafter it is the soul merely that survives. Scripture is never appealed to in an effort to prove the resurrection, or in an attempt to set forth its nature. In any case Clement invariably approaches Christian truths from a philosophical basis rather than on scriptural grounds, and whenever he uses Scripture he prefers an allegorical interpretation.

Clement disparaged the body rather than elevated it to the dignity which others had given it. He does not think that the resurrection of the body is necessary on the ground that it may share in the rewards and punishments. "The soul of man is confessedly the better part of man, and the body the inferior" (*Strom.* IV. 26). The body is the source of sinful tendencies, though not necessarily evil. Piety is for him ascetic, a steadfast abstraction from the body and its passions. "The Gnostic soul must be consecrated to the light, stript of the integuments of matter" (*Strom.* V. 11). The elect man dwells in the body simply as a sojourner; for he leaves his dwelling-place—his body—and turns to heaven, giving thanks for his sojourn and blessing God for his departure (*Strom.* IV. 26). Souls when released from their bodies in Hades are able to perceive more clearly, because they are no longer obstructed by the paltry flesh (*Strom.* VI. 6). Thus in his general attitude to the future, in his conception of piety, and

seemingly in his disparagement of the flesh, Clement teaches a doctrine of man's survival after death consonant with the Greek idea of immortality.

On the other hand, Clement speaks of the resurrection of the body and the resurrection of the flesh. He repeats these stereotyped expressions without defining their content. In at least two instances he refers to that which rises as flesh (*Paed.* II. 10; III. 1). But at the same time it is very evident that he does not endeavor to convey the idea that the resurrection is a fleshly resurrection. If he teaches anything concerning a resurrection body, it is a glorified frame which is to be different from this present body. Christ rose "through fire, as the wheat springs from decay to germination," or as earthly fire changes wheat into bread.¹ If these words are to be taken seriously, then fire is the agent, not of chastisement, but of sublimation, by which an organism is fitted for existence in a new sphere. Clement also uses a few incidents from the resurrection narratives of the gospels, and one from the Preaching of Peter, but without comment or application.

The situation in the mind of Clement is something like this. He firmly believes in the future existence of the soul. This is in conformity with the trend of his thought and his idea of the relation of body and soul and his philosophical tendencies. But he cannot free himself from the current accepted terms applied to the resurrection. Hence, he is driven to an inconsistency, saying at one time that the resurrection is of the flesh, and at another that flesh is so sublimated in the resurrection that that which is raised is some kind of a spiritual body. This latter view lends itself more readily to his philosophical conceptions of Greek immortality and undoubtedly was more controlling.

Origen grew up in the same atmosphere, but contrary to Clement's indifference to the resurrection he discusses it with painstaking care. The resurrection has a real and necessary place in his system of thought; and he pieces together with his cunning hand his general views on the subject and the scriptural proofs in substantiation of it. None of his opinions, however, were more vehemently assailed than his teachings on the resurrection. Even in his own time many were offended at his doctrine, and Jerome made a severe attack upon him. Origen wrote a treatise *On the Resurrection*,² which is unknown to us save by a few fragments. In his

¹ *Paed.* I. 6:4: ὡς ἀνισταμένην δῆθεν [διὰ πυρός], καθάπερ ἐκ φθορᾶς καὶ σπορᾶς ὁ πυρὸς ἀνάσταται, καὶ μέντοι διὰ πυρὸς συνισταμένην εἰς εὐφροσύνην ἐκκλησίας ὡς ἄρτον πεπτόμενον.

² *Περὶ ἀναστάσεως.*

extant writings, however, the subject is treated *in extenso*. The doctrine of the soul's immortality according to the Greek idea is for him "a doctrine of pre-eminent importance;"¹ but it is not the final doctrine: the doctrine of the resurrection is higher and truer. "If, on the other hand, they [souls] do exist, we have still to prove the doctrine of immortality; not only by what the Greeks have so well said regarding it, but also in a manner agreeable to Holy Scripture" (*Celsus* III. 22). Origen denies the doctrine of metempsychosis; confutes chiliasm; and assails the Gnostic denial of the resurrection.

He is fully aware of the difficulties urged against the historic accuracy of the four gospels with reference to the empty tomb; and points out some of the contradictory elements in the narrative (*Celsus* V. 56). But, notwithstanding, he emphatically asserts the reality of the resurrection of Jesus, setting forth scriptural evidences to show that he was seen by many after the resurrection (*Celsus* II. 70). He declares that without the reality of Jesus' resurrection the courage and lasting sincerity of the disciples would be an enigma. He refutes the cavils of Celsus who asserted either that Jesus was an impostor (*Celsus* II. 56); or that his resurrection was a mere deduction from the predictions of Jesus (II. 54); or that an image of what was desired came to Mary (II. 60).

As emphatic as he is on the resurrection of Jesus so emphatic is he also on the resurrection of men. The soul is pre-existent, nevertheless created, and at death passes to Hades, the prison of the imperfect, or to paradise, "the mansion of the blessed." Nevertheless, the soul continues to have a body in this intermediate state, as is shown by the parable of Dives and Lazarus. That the soul has a body in the interim between death and resurrection is an increment of Origen and peculiar to him. Tatian and Tertullian had taught that the soul is corporeal, and used this same parable as proof; but Origen specifically states that the soul is incorporeal (*De Prin.* I. 7). A body in his mind is an added element that clothes an immaterial soul. This body, though different from that which it inhabited in life, is still a body, belonging to this world, and must not be identified with the resurrection body, since the resurrection body belongs to another world.

What now is this resurrection body? In his argument against Celsus, who had ridiculed a bodily resurrection, he says, "Neither we, nor the Holy Scriptures, assert that with the same bodies, without change to a higher condition, 'shall those who were long dead arise from the earth and live again'" (V. 18). The body, which has undergone corruption,

¹ τὸν προηγούμενον ἡμῖν περὶ ψυχῆς κατασκευαστέον λόγον.

does not assume its original nature any more than a grain of wheat which has decayed returns to its former condition (*Celsus* V. 23). The resurrection body will be the same as the present body and yet by no means the same, is his paradoxical way of presentation. Its features are the same, but its texture is quite different. It will be adapted to the requirements of the new environment, and be bereft of all superfluous organs. In consequence of this some of the biblical phrases, like the "gnashing of teeth," cannot be literally understood. Furthermore, the resurrection body of the wicked will differ from that of the righteous (*De Prin.* II. 3.) Of still greater import is the fact that the body when cast away shall be transmuted into a condition of glory which renders it spiritual (*De Prin.* III. 5, 6). He calls it spiritual because the material is entirely changed. A spiritual body is for him not a sublimated thing which has neither shape nor content. He taunts the Gnostics because they spoke of a spiritual body which could not be described and which had no shape (*De Prin.* II. 10). Heaven and earth will not be annihilated at the consummation but will simply be changed in quality and transformed in appearance. Likewise, also the bodily nature will not be entirely destroyed, since we cannot conceive that beings so numerous and powerful are able to live without a body. Created beings cannot exist without a body; and incorporeal life is conceived to be the prerogative of the Trinity alone (*De Prin.* I. 6:4).

Origen feels himself indebted to Paul for his belief in a resurrection body which mediates between the soul's immortality and a reanimation of this flesh. He interprets Paul quite accurately. Thus he dwells on his image of the seed (*Frag.* II. *On Resur.*; *Celsus* V. 18, 19); and finds that the body is the same, not by any material continuity, but by the permanency of that which gives the law of its constitution. He finds place for a germinative principle called the "logos," which is implanted in the body and which is not destroyed (cf. *Celsus* V. 23). In other words, the soul has the vital principle of assimilating matter and of adapting it to its environment. The same principle and law which produce daily changes in the present body will create the spiritual body.

With perfect consistency does he interpret the gospel narratives on the resurrection of Jesus compatibly with his general view of the resurrection. Whatever he claims for the resurrection of men must also be attached to his view of the resurrection of Jesus, but no other. Jesus was raised and that in a body, which was the antitype of the former body.¹ The mortal quality of the body was changed into one that was ethereal and divine.

¹ *Contra Celsum* II. 61: ἐν σώματι ἀντιτύπῳ ἐγγήγεσθαι.

Commenting upon John 20:26, 27, in which the risen body is conceived of in a material sense, he interprets it so that the risen body is conceived of in a spiritual sense. "And truly, after his resurrection, he existed in a body intermediate, as it were, between the grossness of that which he had before his sufferings, and the appearance of a soul uncovered by such a body" (*Celsus* II. 62). He endeavors at some length to show that the term *ἀσώματον* "incorporeal" in the phrase, "I am not an incorporeal demon," taken from an uncanonical book, does not have its usual meaning as interpreted by Gentile authors. According to Origen's interpretation, the phrase discloses the fact that attention was drawn by Jesus to his resurrection body; that is, not a body such as demons have, which is fine and as if formed out of air, neither does it resemble this gross and visible body of ours, but a spiritual body which continues to remain solid and palpable (*De Prin.*, Pref. 8). This is most significant, since the quotation from the document from which it was taken and as used by Ignatius—assuming identity or relationship between the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Doctrine of Peter—presents the resurrection in a crassly material way.

Origen also finds support for the idea of a spiritual body in his theory of the nature of matter. There is a philosophic ground agreeable to him for the change which the body can undergo. "Matter, which, properly speaking, is without qualities, receives such as the Creator desires to invest it with, and frequently divests itself of those which it formerly possessed and assumes others of a different and higher kind" (*Celsus* III. 41). It is quite natural for this body, "which we style animal," to pass into a spiritual condition and assume spiritual qualities, since "bodily nature was so formed by the Creator, as to pass easily into whatever condition he should wish, or the nature of the case demand" (*De Prin.* III. 6:6, cf. II. 2:2). Transmutation and gradation of matter was, according to his theory of matter, a most simple affair. Matter, he held, can exist in a crude form in lower orders and in a higher form in spiritual bodies.

In the Alexandrian school, especially in Origen, there is a thorough-going and consistent restatement of the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection. The ground for this view is found not merely in Scripture, but also in the laws and constitution of matter, in the nature of the soul, and in the germinating principle of the Logos. This view of the resurrection does not clash with his theological principles. Besides, in Origen there is the first real effort made to point out that the resurrection narratives in the gospels do not consistently teach the resurrection of a material organism, but that there is something in those narratives which presupposes a spiritual body.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LATER WRITERS

The idea of a bodily resurrection in the material sense received its fullest development through Tertullian, while with Origen the Pauline idea prevailed. The remaining monuments of the early church, falling within the third century and the first quarter of the fourth century, follow in the footsteps of Irenaeus and Tertullian, while the conception of Origen falls into disfavor. With the exception of Lactantius, the story of the resurrection from henceforth moves along the path which former writers have trod—with little increment.

Methodius stands out most prominently. He vehemently assailed Origen's idea of the resurrection, and this occasioned a special work of his, *On the Resurrection*. The original work is lost, but large extracts have been preserved in Epiphanius and Photius. Like his *Banquet of the Ten Virgins*, it was in the form of a Platonic dialogue, in which the arguments of Origen are set forth and refuted. He declares that the resurrection body is to be identical with the mundane body: "The body shall rise with bones again joined and compacted with flesh" (*Banquet of the Ten Virgins* IX. 2). The only distinctive marks of the resurrection body are an absence of dissolution and a freedom from the stains and pollutions of sin. Through death the very root of sin is torn out of the flesh; and the body, like a restored temple, is raised up again with the same parts uninjured (I. 5);¹ or it is restored like the recasting and remodeling of a statue when spoiled (I. 7, 8); or like the conflagration of the earth which, after being purified will again exist (I. 9). Christ, he declares, did not say that in the resurrection men are to be transformed into the nature of angels; he simply said we shall be *as* angels, but not angels as they are without bodies (I. 10-12).

Almost all his arguments are manifestly borrowed from his predecessors. Thus man is composed of soul and body, and in the survival of personality the body cannot perish. The term "resurrection" is applied not to that which is not fallen, but to that which has fallen and rises again, so that the reference is, not to the soul, which is immortal, but to the flesh, which dies (I. 12). The mystery of the resurrection has its parallel in the

¹ All references, unless otherwise stated are to the collected extracts of his lost work, *On the Resurrection*.

generation of man (I. 14). To Paul's expression, "flesh and blood," is given an ethical meaning (III. 5). He sets forth, however, an original argument when he makes the Feast of Tabernacles a type of the resurrection. Just as the tabernacle when fallen down is again built, so our tabernacle when fallen down is put up again (I. 14). There is in Methodius the fullest expression on the resurrection subsequent to Origen, but it is in direct opposition to Origen's views of a spiritual body. He restates the creedal and orthodox position with perfect consistency, and forces Jesus and Paul to agree with him.

Hippolytus also declared that the resurrection must be taken to imply a material body. The fullest and most significant statement is in one of the fragments of his writings. In it he states that the soul of the departed passes into Hades. For the righteous this will merely be the temporary abode, but for the wicked it will be the ultimate receptacle. Then, at the appointed time, there will be a resurrection of all men, whereupon the soul will unite with the former body, and will not be transferred to another body as Plato had taught (*Frag. Against the Greeks or Against Plato*). There should be no difficulty, he continues, in believing in this resurrection; for if God, as Plato thought, originated the soul and made it immortal, then it should be easy for us also to believe that God is able to raise the body. There is a vast difference, however, between the resurrection bodies of the righteous and those of the wicked. The primeval transgression makes it necessary for the body to be committed to the earth. That of the righteous when raised will be molded anew, giving to it the qualities of purity and incorruptibility. "But the unrighteous will receive their bodies unchanged, and unransomed from suffering and disease, and unglorified, and still with all the evil in which they died." The risen body of Christ is the same body which he had before his resurrection. He is the first fruits, and raises that flesh which is common to all humanity. Hence we have in him, as our Savior, an assurance also of our own resurrection. From the gospel narratives are selected the story of the empty tomb and the physical appearances of the risen Christ in John and Luke.

Minucius Felix says nothing of the resurrection of Jesus, and does not use Scripture to prove any of his ideas on the resurrection. The query and taunt of Caecilius (*Octavius* 11), who wishes to know whether or no Christians rise again without a body, with the same body, or with another body, is answered. Octavius is made to say that the world is to be consumed by fire, since everything which has a beginning has an end, and that the ancient philosophers are not averse to a burning up of a world; yet it is evident that God will raise up our former bodies, no matter what

the condition after death will be. He employs the time-honored argument that that which was first formed by God can be re-formed, since the latter is the easier process. He also uses many of the analogies from nature which former writers had originated (*Octavius* 34).

In Commodianus chiliasm again comes to the front, and that in its most literal form. Millenarianism was still current in some circles. The resurrection of which he speaks is a literal restoration of the former body. The Lord will appear in a bodily form at the end of the ages and the fires will come and touch all places, but the camp of the faithful (*Instructions* 41-45). Commodianus is silent as to the final and general resurrection, but goes into details with reference to the first. In the first resurrection the city will descend from heaven; the believers will rise again and will be incorruptible; then they will live for a thousand years.

Cyprian presents us with an incidental reference to the resurrection, and that only with reference to Jesus. He emphatically asserts that Christ both "originated the resurrection of the flesh" and also showed himself to his disciples in his former flesh (*Epistles* 72:5). His other reference, being as striking and singular, reads; "[Jesus] appeared to his disciples as he had been. He gave himself to the recognition of those that saw him, associated together with him; and being evident by the substance of his bodily existence, he delayed forty days, that they might be instructed by him in the precepts of life and might learn what they were to teach" (*Treatises* VI. 14).

Novatian closely connects salvation with the resurrection of the body. He believed that if the body were not to rise then there would be no salvation, and if God were either unable or unwilling to save it then there would be no reason for having created it. Christ's resurrection was a fleshly resurrection, for he "was raised again in the same bodily substance in which he died;" which fact is evident from the wounds which he bore in his resurrection body. In Christ's resurrection is the assurance of our own resurrection, since he shows the laws of that resurrection common to men. Paul's expression, "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God," has for him reference to the guilt of the flesh and not the substance thereof (*Trinity* 10; cf. 21).

In addition to stereotyped creedal expressions which occur in his writings, Gregory Thaumaturgus refers to a few post-resurrection incidents in the life of Jesus taken from the gospels. "Christ, on rising from the dead, showed his disciples the print of the nails and the wound made by the spear, and a body that could be handled, although he also had entered among them when the doors were shut with a view of showing them at once

the energy of the divinity and the reality of the body" (*Faith* 1). Herein is a noteworthy increment in an effort to explain two ill-according ideas in a resurrection narrative. Another increment is the relation of the virgin birth to the resurrection. Jesus was born of Mary that the resurrection might be exhibited and life eternal instituted in the world (*Homily* II).

Archelaus does scarcely more than assert the reality of the resurrection of Jesus and the consequences accruing therefrom, in his opposition to Manes (*Disputation with Manes* 49). Alexander of Alexandria approached the resurrection from a truly theological standpoint. Through the fall man became subject to death, and in death the body is dissolved and returns to dust; but through Christ, of which his resurrection is an integral part, man's body is capable of being created anew in the future. An evidence of this he finds in Matthew's account of those who came forth from the tomb at the crucifixion, being released by Christ, and being the first to do so (*Epistle on the Arian Heresy* V. 3-6).

Arnobius adheres to the resurrection of the flesh, but in somewhat obscure terms. He finds it symbolized in Plato's myth, where the world begins and revolves in an opposite direction, and in which a reverse development from old age to childhood occurs (*Against the Heathen* II. 13). He scorns the heathen idea of a punishment in the infernal regions, when at the same time they teach that souls are incorporeal. The soul, however, is neither mortal nor immortal but neutral, and it, as well as the body, must be made immortal by the will of God (II. 31-36). With reference to the resurrection of Jesus, he says that after he arose "he manifested himself in open day to countless numbers of men;" also, "Lest they should imagine that they were deceived by unsubstantial fancies he showed himself once, a second time, yea frequently in familiar conversations."

In the *Constitutions of the Holy Apostles* the resurrection is described as follows:

The almighty God himself will raise us up through our Lord Jesus Christ, according to his infallible promise, and grant us a resurrection with all those that have slept from the beginning of the world; and we shall then be such as we now are in our present form, without any defect or corruption. For we shall rise incorruptible: whether we die at sea, or are scattered on the earth, or are torn to pieces by wild beasts and birds, he will raise us up by his own power (V. 1, 7).

The resurrection of Jesus as interpreted from the gospels is in a fleshly body (VI. 6, 30; V. 1, 7; V. 3, 19; VIII. 1, 1). The assurance of a fleshly resurrection he also finds in the symbol of the phoenix, in the examples of those who were raised, and in the analogy of procreation.

In the ancient Syrian documents there is very little on the resurrection;

enough, however, is found to indicate that whenever the term resurrection is used it has reference to the revivification of the former body; and enough to convince us that this was the belief of the Syrian church. In the apocryphal New Testament books the resurrection of Jesus assumes all kinds of fantastic shapes. This is especially noticeable in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*; wherein we may observe that, in addition to the appearances of those mentioned in the canonical gospels, there was an appearance also to Joseph of Arimathea. The writing also shows the importance which was attached to that Matthean narrative describing the guarding of the tomb. In the *Passing of Mary* the resurrection act of Jesus was repeated: Christ's tomb was empty, his mother was placed in it, her body was raised, and her ascension observed. In the *Revelation of John* every human being is spoken of as rising when thirty years old, so that in the hereafter all shall be of one appearance and one size, just like bees, not differing one from another.

In Lactantius we are confronted with a unique and peculiar situation. His teaching on the after-life abounds with inconsistencies. The only solution to the problem lies in the fact that the two streams of influence—the Greek and the Christian—continued to remain formative in his life without perfect reconciliation. Because he was converted to Christianity late in life, it is not strange that this should have been the case. In the first place, he sets forth the simple doctrine of the soul's immortality—and he devotes much more space to this than he does to the doctrine of the resurrection—in a most glorious light. The chief good is found in immortality alone. The world has been created that we may be born; we are born that we may acknowledge the Maker—God; we acknowledge him that we may worship him; we worship him that we may receive immortality as the reward of our labors; we are rewarded with immortality that we may receive the supreme Father and Lord forever, and may be to all eternity a kingdom of God (*Divine Institutes* VII. 6; cf. III. 12, 80). Immortality is a gift from God and conditioned on virtue, since otherwise there would be no difference between the just and the unjust (*Divine Inst.* VII. 5). In proving his doctrine of immortality he does not appeal to Scripture, but falls back on the heathen writers. Cicero and Virgil are especially appealed to.¹

On the other hand, as an appendix to his work, and seemingly also as an appendix to his real convictions in this matter, he treats of a bodily resurrection. Strange, indeed, that side by side with his simple idea of immortality we should not merely find references to a literal resurrection

¹ Especially Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* i; Virgil, *Aeneid* vi.

of the flesh, but also an adherence to the millenarian and apocalyptic ideas (*Divine Inst.* VII. 24). There will be a resurrection of the dead, but how this is possible cannot be explained, and the only ground for a resurrection of the body which he presents is the ground that "if from the beginning God formed man in some unspeakable manner, we may believe that the old man can be restored by him who made the new man" (*Divine Inst.* VII. 23). He likewise conceived the resurrection of Jesus to be a bodily resurrection, dwelling in particular on the empty tomb in which nothing was left "save the grave-cloths in which he was wrapped" (*Divine Inst.* IV. 19-21). He invents a peculiar reason for Christ's bodily resurrection, maintaining that death on the cross was chosen because it reserved the body with the bones uninjured for the resurrection, which if broken would have been rendered unsuitable for rising again (*Divine Inst.* IV. 26). As to a spiritual body there is absolute silence. The only solution to these incongruous elements to which he holds lies in the fact that the Greek idea of immortality and the Christian traditional idea of a material organism were loosely held together in his system of Christian truth.

With the exception of Methodius, who turned the tide against Origen and caused the Pauline conception of a spiritual body forever to die out in Christian history, there is little significance attached to these later writers. The discussion of the resurrection is possibly a little more theological—relating salvation to the resurrection of Christ and to the resurrection of our own flesh—than it was in former writers. Lactantius, who stands at the close of our period, is interesting because he welded together the Greek conception of immortality and the Christian idea of the resurrection, but this was neither significant nor influential.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

In making a recapitulation of this survey, we shall endeavor (1) to set forth the current idea concerning the nature of the resurrection body; (2) to indicate the formative influences which crystallized this doctrine and made it orthodox; (3) to exhibit all variations from this standard conception; (4) to point out the theological and apologetic arguments which were employed; (5) to set forth the use and interpretation made of Scripture touching the resurrection; (6) to present the bearing of the facts adduced with reference to the transmission of the gospel material on the resurrection of Jesus.

1. The current idea of the resurrection in the ante-Nicene period was that of a bodily resurrection in the material sense, or of this very flesh, with all its particles intact and unchanged. From the first post-Apostolic mention of the resurrection to the close of our period this conception is clearly traceable. Such is the view presented in all the surviving monographs of the period—pseudo-Justin, Athenagoras, Tertullian, Methodius—and such is the conception which became crystallized in the early creed, which later on, in an enlarged form, became the common creed of Christendom. Even at the very beginning of our period Paul's conception fell into disfavor; and the idea of a fleshly resurrection, which subsequent Fathers more fully developed, with detailed descriptions and accumulated arguments, prevailed. The latter half of the second century and the opening years of the third, being the time of the labors of the apologists and the great polemicists, is the period when the fleshly resurrection was described in its fullest and most realistic terms. An absolute identity between the mundane and the heavenly body was maintained. The body is to rise with the same form, and with the same component parts and members, from the grave, as it possessed while alive. And not merely will the same body be restored, but also the same substances in the body. In fact, the former body will simply be reanimated and reinstated. Many a writer assumed a quasi-scientific attitude in his attempt to set forth, in detailed description, just exactly how the resurrection body is to reappear from its dissolved parts, and how the new corporeality is to be constituted. Even the very elements and minutest particles, even if they are dissolved and mixed up with other elements or assimilated into the tissues of animals,

will be recalled and will take their original place in the body which is to be raised.

The same gross materialism predicated of the future resurrection life of men was also ascribed to the post-resurrection life of Jesus. The fleshly resurrection of Jesus was attested with much more consistency, and with even a greater realism, than it was set forth in the canonical gospels. Thus, for example, in his post-resurrection life Jesus not merely ate, but the food of which he partook is purposely described, and it is even said that he ate expressly for the purpose of showing his teeth; he not merely revealed the Scriptures to his disciples, as the gospels tell us, but he also sang hymns with them; he not merely showed his crucified body, and challenged his disciples to touch and handle him, as set forth in John and Luke, but his wounds were actually touched, and he was actually handled; he not merely is described as ascending into heaven, with a silence as to the nature of the body which ascended, but his ascension as well as his session is in "this very flesh."

A few modifications in the resurrection body were allowed by nearly all writers who held to these extreme physical conceptions; but in their minds these did not in the least contradict a fleshly resurrection. Thus, it is often asserted (1) that the flesh rises perfect and entire, without any defects and deformities which may have been acquired through birth or accident; (2) that the body, rising with its former members and organs, will, nevertheless, lose some of the functions pertaining to these organs, especially those of procreation and digestion; (3) that the animalism and the corruptibility adhering to the earthly tabernacle will find no place in the resurrection body, since it will be clothed upon with incorruptibility. These characteristic changes refer only to the resurrection of the righteous; while the resurrection body of the wicked—whenever such a resurrection is predicted—persists in all its former defects, diseases, and corruptions.

Doubtless in many cases where the resurrection is referred to without specifying its character, it is a fleshly resurrection that is tacitly assumed. This materialistic view is unmistakably present in the apostolic Fathers; but it is briefly stated and suggested, rather than elaborately argued. In the apologists the same idea assumed a more definite form, a firmer ground, together with an appeal to reason. While in the polemicists the same idea was couched in unequivocal terms, and not merely defended through reason, but also supported by Scripture. The most comprehensive presentation of this doctrine appears in Tertullian, who gathered together every item of evidence and used every thread of reason which his master mind could marshal. Subsequent writers walked in the footsteps and

under the shadow of this first great Latin theologian, calmly and securely, so that their contribution to the idea of a fleshly resurrection is very small. Indeed, this latter statement need not be confined to our period; it applies to all subsequent Christian history. The phrase "resurrection of the flesh" is found nowhere in Christian literature prior to Justin (*Dia.* 80), but the belief in the resurrection of the flesh was current and widespread long before the phrase was coined. In fact, there is a progression of terms each conveying the same content—the resurrection of the dead, the resurrection of the body, the resurrection of the flesh.¹ The first is mainly biblical, the second belongs chiefly to the early Fathers, while the last superseded both and became the universal phrase of Christendom, finding its way into the Apostles' Creed.

2. Four influences were formative in creating, establishing, and standardizing the idea of a resurrection of the flesh such as has just been described. Two of these were negative—Hellenism and Gnosticism; and two were positive—Jewish messianism and the resurrection narratives of the gospels.

a) We began with an a-priori presumption that because Christianity was very early transported to Graeco-Roman soil, Graeco-Roman influences would be operative. An inductive study has revealed the truth that the Christian idea of the resurrection was materially influenced by the Greek conception of immortality. Contrary, however, to the usual influence of Greek thought on Christian ideas, the influence in this case was emphatically negative. It has been correctly pointed out that the tenets of official orthodoxy, especially with reference to the idea of God and the person of Christ, are highly colored, in form and content, with Graeco-Roman thought. But with respect to the resurrection this statement does not hold good. There is no compromise with the Greek idea of immortality, but an opposition to it. The early church set itself so rigorously against the simple doctrine of the soul's persistence without a body after death, that, in opposition to it, it was impelled to set forth a most literal and gross conception of the resurrection. The resurrection of a physical body was very abhorrent to Graeco-Roman culture; because in it the Platonic idea of the body—*τὸ σῶμα σῆμα*—is pronounced. And, in opposition to Platonic dualism and the disparagement of the flesh, the apologists not merely undertook to show its worthfulness, but also took in hand a detailed demonstration of the resurrection in a quasi-scientific manner.

b) Gnostic influence is parallel to Hellenistic influence, and, in reality,

¹ The change in the titles of the early monographs is scarcely accidental, but conveys some significance: pseudo-Justin, *Περὶ ἀναστάσεως*; Athenagoras, *Περὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν*; Tertullian, *De Resurrectione Carnis*.

was an indirect way in which Greek influence operated most strongly on Christian ideas. The Gnostics denied the salvability of the flesh and its resurrection; and thereby erecting a hostile camp, they became a negative influence in the creation and the establishment of the orthodox position. The church at large set itself most vehemently against Gnostic cosmology, and the dualism and Docetism accruing therefrom. The idea of the resurrection was the crux of the whole matter. Gnosticism outlined its whole scheme of redemption by beginning with a denial of a fleshly resurrection. Irenaeus and Tertullian met, in a great intellectual combat, every argument of their opponents; and in doing so they converted the idea of the resurrection of a material body into a still more materialistic conception than Hellenism alone would have forced them into, allowing no room for any variation or shadow of turning. Just as the articles of the Apostles' Creed were called forth by a contra-Gnostic or contra-Marcion tendency—of which the resurrection of the flesh is one expression—so likewise the bulk of the arguments in proof of the resurrection of the flesh arose because of the counter-arguments of the Gnostics. Indeed, these negative influences—the Hellenic and the Gnostic—were important factors in the determination of the crystallization of the resurrection conception.

c) It was pointed out in a former chapter that the Jewish belief in the resurrection, save in Alexandrian Judaism, was that of a bodily resurrection in the material sense for the purpose of participation in the messianic kingdom. The resurrection was a preliminary condition of entrance into that sensuous kingdom to be established at the time of the Messiah's coming. This eschatological element was all-controlling in the days in which Christianity had its birth and early development. Messianic and apocalyptic ideas were bodily transferred to Christianity. Salvation was a thing of the future, and it included the enjoyment of a visible and a material kingdom to be established at Christ's second coming. A necessary corollary to all this was a general resurrection in which the dead bodies were to be reanimated and reinstated. The Jewish apocalypses imbedded in Christian thought and literature, such as those found in the eschatological discourses of our canonical gospels, and the apocalypses of John and Peter, were a most potent influence in the creation and the establishment of the idea of a fleshly resurrection. Chiliasm likewise was an element which played no small part in the formation of the resurrection conception. The saints who were to share in Christ's kingdom on earth were represented as rising in the flesh; and it was a logical sequence to project into the second resurrection that which was true of the first. When, however, the sensuous view of an earthly temporal kingdom died away,

and when chiliasm was no longer in force, and when the goal of future destiny immediately became heaven, the idea of the resurrection of the flesh continued to persist in spite of the cessation of the influence that gave rise to it. Though the Christian idea of a bodily resurrection was propped by other than Jewish influences, it must not be forgotten, however, that it had received a momentum from Jewish messianism which carried it along in history beyond the days of chiliasm and apocalyptic ideas.

d) Similarly, the gospel narratives of the resurrection of Jesus, both canonical and uncanonical, were formative influences in the creation and crystallization of the orthodox position. These narratives, as a whole, give us a picture of a mere revivification of a fleshly body, which had lain in the tomb. The empty tomb and the nature of the appearances as described in the Gospels of John and Luke naturally control the uncritical student in the formulation of his conception of the resurrection. These narratives are so realistic and so simple and so vivid that when once read or heard they cannot easily be blotted out of the memory; and the tendency in every uncritical mind is so to interpret all the post-resurrection narratives as to accord with the most realistic ones, and also to interpret Paul and Jesus in consonance with them. Unequipped with critical apparatus, the ante-Nicene Fathers did just this very thing—which indeed has also been done repeatedly since. The account of an empty tomb and a bodily appearance had been a potent influence ever since it was conceived, but more so after oral tradition was succeeded by written narratives, and still more so after these had become canonical.

3. A bodily resurrection in the material sense, though it was in the ante-Nicene period, the prevailing view, was, however, not the exclusive view. A variety of other views which differed considerably from that of the church at large were sometimes held and received currency in some circles. Naturally we think first of the Gnostics, who believing only in the future existence of the soul, denied the salvability of the flesh and disclaimed its resurrection from the grave. Their psychology was Platonico-dualistic. They asserted the destruction of the body, but affirmed the eternal continuity of the soul. There was, however, a slight deviation from this elementary psychology on the part of a few Gnostic sects, but not to such an extent as to alter this fundamental tenet. Some taught a resurrection, not of the soul as such, but a continuance of something within the soul, the inner or intellectual life (Valentinus); while others maintained that the resurrection is neither of soul nor of body, but of a third substance (Lucan).

In the second place, there were those who interpreted the resurrection

in an ethico-religious sense instead of an eschatological sense. They taught that the resurrection has already taken place in the believer who has started in the new life. Such a view is referred to in II Tim., and reappears more fully in *Paul and Thecla*. Now the Pauline view of the resurrection is found only once in our period, and that is in the Alexandrian school. Origen deliberately denied a fleshly resurrection and held consistently to a conception compatible with Paul's characterization of a spiritual body. This, in fact, is the only Pauline peak in our period. The ground on which Origen based his ideas was twofold: a correct interpretation of Pauline teaching, and a philosophic conception of matter not incongruous to a spiritual body.

As a rule every Christian monument of our period is consistent—that is, it holds to the one or the other view—but there is also an inconsistency in some writers, or rather an overlapping of one view upon another. Just as in the resurrection appearances described by Luke and John the idea of a spiritual body and of a material body are placed side by side, if not interwoven or even welded together; so likewise in the Fathers personal immortality (Greek), spiritual body (Paul), and a material body (Luke-John) sometimes overlap, and this in various combinations. Athenagoras postulates a resurrection of the flesh in as gross and material a form as could be imagined, and yet there are passages which undoubtedly reflect a Pauline thought, and when read in isolation from the rest, come close to the idea of a spiritual body. In fact, he goes so far as to use the term “heavenly spirit” for the resurrection body. This is the clearest instance of the overlapping of the Pauline idea upon the fleshy idea. This was presumably a conscious overlapping, and we are of the opinion that the same thing is true in a lesser degree, and unconsciously, in some others. Even Irenaeus and Tertullian, the strongest advocates of a fleshly resurrection, were driven to make some compromises with Jesus and Paul whom they interpreted. They compromised in so far as they predicated a clothing upon and an incorruptibility and a state of discontinued organic functions. In Lactantius, on the other hand, there is a syncretism between the Greek idea of immortality, to which he logically holds, and the current conception of a fleshly body, associated with the crudest chiliasm. And in Clement of Alexandria there is an eclecticism of terms, culled from three possible conceptions.

4. A variety of arguments were adduced in support of the fleshly resurrection, and various theological implications were attached to this idea. Gnosticism vilified the flesh and denied its salvability, while the Alexandrian school held to its inferiority; but the church at large—and

this was often the first step in the argument—associated salvation with the resurrection of the flesh. The two ideas were as a rule inseparable, so that salvation of the flesh and resurrection of the flesh became synonymous terms. Salvation was conceived wholly eschatologically; it meant, in its Jewish coloring, eternal life and the enjoyment of everlasting felicity in the presence of God and in company with his saints. Eternal life apart from the participation of the flesh was conceived impossible. Hence the necessity of proving the religio-ethical worth of the body, which was the second step in the argument. The flesh was created by God, and not by the Demiurge or angels; it had a special creation, was stamped in God's image, is the temple of the Holy Ghost. God, it was declared, could not destroy his own creatures, much less his image in which his Spirit resides. Hence the flesh cannot be destroyed, but must rise again. Furthermore, the flesh is not the sole source of man's sinfulness, but both soul and flesh act together; wherefore both must again be united after death for judgment.

More significant still is the use made of the resurrection of Jesus in this connection. The earliest apologetic use of the resurrection of Jesus was to show his messiahship, as is clearly indicated in the New Testament. Then his resurrection was made an apologetic to substantiate his divinity. But the chief use to which his resurrection was put, and that very early (cf. Ignatius), was to prove his humanity and the reality of his flesh. The proving of the physical resurrection of Jesus was often for no other reason than that it served as a link in a series of anti-Docetic arguments in which the reality of the flesh of Jesus was at stake. One purpose of adducing Christ's resurrection was merely to show that he really assumed flesh. In the theological thinking of the early church, the reality of the flesh of Jesus and the resurrection of that flesh were indissoluble, and of momentous consequence to man's redemption and salvation. The reason that Christ assumed flesh was—it was alleged—for the purpose of saving the flesh of man, which otherwise would have been destined to decay: that is, in Christ's flesh and in the resurrection of that flesh is the assurance of our own fleshly resurrection. It was also asserted that if Christ's resurrection was not a bodily resurrection in the material sense then the Eucharist is of no effect, and man fails to take the "medicine of immortality." A few of the Christian Fathers also associated the virgin birth with the resurrection, affirming that through that birth his flesh became incorruptible so that it could rise again. The Pauline idea that Jesus was raised for our justification is, however, never referred to.

But there were also other arguments in support of the current conception of the resurrection. The arguments thus far considered, from the

standpoint of salvation, applied only, in logical consistency, to the righteous. But the unrighteous souls were also conceived of as coming forth from Hades on the last day uniting with their former bodies, that they might be judged and receive punishment. Although the soul, whether spoken of as corporeal or incorporeal, was thought of as being sensible to inflictions and blessings; nevertheless, full recompense could not be given in the disembodied state. Again, it was thought unworthy of God's goodness and justice not to allow the flesh to share in the rewards of its good works, or in the punishment of its evil works. Finally, the Fathers undertook to show that the resurrection of the flesh was perfectly natural, and that God has both the power and the knowledge and the will to bring it about. If God could create the body in the beginning, he surely can re-create it from the dissolved elements at the last day. The analogy of the seed, the plant, the heavenly bodies, and the seasons, and the symbol of the phoenix were furnished as collaterally confirming the possibility of the resurrection. The mystery of life and growth from procreation, the scriptural miracles of healing, and the final end of man were also used as proofs of a physical resurrection.

5. Just as there is no uniform conception of the nature of the resurrection, so there is also no uniform system in the use and interpretation of Scripture. Those who adhered to the current conception of the resurrection, as a rule, followed in a certain line, and deviated very little from one another; while the methods of Origen and the Gnostics are at variance with them. The church at large, from the very first, endeavored to find authoritative proof in the Old Testament in support of its doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh. The two passages in the canonical Old Testament literature which set forth a resurrection were used a few times as proof-texts: the passage from Isaiah being used at least six times, the passage from Daniel, three times. However, in their search for proof-texts and in their dependence upon the Septuagint, which at times deviates from the original, the orthodox Christians found a great many passages substantiating the resurrection of the former body. Psalms and Job were freely used in this way. The translation of Elijah and Enoch, the preservation of Jonah in the whale's belly, and the preservation of Ananias and Azarias and Misaël in the fire were also used as proofs of the possibility of a bodily resurrection. The classic example in the Old Testament for them was Ezekiel's vision of the Valley of Dry Bones. There was also a slight dependence on the apocalyptic literature, especially the Book of Enoch.

As concerns the usage of the New Testament, there is, in the first place, a dependence on the Christian apocalypses as preserved in our gospels,

in Paul, and in Revelation. The parable of Dives and Lazarus, too, was freely used in the interest of the resurrection. Nevertheless, the most significant and far-reaching use of Scripture was in reference to the resurrection narratives of Jesus. Literary dependence is shown on all the canonical gospel narratives, and explicitly on one uncanonical gospel—the Gospel according to the Hebrews, used by Ignatius and Origen,¹ and probably by pseudo-Justin. Ignatius places it on a par with the other gospels and selects it for his purpose, because a certain passage in it portrays the physical resurrection of Jesus in bolder relief and with more consistency than it is depicted in the canonical gospels. Origen states that this book is uncanonical, but yet he feels that he must make use of a certain striking expression, which was perpetuated through it. This fact is sufficient to suggest that this gospel must have been influential, and that the resurrection account contained therein exerted a silent influence. It seems evident, therefore, that pseudo-Justin, and some of the other writers in whose works there is such a realistic description of the touching and handling of Jesus, were either directly or indirectly influenced by this gospel.

In the use of the canonical gospels the same principle of selection which controlled Ignatius persists. The literary use of the resurrection narratives of the Gospels of John and Luke exceed those of Mark and Matthew in the proportion of one to ten, and if we deduct the present conclusion of Mark, we shall have very little left which is taken from Mark and Matthew. The account of the watch at the tomb and the report to Pilate received some attention; Jesus' appearance to the women is spoken of only a few times, and then never in its purely Matthew-Mark form; while his appearance in Galilee (not speaking of the imbedded apostolic commission, which, of course, was often separately used) was practically never used, save possibly as it is caricatured in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. The same principle of selection is still more marked within the Gospels of Luke and John themselves. The two outstanding accounts in which the fleshly character of the risen Jesus is most pronounced within these gospels, are Luke 24:36-43; and John 20:26-29. These two narratives are repeatedly and incessantly used by the Fathers, in preference to any of the other narratives within these gospels. And within these narratives two expressions of Jesus especially prevail: the one, "See my hands and my feet, that it is I myself: handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye behold me having;" the other, "Reach hither thy finger, and see my hands; and reach hither thy hand and put it into my side." More-

¹ Whatever is the truth concerning the identity or relation of the Gospel according to the Hebrews and the Doctrine of Peter will not in the least affect this deduction.

over, these narratives are not merely repeated as they are reported in our gospels; but, as a rule, they are highly colored with comments and at times misquoted. The accounts are elaborated to assert an unmistakable fleshly body. The challenge to be touched and handled is changed to a real touch and a real handling. The incongruity of having Jesus pass through closed doors and the next moment standing in his former body, as a rule, was not felt. Once or twice, however, an attempt of reconciliation was made. Irenaeus attempts to solve the difficulty, by trying to show that Jesus did the same thing before his death when he passed uninjured through the crowd that wished to apprehend him. Gregory Thaumaturgus explains the phenomenon by saying that the one act was to show forth the energy of his divinity and the other the reality of his flesh. One is surprised to find, however, that comparatively little use was made of the empty tomb.

In harmony with this interpretation of the resurrection narratives of Jesus is the attitude assumed to the teachings of Jesus and of Paul. The ante-Nicene Fathers interpreted Jesus as teaching the resurrection of the flesh in his discourse to the Sadducees. Tertullian is spokesman for the current view when he says that Christ affirmed the resurrection of the two natures of man—flesh and spirit. Paul was interpreted in the same way. His conception of a spiritual body, having found no acceptance, was explained away. The term “spiritual body” meant, in accordance with their interpretation, a body not devoid of flesh and blood, but regenerated and controlled by divine spirit. “Flesh and blood” was interpreted in an ethical, not in a physical sense. The expression “being clothed upon” could not apply, it was thought, to disembodied souls, but to a fleshly body. Paul’s illustrations and comparisons were always used in the interests of a physical body. But what about incorruptibility, in the angelic state, and the purpose of this supervesture? This could not be boiled down in their material crucible. Hence the paradox—appearing a few times—that human beings undergo a change in their unchanged substance of the flesh.

Origen pointed out contradictory elements in the resurrection narratives of the gospels, and at the same time made argumentative use of these narratives in which the physical nature of the resurrection body is evidently affirmed but he spiritualized the accounts. Jesus, he maintained, existed in a body intermediate between the grossness of that which he had before his suffering and a disembodied spirit. He adopted, more or less, the interpretation current among many theologians today, namely that there was a difference between the post-resurrection body and the ascen-

sion body. Paul and Jesus are correctly interpreted by him and are made to conform to the conception of a spiritual body. The Gnostics allegorized the biblical term "resurrection of the dead," and conceived the resurrection appearances to be non-material, asserting that the flesh of Jesus was never real. They found also in Jesus and Paul a testimony to a non-fleshly resurrection. Although charged with allegorical interpretation, they for some reason or other came nearer to the conclusions which historico-grammatical interpretation reaches respecting the thought of Jesus and Paul than did the church at large with its dependence on the Gospel writers, and its control of Jesus and Paul by these.

6. Finally, the facts investigated will admit of another deduction, and that is with reference to the transmission of the gospel material on the resurrection of Jesus prior to the fixing of that material in our present gospels. Now if certain forces operated of which we have direct documentary evidence and if these forces were in existence before such evidence is traceable, then we may suppose that these forces which the evidence shows to have been operative operated further than the records directly prove. Our study has revealed the fact that certain influences were potent in the creation and establishment of the doctrine of the resurrection, that they operated from the very beginning, and that they were in existence in the time of oral gospel transmission—affecting naturally the later gospels, Luke and John, or the Judean cycle of resurrection appearances, more than the earlier gospels, Mark and Matthew, or the Galilean cycle of appearances.

Thus we have clearly discerned that the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh was a vital question in the ante-Nicene period; that even when many of the other doctrines of the church were not yet vitally discussed, much less systematized, the resurrection of the flesh had already reached its pinnacle, and had become a fourth article in the Old Roman Symbol added to the three of the baptismal formula; that in a little more than a hundred years after the death of Jesus the resurrection of the flesh was appended to a creed; and that in less than a hundred and fifty years after the First Gospel was written this doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh was fully developed, and almost the last words as to the nature of this body were spoken together with the apologetic and theological arguments in support of it. Moreover, we have also observed that there was a constant tendency in the church at large to define the resurrection of Jesus in ever more realistic terms, the crudest realism coming forth out of the apocryphal gospels; that, in the use of the gospel narratives, the written records were manifestly changed, through comments and variations in

quotations, in order to teach an ever more undisputed physical conception of the post-resurrection life of Jesus. Such a tendency appears still more clearly in a comparative study of the records in which the tradition of the resurrection narratives of Jesus has come down to us—whereby it is evident that, by pushing back through the uncanonical Gospel of Peter and the Gospel according to the Hebrews, to the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, or even to the epistles of Paul, we pass from the conception of a material body to a spiritual body, and that between these two extremes, that is, in Luke and John, there is an overlapping of both conceptions. We have also noticed that Gnosticism was a tremendous force; that in Gnosticism, Docetism was a ruling element; that in the early apologetic of the church the idea of a fleshly resurrection was used as a link in a series of arguments to substantiate the reality of Christ's flesh, and nothing more; and, significantly, that this incipient Gnosticism with its Docetic tendencies had its root far back in New Testament times. In like manner, we have observed that Pharisaic Judaism predicated a restoration of the former body for the purpose of sharing in the messianic kingdom and that early Christianity bodily inserted this into its system of thought.

Therefore, by bringing all these facts together, it becomes apparent that these positive, and these still stronger negative, influences on the idea of the resurrection were operative already in the period of oral gospel transmission, and that they must have been potent and formative on those resurrection narratives imbedded in the later gospels—Luke and John—narratives descriptive of actual appearances, which have had a real foundation in experience, but which, in the period of oral transmission, became highly colored with physical conceptions from an apologetic motive.

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